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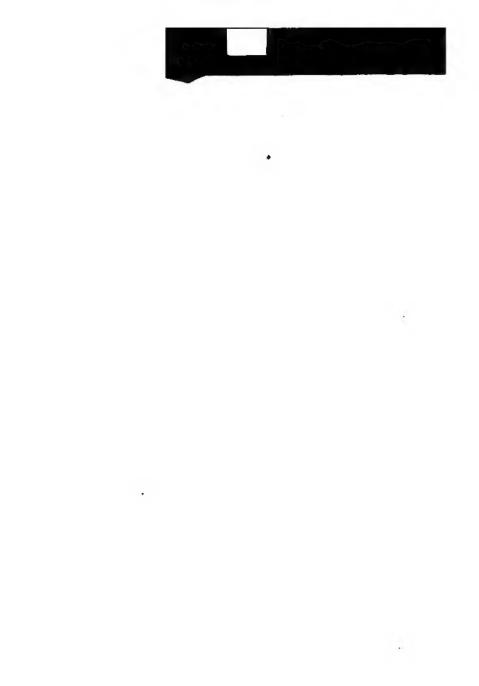


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THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE VOL. III.



THE HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

BY

EDWARD GIBBON

EDITED IN SEVEN VOLUMES
WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, APPENDICES, AND INDEX

BY

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VOL. III.

METHUEN & CO. 36 ESSEX STREET, W.C. LONDON

1901

New Edition



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THE HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER XXV

The Gueernment and Death of Justian —Election of Valentinian, who associates his Brother Valens, and makes the final Division of the Eastern and Western Empires—Revolt of Procopius—Civil and Ecclesiastical Administration—Germany—Britain—Africa—The East—The Danube—Death of Valentinian—Historiosons, Grutian and Valentinian II., succeed to the Western Empire

THE death of Julian had left the public affairs of the empire in the very doubtful and dangerous situation. The Roman army A. ms saved by an ingionous, perhaps a necessary, treaty; 1 and the first moments of peace were consecrated by the pious Jovian to restore the domestic tranquillity of the church and state. The indiscretion of his predecessor, instead of reconciling, had stfully fomented the religious war; and the balance which he efected to preserve between the hostile factions served only to proctuate the contest, by the vicissitudes of hope and fear, by he rival claims of ancient possession and actual favour. The Chrotians had forgotten the spirit of the Gospel; and the bigans had imbibed the spirit of the church. In private frames, the sentiments of nature were extinguished by the blind fury of zeal and revenge; the majesty of the laws was solated or abused; the cities of the East were stained with blood, and the most implacable enemies of the Romans were a the bosom of their country. Jovian was educated in the profession of Christianity; and, as he marched from Nisibia to intuch, the banner of the Cross, the LABARUM of Constantine,

The medals of Jovian adorn him with victories, laurel crowns, and prostrate
the Dicarge, Fam I Byzantin, p. 52. Flattery is a foolish suicide, sho
convex herself with her own hands.

which was again displayed at the head of the legions, announced to the people the faith of their new emperor. As soon as he ascended the throne, he transmitted a circular epistle to all the governors of provinces: in which he confessed the divine truth, and secured the legal establishment, of the Christian religion The insidious edicts of Julian were abolished; the ecclesiastical immunities were restored and enlarged; and Jovian condescended to lament that the distress of the times obliged him to dimmsh the measure of charitable distributions.2 The Christians were unanimous in the loud and sincere applause which they hestowed on the pious successor of Julian. But they were still ignorant what creed, or what synod, he would choose for the standard of orthodoxy; and the peace of the church immediately revived those eager disputes which had been suspended during the season of persecution. The episcopal leaders of the contending sects, convinced, from experience, how much their fate would depend on the earliest impressions that were made on the mind of an untutored soldier, hastened to the court of Edessa or Antioch. The highways of the East were crowded with Homoousian, and Arian, and Semi-Arian, and Euromian bishops, who struggled to outstrip each other in the holy race; the spartments of the palace resounded with their clamours; and the ears of the prince were assaulted, and perhaps astonished, by the singular mixture of metaphysical argument and passionate invective.3 The moderation of Joyan, who recommended concord and charity and referred the disputants to the sentence of a future council, was interpreted as a symptom of indifference; but his attachment to the Nicene creed was at length discovered and declared by the reverence which he expressed for the celestial*

I foresh restored to the church riv appaier server; a foreible and comprehensive expression (Ph. Acceptas, I via c 5, with Golefroy's Description, p 303, Southern I via c 1 [The phrase means the policy of Constant as, cp Scholer, it 350]. The new law which condemned the rape or marriage of mins it of Theol 1 ix in vay leg 2, is eauggerated by Soromen who supposes that an Amount glame the eduliery of the heart, was panished at h death by the everge's legislator [Javan's Coreyrean interrption bousts that he destroyed pagan tempher 'Rangers' overly on Rupous Mahamafas, C. I. G. 8608.)

As compute Socrates, I said, as, and Philostorgias, I visit c. 6, with Godefroy's

Descriptions p 330.

The word colored family expresses the empous and extravagnat flattery of the emperor to the archbishop, ric risk row steer car have openiorise. See the original epister in Athanasias tom it p 31[Migne's Patr Grace (on 26 p Br3]. Gregory Naz intere that xx p 302 [Migne's Ol 35 p 1721] celebrates the friendship of Joseph and Athanasias. The primare's journey was advised by the Egyptian monks (Talemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 221).

virtues of the great Athanasius. The intrepid veteran of the faith, at the age of seventy, had issued from his retreat on the first intelligence of the tyrant's death. The acclamations of the people seated him once more on the archiepiscopal throne; and he wisely accepted, or anticipated, the invitation of Jovian. The venerable figure of Athanasius, his calm courage, and insinuating eloquence, sustained the reputation which he had already acquired in the courts of four successive princes,3 As soon as he had gained the confidence, and secured the faith, of the Christian emperor, he returned in triumph to his diocese, and continued, with mature counsels and undiminished vigour, to direct, ten years longer, the ecclesiastical government of the an any Alexandria, Egypt, and the Catholic church. Before his departure from Antioch, he assured Jovian that his orthodox devotion would be rewarded with a long and peaceful reign. Athanasius had reason to hope that he should be allowed either the ment of a successful prediction or the excuse of a grateful, though meffectual, prayer.

The slightest force, when it is applied to assist and guide the jordan natural descent of its object, operates with irresistable weight; was and Jovian had the good fortune to embrace the religious opinions which were supported by the spirit of the times and the zeal and numbers of the most powerful sect." Under his reign, Christianity obtained an easy and lasting victory; and, as soon as the simile of royal patronage was withdrawn, the genius of paganism, which had been fondly raised and cherished by the arts of Julian, sunk irrecoverably in the dust. In many cities, the temples were shut or deserted: the philosophers, who had

Athanisium, at the court of Antioch, is agreeably represented by La Bleterie

*Athanasis, at the court of Antioch, is agreeably represented by La Bifterie (Hist de Joven, tom. i. p. 121-148). he translates the singular and original conferences of the emperor, the primate of bigspt, and the Arian deputies. The Abla's not satisfied with the coarse pleasantry of Jovian; but his partiality for Athanas, as assumes, in Ars eyes, the charaster of justice.

The true sees of his death is perplexed with some difficulties [Titlemont, Mém. Ecclés, tom. viii. p., 719-723]. But the date (A. 12-723), May 2) which seems the most consistent with history and reason is nitified by his authentic life. Maffer, Osseressions Letterane, tom. In, p. 81. [So Index of Heoriastic Letters; the Hist. Accepts exist and May 1.

Hist, Aceph gives 3rd May,]
"See the observations of Valescus and Jorth (Remarks on Ecclesiatical History, vol. v. p. 38) on the england letter of Athanasius, which is presented by Theodoret it iv. c. j. [See Migne's Pate Ge., vol. 20, p. 813 is. In some Max this indiscreet promise is omitted; perhaps by the Catholics, jealous of the prophetic fame of their leader

*Athanas in apid Theodoret, I. iv c. 3) magnifies the number of the orthodox, who composed the whole world, angul entire our in Apideo appresents. This asset too was verified in the space of thirty or forty yours.

abused their transient favour, thought it prudent to shave their beards and disguise their profession; and the Christians rejoiced. that they were now in a condition to forgive, or to revenge, the injuries which they had suffered under the preceding reign. The consternation of the Pagan world was dispelled by a wise and gracious edict of toleration; in which Jovian explicitly declared that, although he should severely punish the sacrilegious rites of magic, his subjects might excreise, with freedom and safety. the ceremonies of the ancient worship. The memory of this law has been preserved by the orator Themistius, who was deputed by the senate of Constantinople to express their loyal devotion for the new emperor. Themistius expatiates on the elemency of the Divine Nature, the facility of human error, the rights of conscience, and the independence of the mind; and, with some eloquence, inculcates the principles of philosophical toleration; whose aid Superstition herself, in the hour of her distress, is not ashamed to implore. He justly observes that, in the recent changes, both religions had been alternately disgraced by the seeming acquisition of worthless proselytes, of those votaries of the reigning purple who could pass, without a reason and without a blush, from the church to the temple, and from the alters of Jupiter to the sacred table of the Christians,10

Mis progress from Astioth, A D ast, Getsbar

In the space of seven months, the Roman troops, who were now returned to Antioch, had performed a march of fifteen hundred miles; in which they had endured all the hardships of war, of famine, and of climate. Notwithstanding their services, their fatigues, and the approach of winter, the timid and impatient Jovian allowed only, to the men and horses, a respite of six weeks. The emperor could not sustain the indiscreet and malicious millery of the people of Antioch.¹¹ He was impatient to possess the palace of Constantinople, and to prevent

*Socrates, I. iii. c. 24. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 231) and Libanius (Orat. Perentalis, c. 248, p. 359) express the living sentiments of their respective factions.

³⁰ Themistrus, Orat. v. p. 64.71, edit. Harduin, Paris, t684. The Abbé de la Bitterne judiciously remarks (Hist de Joven, tom : p. 199) that Sozomen has forgot the general teleration, and Themistias the establishment of the catholic religion. Each of their turned away from the object which he disliked and wished to suppress the part of the edict the least honourable, in his opinion to the emperor Jovan. [We cannot after from Themistias that in edict of teleration was issued; the oration which to induce Jovan to issue such an edict. Op the firsts of Libanius, Iw. cit., and Epitaph., p. 614. So Schiller, Gesch. der rom Kaiserreit 6, 347.]

11 O. δε 'Αντουρείς ούς ηδεως διεκευτα προς αυτον Δλλ' ανακωντος αύτδυ φίδες και καρφέωνς, και τοις καλαυμένοις δαμωσσοις (famosis likellis). Johan Antiochen in Excerpt Valesian. p. 84 ([Müller, F. (k. H. iv. p. 607]). The likels of Antioch may be admitted on very slight evidence.

the ambition of some competitor, who might occupy the vacant allegiance of Europe. But he soon received the grateful intelligence that his authority was acknowledged from the Directan Bosphorus to the Atlantic ocean. By the first letters which he dispatched from the camp of Mesopotamia he had delegated the military command of Ganl and Illyricum to Malanch, a brave and faithful officer of the nation of the Franka, and to his father-in-law, Count Lucillian, who had formerly distinguished his counige and conduct in the defence Malarich had declined an office to which he thought himself unequal; and Lucillian was massacred at Rhemas, in an accidental mutiny of the Batavian cohorts,12 lut the moderation of Jovinus, master-general of the eavalry, who forgave the intention of his disgrace, soon appeared the tunult and confirmed the uncertain minds of the soldiers. The outh of fidelity was administered and taken with loyal acclamations; and the deputies of the Western armies 13 saluted their new sovereign as he descended from Mount Taurus to the city of Tyana, in Cappadocia. From Tyana he continued his hasty march to Ancyra, capital of the province of Galatia: where Jovian assumed, with his infant son, the name and ensigns of the consulship.14 Dadastana,15 an obscure town, almost an a at an equal distance between Ancyra and Nice, was marked " for the fatal term of his journey and his life. After indulging himself with a plentiful, perhaps an intemperate, supper, he retired to rest; and the next morning the emperor Jovian was posses found dead in his bed. The cause of this sudden death was red in variously understood. By some it was ascribed to the consequences of an indigestion, occasioned either by the quantity of the wine, or the quality of the mushrooms, which he had swallowed in the evening. According to others, he was

124 compare Ammianus (xxv. to), who omits the name of the Batavians, with Zonomia (i m. p. 197 [c. 35]), who removes the acene of action from Rheims to WE 272 W. 213.

184 nos capita scholarum ordo castrensis appellat. Aminian. xxv. 10, and Vales ad been

164 upix v gettis, pertinaciter reluctantis, ne in curuli sella veheretur ex more, id roof more readst pretendebut. Augustus and his necessary respectfully solicited a dispersion of the for the sons in nephews whom they raised to the consulting but the countries of the first Brazila had never been dishemoused by an infant

The literary of Antonious fixes Dislastana 125 127 117 Rooman mees from New; 177 107 124, from Anexea Wesseling, Itherary p 142. The pilge of Borderux, by ometring some stages in lases the whole space from 242 to 181 unies. Wesseling p 174. [Dadastana, border town between Baltisna and Galatia, seeins before Discletion to have been in Bithynia but at this time was in Garatia. See Kamsay, Hist. Geography of Asia Minor, p. 241.]

sufficiented in his sleep by the vapour of charcoal; which extracted from the walls of the apartment the unwholesome inquiry into the death of a prince, whose reign and person were soon lorgotten, appears to have been the only circumstance which countenanced the malicious whispers of purson and domestic guilt 17. The body of Jovian was sent to Constantinople, to be interred with his predecessors; and the sad percession was met on the road by his wife Chanto, the daughter of Count Lucillun; who still wept the recent death of her father, and was hastening to dry her tears in the embraces of Her disappointment and grief were an Imperial husband. embittered by the anxiety of maternal tendemess. Six weeks before the death of Jovian, his infant son had been placed in the curule chair, adorned with the title of Nobiliansia, and the vain ensigns of the consulship. Unconscious of his fortuse, the royal youth, who, from his grandfather, assumed the name of Varroman, was reminded only by the jealousy of the government that he was the son of an emperor. Sixteen years afterwards he was still alive, but he had already been deprived of an eye; and his afflicted mother expected every hour that the innocent victim would be torn from her arms, to appease with his blood the suspicions of the reigning prince.18

Pacaccy of the throna. Feb. 17 36 After the death of Jovian, the throne of the Roman world remained ten days be without a master. The ministers and generals still continued to meet in council; to exercise their respective functions; to maintain the public order; and peaceably to conduct the army to the city of Nice in Bithyma, which

18 See Animianus (XX), 10), Eutropius (X 18), who might likewise be present; Jeroni toni 1 p. 26 ad Helodorius (2), Orosais (3), 11) Socomen (1 x 0.2), Zamata (1 i. p. 197, 193 < 35.), and Zonaras, toni n. l. xiii p. 28, 29 is 14.1. We cannot expect a perfect agreement, and we shall not discuss monite differences.

If A minimus unusufful of his usual candour and good sense compares the death of the harmen of wan to that of the second Africanus, who had excited the four and resentment of the popular faction.

attenues to confort a widow by the examples of clustrous masterance; and one remains to confort a widow by the examples of clustrous masterance; and one remains to find the conformation of the conformation

18 Let days appeared scarcely sufficient for the march and election. But it may be observed at 1 that the generals might command the expeditions use of the pulsa posts for themse were, these attendants and messengers. 2 I had the tree at 10 the color of the rules, marched in many do soom, and that the head of the column might arrive at Nice, when the rear halfold at Ancyrta.

was chosen for the place of the election. in a solemn assembly of the civil and military powers of the empire, the diadem was again unanimously offered to the prefect Sallust. He enjoyed the glory of a second refusal; and, when the virtues of the father were alleged in favour of his son, the prefect, with the firmness of a disinterested patriot, declared to the electors that the feeble age of the one and the unexpenenced youth of the other were equally incapable of the laborious duties of government. Several candidates were proposed, and, after weighing the objections of character or situation, they were successively rejected; but, as soon as the name of Valentiman was pronounced, the merit of that officer united the suffrages suchoa and of the whole assembly, and obtained the sincere approbation Variation of Sallust himself. Valentinian 21 was the son of count Gratian.22 a native of Cibalis, in Pannonia, who, from an (Visione) obscure condition, had raised himself, by matchless strength and dextenty, to the military commands of Africa and Britain; from which he retired with an ample fortune and suspicious integrity. The rank and services of Gratian contributed, however, to smooth the first steps of the promotion of his son; and afforded hun an early opportunity of displaying those solid and useful qualifications which raised his character above the ordinary level of his fellow-soldiers. The person of Valentinian was tall, graceful, and majestic. His manly countenance. deeply marked with the impression of sense and spirit, inspired his friends with awe, and his enemies with fear; and, to second the efforts of his undaunted courage, the son of Gratian had inherited the advantages of a strong and healthy constitution. By the habits of chastity and temperance, which restrain the appetites and invigorate the faculties, Valentinian preserved his own, and the public, esteem. The avocations of a military life had diverted his youth from the elegant pursuits of literature; he was ignorant of the Greek language and the arts of rhetoric; but, as the mind of the orator was never dis-

^{*} Americans, XXVI T. Zos mus, l. m. p. 168 (c. 25). Philostorgius, l. v., c., 8 and tradeferr. Disserted p. 134. Philostorgius who appears to have obtained some cure is and authentic intergence accretes the choice of Valent man to the priefect Sollast Secund is, not Scient, the number general Arietic is Discilluph is court of the domestics and the Patrician Dotrands whose pressing recommendatuon from An yea had a weights of he we in the election

a American is xxx 7, 41, and the younger Valle by t 40] have furnished the portract d V entitions; which naturally, precedes and illustrates the history of his reign [ATI much material is Simmarch & Or 1 op Appendix 1

2 [Inscription in memory of Gratian C. I. L. 8, 7014]

converted or tend perpendit he was able to when a the property prompted time to be seen the decided work merges with and and make constant. The sound make a second on the one and that he had during that he was some to inquened by the normal dispose and affective security or our se toranged and entered the latter of the conis the time of it an he provided the tonger of congress or the material which he product expressed for the material magnet and a social west from his subsequent contact the the principal and management from a large and was the effect of authors more rather than or Christian and the our pertended however, and the employed by a servery who effermed to ment 2 and in the carron events of the Person was an approved the regulation when he had anything account. AS THE CASES OF the RAIDS. The resents and surveys with where we represent the apportunit commences from the commences that to for farror of Jones, and to the accompanie command of the county several, or energency, of Targetteers, of the descents in the suren from Antact, he had reacted he S. Total Park praction of Aneres, when he was unexpectedly secured whose guit and without intrigue, to swame a the metithird year of his age, the absolute government of the Roman THE BATE

The architecture of the ministers and generals at Nice was of him amount more it were confirmed by the voice of the army. The aged rainant, who had long observed the irregular fortunteess of propriar assembles, proposed, under pain of death, that work of these persons whose rank in the service might exerte a party in their favour should appear in public, on the day of the inaugustation. Yet such was the prevalence of amount experiences interval, because it happened to be the intercalation of the Baseatile. 3 At length, when the hour was supposed

Mark of all appears when more to cate Gener Los man is a pass and at the series of the series of Parkers the first might be to a series of the best of the series of the best of the control of the contr

" An art and the grown was a seen and the seen of the

[&]quot;As According to the way obliged to around the emperor to the temple he steve a pre- executed personned to partly him, with least a ster in the con- in the large step step in the control of the con- of personnel to the control of the con- of the con-

to be propitious. Valentinian showed himself from a lofty tribunal; the judicious choice was applauded; and the new prince was solemnly invested with the diadem and the purple, amulst the acclamations of the troops, who were disposed in martial order round the tribunal. But, when he stretched forth his hand to address the armed multitude, a busy whisper was accidentally started in the ranks, and insensibly swelled into a loud and imperious clamour, that he should name, without delay, a colleague in the empire. The intrepid calmness of Valentiman obtained silence and commanded respect, and he thus addressed the assembly: "A few minutes since it was in your power, fellow-soldiers, to have left me in the obscurity of a private station. Judging, from the testimony of my past life, that I deserved to reign, you have placed me on the throne. It is now my duty to consult the safety and interest of the republic. The weight of the universe is undoubtedly too great for the hands of a feeble mortal. I am conscious of the limits of my abilities and the uncertainty of my life; and far from declining, I am anxious to solicit, the assistance of a worthy colleague. But, where discord may be fatal, the choice of a faithful friend requires mature and serious deliberation. That dehberation shall be my care. Let your conduct be dutiful and consistent. Retire to your quarters; refresh your minds and bodies, and expect the accustomed donative on the accession of a new emperor." 35 The astonished troops, with a mixture of pride, of satisfaction, and of terror, confessed the voice of their master. Their angry clamours subsided into silent reverence; and Valentinian, encompassed with the eagles of the legions and the various banners of the cavalry and infantry, was conducted, in warlike pomp, to the palace of Nice. As he was sensible, however, of the importance of preventing some rash declaration of the soldiers, he consulted the assembly of the chiefs; and their real sentiments were concisely expressed by the generous freedom of Dagalaiphus. " Most excellent prince," said that officer, "if you consider only your family, you have a brother, if you love the republic, look round for the most deserving of the Romans," 27 The emperor, who suppressed his

appellation of Beneritie, which marks the inauspicious year (Augustin ad the calends of March. (Both 24th Fela and 25th Feb. were easied A D. sy Kal.

* Valentisian's first speech is full in Ammunus (EVVI. 2); concise and sententi-

ous in P) | storgue (1 in c 8)

**St ties that, Imperator optime habes fratrent; st Rempublicam, quere
ten vectors. Amment axis & in the division of the empire, Valentinian
retained that success counsellor for himself (c. 6).

etater am bratisma Valend A D Ma March 20 displeasure, without altering his intention, slowly proceeded from Nice to Nicomedia and Constantinople. In one of the suburbs of that capital, 25 thirty days after his own elevation, he bestowed the title of Augustus on his brother Valens; and, as the boldest patriots were convinced that their opposition, without being serviceable to their country, would be fatal to themselves, the declaration of his absolute will was received with silent submission. Valens was now in the thirty-sixth year of his age; but his abilities had never been exercised in any employment, military or civil; and his character had not impired the world with any sunguine expectations. He possessed, however, one quality, which recommended him to Valentinian, and preserved the domestic peace of the empire a devoit and grateful attachment to his benefactor, whose superiority of genus, as well as of authority, Valens humbly and cheerfully acknowledged in every action of his life. 50

The Boat division of the exister and western emptres. A.D. 204, June (July) Before Valentiman divided the provinces, he reformed the administration of the empire. All ranks of subjects, who had been injured or oppressed under the reign of Julian, were invited to support their public accusations. The silence of mankind attested the spotless integrity of the prefect Sallust, and his own pressing solicitations that he might be permitted to retire from the business of the state were rejected by Valentiman with the most honourable expressions of friendship and esteem. But among the favourites of the late emperor there were many who had abused his credulity or superstition, and who could no longer hope to be protected either by favour or justice. The greater part of the ministers of the palace and the governors of the provinces were removed from their respective stations; yet the eminent merit of some officers was distinguished from the obnoxious crowd; and, notwith-standing the opposite clamours of seal and resentment, the

In suburbane Ammanus, xxx. 4. The funous Helderren, or field of Mars, was distint from Constant sopre-rither seven stadia or series miles. See Valence and to trother, ad occ. and Ducange, Const. 1. ii p. 140, 141, 172, 173. [On the Presents not at Blachernae, where Ducange put it. See above, vol. ii. Appendix 9, p. 445.]

2 from periodic legitimum potestatis; sed in modum apparators more ground.

Library of my appreciated to Ammin xxvi 4 [Form day Valents morrigorum to program of a common state of the st

Min to the ending the violence of Zonarra, Suiday, and the Pavelial Chromele, M. to Tiber on till at des Empereurs, tom v p (91) nucles to disbebeve these storing in wanter uses a un payer.

12 Furapies celebrates and enaggerates the sufferings of Maximus (p. 82-83) [fire in and 1649 p too of 1649, yet he illow that the sightst or magnetic fig. its favourite of Julian and the personal enemy of Valentinian, was dismassed on the payment of a small fine.

whole proceedings of this delicate inquiry appear to have been conducted with a reasonable share of wisdom and moderation.22 The festivity of a new reign received a short and suspicious interruption from the sudden illness of the two princes; but, as soon as their health was restored, they left Constantinople in the beginning of the spring. In the eastle or palace of Mediana, only three miles from Naissus, they executed the solemn and final division of the Roman empire.35 Valentinian bestowed on his brother the rich profecture of the East, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persia; whilst he reserved for his immediate government the warlike prefectures of Illyricum, Italy and Goul, from the extremity of Greece to the Caledonian rampart; and from the rampart of Caledonia to the foot of Mount Atlas. The provincial administration remained on its former basis, but a double supply of generals and magistrates was required for two councils and two courts: the division was made with a just regard to their peculiar merit and situation, and seven master-generals were soon created, either of the cavalry or When this important business had been anucably infantry. transacted, Valentinian and Valens embraced for the last time. The emperor of the West established his temporary residence at Milan; and the emperor of the East returned to Constantinople, to assume the dominion of fifty provinces, of whose language he was totally ignorant,36

The tranquility of the East was soon disturbed by rehellion ; Revolt of and the throne of Valens was threatened by the daring attempts A.D. So. of a rwal, whose affinity to the Emperor Julian 3 was his sole ment, and had been his only crime. Procomus had been hastily promoted from the obscure station of a tribune and a notary to the joint command of the army of Mesopotamia; the public opinion already named him as the successor of a prince who was destitute of natural heirs; and a vain rumour was propagated by his friends, or his enemies, that Julian, before the altar of the Moon, at Carriae, had privately invested Procopius with the

The loose assertions of a general diagrace (Zosmus, 1 iv. p. 201 (c. 2)) are detected in 1 refuted by Talamont (tom. v. p. 21).

The transition of a trees, which for the first into the Latin language, the deat of a trees, which for the first into the Latin language, the deat of his when any recommand in the respective of a trees, which for the first into to part its Latin language, the deat of his when any recommand in a very expressed by the mode entires, command a constant with the mode entires, command a constant with the constant and the constant and

of Process or ght he as at rost feet ma and Count Julian, the mother and uncle of the apostate. Ducange, bam Byzantin, p. 49.

Imperial purple. He endeavoured, by his dutiful and submissive behaviour, to disarm the jealousy of Jovian; resigned, without a contest, his military command; and retired, with hu wife and family, to cultivate the ample patrimony which be possessed in the province of Cappadocia. These useful and innocent occupations were interrupted by the appearance of an officer, with a band of soldiers, who, in the name of his new sovereigns, Valentinian and Valens, was dispatched to conduct the unfortunate Procopius either to a perpetual prison or an ignominious death. His presence of mind procured him a longer respite and a more splendid fate. Without presuming to dispute the royal mandate, he requested the indulgence of a few moments to embrace his weeping family; and, while the vigilance of his guards was relaxed by a plentiful entertainment, he dexterously escaped to the sea-coast of the Euxine. from whence he passed over to the country of Bosphorus. In that sequestered region he remained many months, exposed to the hardships of exile, of solitude, and of want; his melancholy temper brooding over his misfortunes, and his mind agitated by the just apprehension that, if any accident should discover his name, the faithless Barbarians would violate, without much scruple, the laws of hospitality. In a moment of impatience and despair, Procopius embarked in a merchant vessel, which made sail for Constantinople; and holdly aspired to the rank of a sovereign, because he was not allowed to enjoy the security of a subject. At first he lurked in the villages of Bithyna, continually changing his habitation, and his disguise. IT By degrees he ventured into the capital, trusted his life and fortune to the fidelity of two friends, a senator and an cunuch, and conceived some hopes of success from the intelligence which he obtained of the actual state of public affairs. The body of the people was infected with a spirit of discontent: they regretted the justice and the abilities of Sallust, who had been imprudently dismissed from the prefecture of the East. They despised the character of Valens, which was rude without vigour and feeble without mildness. They dreaded the influence of his father-in-

have premoted, or obstructed, his pretensions,

One of his retrents was a country house of Euromus, the heavier. The master was absent, innocent, gnorant; vet be narrowly escaped a sentence of death, and was bunished into the remote parts of Mauritania (Philostorg, Fix. c.

\$. 8, and Godefroy's Dissert. p. 369-378).

^{*}Ammian xxiii 3, xxvi 6. He mentions the report with much bestation. summant obscuras fame; nono com detranctor exitta serus. It serves have ever to mark that Precopus was a pagen. Yet his religion does not appear to

law, the Patrician Petronius, a cruel and rapacious minister, who rigorously exacted all the arrears of tribute that might remain unpaid since the reign of the emperor Aurelian. The circumstances were propitions to the designs of an usurper. The hostile measures of the Persians required the presence of Valens in Syria; from the Danube to the Euphrates the troops were in motion; and the capital was occasionally filled with the soldiers who passed, or repassed, the Thracian Bosphorus. Two cohorts of Gauls were persuaded to listen to the secret proposals of the conspirators; which were recommended by the promise of a liberal donative; and, as they still revered the memory of Julian, they easily consented to support the hereditary claim of his proscribed kinsman. At the dawn of day they were drawn up near the baths of Anastasia; and Procopius, clothed in a purple garment, more suitable to a player than to a monarch, appeared, as if he rose from the dead, in the midst of Constantinople. The soldiers, who were prepared for his reception, saluted their trembling prince with shouts of joy and your of fidelity. Their numbers were soon increased by a sturdy band of peasants, collected from the adjacent country; and Procopius, shielded by the arms of his adherents, was successively conducted to the tribunal, the senate, and the palace. During the first moments of his tumultuous reign, he was astonished and terrified by the gloomy silence of the people; who were either ignorant of the cause or apprehensive of the event. But his military strength was superior to any actual resistance : the malcontents flocked to the standard of rebellion; the poor were excited by the hopes, and the rich were intimidated by the fear, of a general pillage; and the obstinate credulity of the multitude was once more deceived by the promised advantages of a revolution. The magistrates were seized; the prisons and arsenals broke open; the gates, and the entrance of the harbour, were diligently occupied; and, in a few hours, Procopius became the absolute, though precarious, master of the Imperial city, The usurper improved this unexpected success with some degree of courage and dexterity. He artfully propagated the rumours and opinions the most favourable to his interest; while he deluded the populace by giving audience to the frequent, but imaginary, ambassadors of distant nations. The large bodies of troops stationed in the cities of Thrace and the fortresses of the Lower Danube were gradually involved in the guilt of rebellion :

[.] Sister of Constantius. The site seems not to have been determined.]

THE DECLINE AND FALL

14

and the Gothic princes consented to supply the sovereign of Constantinople with the formidable strength of several thousand auxinaries. His generals passed the Bosphorus, and subdaed, without an effort, the unarmed but wealthy provinces of Bithymis and Asia. After an honourable defence, the city and island of Cyzicus yielded to his power; the renowned legions of the Jovians and Herculans embraced the cause of the usurper whom they were ordered to crush; and, as the veterans were con-tinually augmented with new levies, he soon appeared at the head of an army whose valour, as well as numbers, were not unequal to the greatness of the contest. The son of Hornusdas," a youth of spirit and ability, condescended to draw his sword against the lawful emperor of the East; and the Persian prince was immediately invested with the ancient and extraordinary powers of a Roman Proconsul. The alliance of Faustina, the widow of the emperor Constantins, who intrusted herself and her daughter to the hands of the asurper, added dignity and reputation to his cause. The princess Constantia, who was then about five years of age, accompanied in a litter the march of the army. She was shown to the multitude in the arms of her adopted father; and, as often as she passed through the ranks. the tenderness of the soldiers was inflamed into martial fury; " they recollected the glories of the house of Constantine, and they declared, with loyal acclamation, that they would shed the last drop of their blood in the defence of the royal infant.41

In the meanwhile, Valentinian was alarmed and perplexed by the doubtful intelligence of the revolt of the East, difficulties of a German war forced him to confine his immediate care to the safety of his own dominions; and, as every channel of communication was stopt or corrupted, he listened, with doubtful anxiety, to the rumours which were industriously spread, that the defeat and death of Valens had left Procomus

Hormsdæ maturo juvent, Hormsdæ regalis illius filio, potestatem Proconsuls octal to the more seteram, et ledis recture. Annuan axis. 8. The Pert is prince escaped with horizon and safety, and was afterwork (a to 380 true of 150 de same extra admary office of procons if of Bullyn a T. Jersont, Hist. des Impereurs tom v.p. 201). I am gnor int whether the more of bassan was des Impereurs, ich v. p. 2041. I din ghor itt whether the moc of Sasah was pre-pagated. I and a to, 614-20 pope Hermadas; but he was a native of Fras.no. in It. i. Pig. Bres. Ponthe ton. p. 247.

2 Th. a tot erfel was ofter-amis the wife of the Emperor Gratian; but she died wang and children. See Diearge 1 am. By mintin p. 48. (a).

3 Sept. a to culm as summy prospoun was the language of Proceptus, who included to be to the obscure both and fortuntous election of the upstart Pan-

o miao. Ammun, zavi. 7

sole master of the eastern provinces. Valens was not dead: but, on the news of the rebellion, which he received at Caesarea, he basely despaired of his life and fortune; proposed to negotiate with the usurper, and discovered his secret inclination to abdicate the Imperial purple. The timid monarch was saved from disgrace and ruin by the firmness of his ministers, and their abilities soon decided in his favour the event of the eivil war. In a season of tranquillity, Sallust had resigned without a murmur; but, as soon as the public safety was attacked, he ambitiously solicited the pre-emmence of toil and danger; and the restoration of that virtuous minister to the prefecture of the East was the first step which indicated the repentance of Valens and satisfied the minds of the people. The reign of Procopius was apparently supported by powerful armies and obedient provinces. But many of the principal officers, military as well as civil, had been urged, either by motives of duty or interest, to withdraw themselves from the guilty scene; or to watch the moment of betraying and deserting the cause of the usurper. Lupicinus advanced, by hasty marches, to bring the legions of Syria to the aid of Valens, Arintheus, who, in strength, beauty, and valour, excelled all the heroes of the age, attacked with a small troop a superior body of the rebels. When he beheld the faces of the soldiers who had served under his banner, he commanded them, with a loud voice, to seize and deliver up their pretended leader; and such was the ascendant of his genius that this extraordinary order was instantly obeyed.43 Arbetio, a respectable veteran of the great Constantine, who had been distinguished by the honours of the consulship, was persuaded to leave his retirement, and once more to conduct an army into the field. In the heat of action, calmly taking off his helmet, he shewed his grey hairs, and venerable countenance; saluted the soldiers of Procopius by the endearing names of children and companions, and exhorted them, no longer to support the desperate cause of a contemptible tyrant; but to follow their old commander, who had so often led them to honour and victory. In the two

^{**} Et dedignatus hominem superare certamine despicabilem nuclos tatis et ceias fiducial corporis, ipsis host bus jussat su im vari re rectorem itique da turmanum antes granus umbrat s comprensiv sustim man bus. The strength and beauty of Arizheus, the new Hercales, are celebrated by St. Bus. Aboutposea that God had created him as an amantable model of the hum in apocing. The pumires and sculptors could not express his figure the historium apported fabulicus when they related his exploits (Ammian, axvi. [8] and Vales, addited.

engagements of Thyatira 43 and Nacolia, the unfortunate Procopius was deserted by his troops, who were seduced by the instructions and example of their perfidious officers. wandering some time among the woods and mountains of Phrygia, he was betrayed by his desponding followers, conducted to the Imperial camp, and immediately beheaded. He suffered the ordinary fate of an unsuccessful usurper; but the acts of cruelty which were exercised by the conqueror, under the forms of legal justice, excited the pity and indignation of mankind "

Such indeed are the common and natural fruits of despotum and rebellion. But the inquisition into the crime of magawhich, under the reign of the two brothers, was so rigorously prosecuted both at Rome and Antioch, was interpreted as the fatal symptom either of the displeasure of heaven or of the depravity of mankind. 40 Let us not hesitate to indulge a liberal pride that in the present age the enlightened part of Europe has abolished 46 a cruel and odious prejudice, which reigned in every climate of the globe and adhered to every system of religious opinions.47 The nations and the sects of the Roman world admitted with equal credulity and similar abhorrence the reality of that infernal art 48 which was able to control the

The same field of battle is placed by Amminius in Lycia, and by Zorama at Thyntica, which are at the distance of 150 m les from each other. But Thy 172 allustus I yeo (Plan Hist Natur v 31. Cellarius, Geograph Antiq, t is p 500; and the transcribers in ght easily convert an obscure river into a well known province. Annuanus does not mention the hattle of Thyatira, and merely says ire tendebat ad Laciam Nacolia is now Seid Ghaza.

44 The adventures usurpation, and fall of Procopius are related, in a regular series, by Annuanas (xxx. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10) and Zov nus it, is p. 20, 210 fc 48. They often lastrate, and seld-in contradict each other. Them stars (Coat at 2 They often liastrate, and seid-in contradict each other. I from this (least the property of eg) adds some base panegyne, and humanius ip 83, 84. Miller is p. 26, 27. Some malicious sature. For date of defeat see I latins Fort come, ed. Moriement. Chron. Min. i. p. 241. See also recount in Symmachias. Or 17, 79. Libanius de ulciscend Jumin. nece, e. ix. p. 18. 150. The sophist deplees the jubble frenzy, but he does not (after their deaths) impeach the justice. I the

the emperors. [Milman observes, "The persecution against pullosopters and their libraries was carried on with no much fully that from this time (A D 374) the names of the Gentile philosophers became almost extinct and the Christian philosophers

sophy and religion, especially in the East, established their ascendancy.,

The French and English lawyers of the present age allow the theory and deny the practice, of witchcraft. Denisart Recueil des Décisions de Jun sprudence, au not Services, t. iv. p. 553. Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 504. As

private mason always prevents or outsite ps public wisdom, the president Montesqueu Esprit des Lois, I am c. 5, 6) rejects the existence of magic.

See Octares de Bayle, tum of p. (67 5%). The sceptic of Rotterdam existints according to his custom a strange medley of loose knowledge and level; with

"The program of stranger medicy of losse knowledge and serious and the Processes and the Coetic Han de l'Academie, &c. 1 von p. 25. But they could not have defended the obscure distinction against the acute logic of Rayle. In the lewish and it instants strengel demons are inferral uprite, and all commerce with them is idelately appearance with the deserves death and change on the latter angle, contain L. F. A. Maury, La magic et l'astrologic dans l'antiquité, 1860.]

eternal order of the planets and the voluntary operations of the human mind. They dreaded the mysterious power of spells and incantations, of potent herbs, and execrable rites; which could extinguish or recall life, inflame the passions of the soul, blast the works of creation, and extort from the reluctant demons the secrets of futurity. They believed, with the wildest inconsistency, that this preternatural dominion of the air, of earth, and of hell, was exercised, from the vilest motives of malice or gain, by some wrinkled hags and itinerant sorecrers, who passed their obscure lives in penury and contempt.49 The arts of magic were equally condemned by the public opinion and by the laws of Rome; but, as they tended to gratify the most imperious passions of the heart of man, they were continually proscribed, and continually practised. On imaginary cause is capable of producing the most serious and mischievous effects. The dark predictions of the death of an emperor, or the success of a conspiracy, were calculated only to stimulate the hopes of ambition and to dessolve the ties of fidelity; and the intentional guilt of magic was aggravated by the actual crimes of treason and sacrdege, by Such vain terrors disturbed the peace of society and the happiness of individuals; and the harmless flame which insensibly melted a waxen image might derive a powerful and permicious energy from the afinghted fancy of the person whom it was maliciously designed to represent.32 From the infusion of those herbs which were

The Canidia of Horsee (Carm 1, v. od. 5 with Ducier's and Sanadon's illustrations) is a vulgar witch. The Frichtho of Lucin (Photsai, v. 430-830) is tedious, degrating but sometimes sublime. She chides the delay of the Forces, and theraters, with tremendous obscurity, to pronounce their real names to reveal the true infernal countenance of Hecate, to invoke the secret powers that he below hell it.

**Genus bominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fullax quod in civitate nostrà et veralitur semper et rechiebitur. Taut Hist. t. 22. See Augustin. de Courste Des. l. viu c. 19, and the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. xv. with Godefroy's

Commenters

The pursection of Anticch was occasioned by a criminal consultation. The twenty four letters of the alphabet were arranged round a magic tripod; and a divising rang, which had been placed in the centre, pointed to the first four letters in the name of the future emperor, which is a Theodorus (perhaps with many others who owned the fatal syllables) was executed. Thoulosius succeeded, Lardner (Heithen Test momes, vol. iv. p. 343-372) has copiously and fairly examined this dark transaction of the reign of Valens.

Vine at the durinest of three ut cera liquesest.

Uno redefinder gra — Virgit Pacobe vin. 80.

Devovet absentes, simularraque cerea ngat
Ond, in Epat Hypop ad Jason. Her vi.] 91.
Such vari incantations could affect the mind and increase the disease of Germanicas. Tacat, Annal n. 69.

supposed to possess a supernatural influence it was an easy step to the use of more substantial poison; and the folly of manked sometimes became the instrument, and the mask, of the most atrocious crimes. As soon as the zeal of informers was cocouraged by the ministers of Valens and Valentinian, they could not refuse to listen to another charge, too frequently mingled in the scenes of domestic guilt; a charge of a softer and les malignant nature, for which the plous, though excessive, mour of Constantine had recently decreed the punishment of death's This deadly and incoherent mixture of treason and magic of poison and adultery, afforded infinite gradations of guilt and innocence, of excuse and aggravation, which in these proceedings appear to have been confounded by the angry or corrupt passions of the judges. They easily discovered that the degree of their industry and discernment was estimated, by the Imperial court, according to the number of executions that were furnished from their respective tribunals. It was not without extreme reluctance that they pronounced a sentence of acquittal; but they eagerly admitted such evidence as was stained with perjury, or procured by torture, to prove the most improbable charges against the most respectable characters. The progress of the inquiry continually opened new subjects of crimi nal prosecution; the audacious informer, whose falsehood was detected, retired with impunity; but the wretched victim, who discovered his real or pretended accomplices, was seldom permitted to receive the price of his infamy. From the extremity of Italy and Asia, the young and the aged were dragged in chains to the tribunals of Rome and Antioch. Senators. matrons, and philosophers expired in ignominious and cruel tortures. The soldiers, who were appointed to guard the prisons, declared, with a murmur of pity and indignation, that their numbers were insufficient to oppose the flight or resistance of the multitude of captives. The wealthiest families were runed by fines and confiscations; the most innocent citizens trembled for their safety; and we may form some notion of the magnitude of the evil from the extravagant assertion of an ancient writer that, in the obnoxious provinces, the prisoners, the exiles, and the fugitives formed the greatest part of the inhabitants,68

⁸⁵See Henecous Antiquitat Juria Roman, tom ii. p. 353, &c. Cod. Theodosan, 1 ix tt 2 with Godefroy's Commentary.

³⁴The cruel persecution of Rome and Antoch is described, and most probably exaggerated, by Ammianus (axviii, 1, xxix, 1, 2), and Zosimus (l. iv. p. 216-218

When Tacitus describes the deaths of the innocent and The Granting the Valentinish illustrious Romans, who were sacrificed to the cruelty of the sas values first Caesars, the art of the historian, or the merit of the sufferers, excite in our breasts the most lively sensations of terror, of admiration, and of pity. The coarse and undistinguishing pencil of Ammisnus has delineated his bloody figures with tedious and disgusting accuracy But, as our attention is no longer engaged by the contrast of freedom and servitude, of recent greatness and of actual misery, we should turn with horror from the frequent executions which disgraced, both at Rome and Antioch, the reign of the two brothers,33 Valens was of a timid,56 and Valentinian of a choleric, disposition.57 An anxious regard to his personal safety was the ruling principle of the administration of Valens. In the condition of a subject, he had kused, with trembling awe, the hand of the oppressor; and, when he ascended the throne, he reasonably expected that the same fears which had subdued his own mind would secure the patient submission of his people. The favourites of Valens obtained, by the privilege of rapine and confiscation, the wealth which his economy would have refused." They urged, with persuasive cloquence, that, in all cases of treason, suspicion is equivalent to proof; that the power, supposes the intention, of mischief; that the intention is not less criminal than the act; and that a subject no longer deserves to live, if his life may threaten the safety, or disturb the repose, of his sovereign. The judgment of Valentinian was sometimes deceived and his confidence abused; but he would have silenced the informers with a contemptuous smile, had they presumed to alarm his fortitude by the sound of danger. They

[e. 14]). The philosopher Maxmus, with some justice, was involved in the charge of magic (Eurapius in Vit Sophist p. 88-86 [ed Commelin 1610]); and you get invostom, who had need only found one of the proscribed books, gave lamself for lost. I diamont, flist des Empereurs, tom: p. 340.

M. Consult the was last books of Ammuous, and more particularly the portraits

of the two royal brothers (xxx 8, 9, xxx 14, Tillement has collected from x. p. 12 if p. 127 133) from all integrate their virtues and vices.

M The pranger Victor asserts but 40 that he was valde timides yet he behaved as almost every man would do with descript resolution at the Area of an army. The same historian attempts to prove that his anger was harmless, American is observed \$1, 14, with more candour and judgment, occidental criminal ad contemptant vei leasure personne amplitud non-trabens, in sangueness are select

"Cum esset ad acerb intent natural calore propension... pursus per ignes suggested et gladus. Amunan axa 8 See axvii. 7

I have transferred the reproach of available from Valens to his servants. Avance more properly belongs to ministers than to kings; in whom that passion is commonly extengenhed by absonite possession.

praised his indexible love of justice; and, in the pursuit of justice, the emperor was couly tempted to consider element as a weakness and passion as a virtue. As long as he wrested with his equals, in the built competition of an active and and from life, Valentinian was seldem injured, and never insured with impunity if his prindence was arraigned, his spirit we applanded, and the proudest and most powerful generals were apprehensive of provoking the resentment of a fearless solder After he became master of the world, he unfortunately forget that, where no resistance can be made, no courage can be eserted, and, instead of consulting the dictates of reason and magnanimity, he indulged the funous emotions of his temper at a time when they were disgraceful to himself and fatal to the defenceless objects of his displeasure. In the government of his household, or of his empire, slight, or even marginary, offences, a hasty word, a casual omission, an involuntary delay, were chastned by a sentence of immediate death. The espressions which issued the most readily from the mouth of the emperor of the West were, "Strike off his head"; "Burn him alive"; "Let him be beaten with clubs till he expires"; " and ins most favoured ministers soon understood that, by a rash attempt to dispute, or suspend, the execution of his sangunary commands, they might involve themselves in the guilt and punishment of disobedience. The repeated gratification of this savage justice hardened the mind of Valentinian against pity and remorse; and the sallies of passion were confirmed by the haints of crucity. He could behold with calm satisfaction the convulsive agonies of torture and death; he reserved his friendship for those faithful servants whose temper was the most congenial to his own. The merit of Maximin, who had slaughtered the noblest families of Rome, was rewarded with the royal approbation and the prefecture of Gaul. Two fierce and enormous bears, distinguished by the appellations of lanoreme and Mara Aurea, could alone deserve to share the favour

[&]quot;Ale Comerations expressed a sentence of death with a took of pleasantry;

Ale Comeration at the caput, qui sib, mutan provinciam cupit." A boy who had a position hand a position form of the armourer, who had anade a position of the legitimate weight, &c., were the victims of his legitimate weight, &c., were the victims of

The reservate of Milan were an agent and three apparitors, whom Valentinian combinated for a godying a legal summons. Ammianus (xxxii. 7) strangely presented all who had been aquatiy executed were worshapped as martyra by that he status. His impartial idence does not allow us to believe that the great hambers of Blockwars was burnt alive for an act of oppression (Chron. Paschal, p. 202 [c. 338, ed. Bons]).

of Maximin. The cages of those trusty guards were always placed near the bed-chamber of Valentinian, who frequently amused his eyes with the grateful spectacle of seeing them tear and devour the bleeding limbs of the malefactors who were abandoned to their rage. Their diet and exercises were carefully inspected by the Roman emperor; and, when Innocence had earned her discharge by a long course of mentorious service, the faithful animal was again restored to the freedom of her native woods, 61

But in the culmer moments of reflection, when the mind of there have Valens was not agitated by fear, or that of Valentinian by rage, and the tyrant resumed the sentiments, or at least the conduct, of the father of his country. The dispassionate judgment of the Western emperor could clearly perceive, and accurately pursue, his own and the public interest; and the sovereign of the East, who imitated with equal doculty the various examples which he received from his elder brother, was sometimes guided by the wisdom and virtue of the prefect Sallust. Both princes invariably retained, in the purple, the chaste and temperate simplicity which had adorned their private life; and, under their reign, the pleasures of the court never cost the people a blush or a sigh. They gradually reformed many of the abuses of the times of Constantius; judiciously adopted and improved the designs of Julian and his successor; and displayed a style and spirit of legislation which might inspire posterity with the most favourable opinion of their character and government. It is not from the master of Innocence that we should expect the tender regard for the welfare of his subjects which prompted Valentinian to condemn the exposition of newborn infants; de and to establish fourteen skilful physicians, with stipends and privileges, in the fourteen quarters of Rome. The good sense of an illiterate soldier founded an useful and liberal institution for the education of youth, and the support of declining science.43 It was his intention that the arts of rhetoric

"Ut bene mentam in silvas justit abiri Innariam. Amman, xxix, 3, and Valesum ad locum

Streethe Code of Justinian, I, vin tit lii, leg. 2. Unusquisque sobolem suam nutrait. Qood is exponendam putaverst animalversion; que constitute est subjected. For the present I shall not interfere in the d spute between Noods and Bedersbock; how far, or how long, this unnatural practice had been condemned or abolished by law, philosophy, and the more cavilized state of society. [C,

a These salutary institutions are explained in the Theodosian Code, I. xiii. I. in. De professorsbur et Medicis, and I niv tit iv. De Studies liberalibus Urbis Rome. Besides our usual guide (Godefroy), we may consult Giannone (Istoria di Napoli, tom 1 p. 105 111), who has treated the interesting subject with the scal and curiosity of a man of letters who studies his domestic history.

and grammar should be taught in the Greek and Late languages in the metropolis of every province; and as the size and dignity of the school was usually proportioned to the importance of the city, the academies of Rome and Constantinople claimed a just and singular pre-emmence. The fracments of the literary edicts of Valentinian imperfectly represent the school of Constantinople, which was gradually improved by subsequent regulations. That school consisted of there-are professors in different branches of learning. One philosopher, and two lawyers; five sophists and ten grammarians for the Greek, and three orators and ten grammanans for the Lata. tongue; besides seven sembes, or, as they were then styled, antiquarians, whose laborious pens supplied the public library with fair and correct copies of the classic writers. The rule of conduct, which was prescribed to the students, is the more curious, as it affords the first outlines of the form and describine of a modern aniversity. It was required that they should bring proper certificates from the magistrates of their pative province. Their names, professions, and places of abode were regularly entered in a public register. The studious youth were severely prohibited from wasting their time in feasts in in the theatre; and the term of their education was limited to the age of twenty. The prefect of the city was empowered to chastise the idle and refractory, by stripes or expulsion, and he was directed to make an annual report to the master of the offices, that the knowledge and abdities of the scholars might be usefully applied to the public service. The institutions of Valentimum contributed to secure the benefits of peace and plenty; and the cities were guarded by the establishment of the Defensors,64 freely elected as the tribunes and advocates of the people, to support their rights and to expose their grievances before the tribunals of the civil magistrates, or even at the foot of the Imperial throne. The finances were diligently administered by two princes, who had been so long accustomed to the rigid economy of a private fortune; but in the receipt and application of the revenue a discerning eye might observe some difference between the government of the East and of the West. Valens was persuaded that royal liberality can be supplied only by public oppression, and his ambition never aspired to secure, by their actual distress, the future strength

³⁴ Cod. Theodos, Us, tit as, with Godeleop's Paratillos, which differently gleans from the rest of the code.

and prosperity of his people. Instead of increasing the weight of taxes, which, in the space of forty years, had been gradually doubled, he reduced, in the first years of his reign, one-fourth of the tribute of the East. 55 Valentinian appears to have been less attentive and less anxious to relieve the burthens of his people. He might reform the abuses of the fiscal administration; but he exacted, without scruple, a very large share of the private property; as he was convinced that the revenues. which supported the luxury of individuals, would be much more advantageously employed for the defence and improvement of the state. The subjects of the East, who enjoyed the present benefit, applauded the indulgence of their prince. The solid, but less splendid, merit of Valentinian was felt and acknowledged by the subsequent generation.66

But the most honourable circumstance of the character of valentains Valentinian is the firm and temperate impartiality which he to uniformly preserved in an age of religious contention. His tableton. strong sense, unemlightened, but uncorrupted, by study, declined, with respectful indifference, the subtle questions of theological The government of the Earth claimed his vigilance debate. and satisfied his ambition; and, while he remembered that he was the disciple of the church, he never forgot that he was the sovereign of the clergy. Under the reign of an apostate, he had signalised his zeal for the honour of Christianity: he allowed to his subjects the privilege which he had assumed for himself; and they might accept, with gratitude and confidence, the general toleration which was granted by a prince addicted to passion, but incapable of fear or of disguise,67 The Pagans, the Jews, and all the various sects which acknowledged the divine authority of Christ were protected by the laws from arbitrary power or popular insult; nor was any mode

Three times from Ammianus (xxx. 14) countenance a whole oration of Tien it us (viii p not rao), tuil of adulation, pedantry, and common place monality. The eloquent M. Thomas (tom. ... p 365-3,6) has amused himself with contenting the virtues and genius of Thomastius, who was not unworthy of the age in which he wed.

*Zosmus l w, p. 202 [c 3] Amman. 222 9. His reformation of costly abuses might entitle him to the praise of in provinciales admodum pareus, it testorum ubique molliens sarcinas. By some, his frugality was styled awarioe

(Jerom Chron. p. 180).

Theses want leges a me in exordio Imperii mei datze: quibus unicuique quod animo imbilisses olendi libera ficultas tributa est. Cod. Theodos 1 is 1st xxx. leg 9. To this dec author of Valentiman me may add the sarious testimonies of Animanias ivex 9, Joseph 1 is p. 204 [c. 3], and Sozomen [1 vi. c. 7, 21]. Baron is mostle exturally thame such rational toleration (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 370. No. 129 137, LD 376, No. 3, 4).

of worship prohibited by Valentinian, except those secret and criminal practices which abused the name of religion for the dark purposes of vice and disorder. The art of magic, as it was more crucily punished, was more strictly proscribed; but the emperor admitted a formal distinction to protect the ancient methods of divination, which were approved by the senate and exercised by the Tuscan haruspices. He had condemned, with the consent of the most rational Pagans, the licence of nocturnal sacrafices; but he immediately admitted the petition of Prætextatus, proconsul of Achaia, who represented that the life of the Greeks would become dreary and comfortless, if they were deprived of the invaluable blessing of the Eleusinian mysteries. Philosophy alone can boast (and perhaps it is no more than the boast of philosophy), that her gentle hand is able to eradicate from the human mind the latent and deadly principle of fanaticism. But this truce of twelve years, which was enforced by the wise and vigorous government of Valentinian, by suspending the repetition of mutual injuries. contributed to soften the manners, and abate the prejudices. of the religious factions.

Valone prolease Arianists and persecutor the Catholiea A.D. 107-576

The friend of toleration was unfortunately placed at a distance from the scene of the fiercest controversies. As soon as the Christians of the West had extricated themselves from the snares of the creed of Runni, they happily relapsed into the slumber of orthodoxy; and the small remains of the Arian party that still subsisted at Sirmium or Milan might be considered rather as objects of contempt than of resentment. But in the provinces of the East, from the Euxine to the extremity of Thebais, the strength and numbers of the hostile factions were more equally balanced; and this equality, instead of recommending the counsels of peace, served only to perpetuate the horrors of religious war. The monks and bishops supported their arguments by invectives; and their invectives were sometimes followed by blows. Athanasius still reigned at Alexandria: the thronex of Constantinople and Antioch were occupied by Arian prelates, and every episcopal vacancy was the occasion of a popular tumult. The Homoousians were fortified by the reconciliation of fifty-nine Macedonian, or Semi-Arian, bishops; but their secret reluctance to embrace the divinity of the Holy Ghost clouded the splendour of the triumph: and the declaration of Valens, who, in the first years of his reign, had imitated the impartial conduct of his brother, was an important victory on the side of Ananism. The two brothers had passed their

private life in the condition of catechumens; but the piety of Valens prompted him to solicit the sacrament of baptism, before he exposed his person to the dangers of a Gothic war. He naturally addressed himself to Eudoxus, 65 bishop of the Imperial city; and, if the ignorant monarch was instructed by that Arian pastor in the principles of heterodox theology, his misfortune, rather than his guilt, was the inevitable consequence of his erruneous choice. Whatever had been the determination of the emperor, he must have offended a numerous party of his Christian subjects; as the leaders both of the Homoousians and of the Arians believed that, if they were not suffered to reign, they were most cruelly injured and oppressed. After he had taken this decisive step, it was extremely difficult for him to preserve either the virtue or the reputation of impartiality. He never aspired, like Constantius, to the fame of a profound theologian; but, as he had received with simplicity and respect the tenets of Eudoxus, Valens resigned his conscience to the direction of his ecclesiastical guides, and promoted, by the influence of his authority, the re-union of the Athanasian heretics to the body of the catholic church. At first, he pitied their blindness; by degrees he was provoked at their obstinacy; and he insensibly hated those sectaries to whom he was an object of hatred. 60 The feeble mind of Valens was always swayed by the persons with whom he familiarly conversed; and the exile or imprisonment of a private citizen are the favours the most readily granted in a despotic court. Such punishments were frequently inflicted on the leaders of the Homoousian party; and the misfortune of fourscore ecclesiastics of Constantinople, who, perhaps accidentally, were burnt on shipboard, was imputed to the cruel and premeditated malice of the emperor and his Arian ministers. in every contest, the catholies (if we may anticipate that name) were obliged to pay the penalty of their own faults, and of those of their adversaries. In every election, the claims of the Arian candidate obtained the preference, and, if they were opposed by the majority of the people, he was usually supported by the authority of the civil magistrate, or even by the terrors of a military force. The enemies of Athanasius attempted to disturb

Fudoxus was of a mild and timid disposition. When he baptized Valens — resource was or a mind and timed disposition. When he haptered Valena (A D 567, he must have been extremely old, since he had studed theology fifty-five years before, under I uran a learned and picous marryr. The many inc. 44 16, 1 15, c. 4, with Godefroy, p. 82, 206, and Titlemont, Mem Eccies tom. v. P 474 480 fic.

**Gregory Namouron (Oral, xxv / =33) p. 432 [np. Migne, vol. 36 p. 217 159] insults the persecuting spirit of the Arians, as an infall ble symptom of error and hereay.

the last years of his venerable age; and his temporary retreat to his father's sepulchre has been celebrated as a afth carle. But the zeal of a great people who instantly flew to arms, intimdated the prefect, and the archbushop was permitted to end his life in peace and in glory, after a reign of lorty seven vest The death of Athanasius was the signal of the persecution of Raypt, and the Pagan minister of Valens, who forcible seated the worthless Lucius on the archiepiscopal throne, purchased the favour of the reigning party by the blood and sufferings of their Christian brethren. The free toleration of the heathen and Jewish worship was bitterly lamented, as a circumstante which aggravated the misery of the catholics and the guilt of the improve tyrant of the East."

The trumph of the orthodox party has left a deep stain of persecution on the memory of Valens; and the character of a prince who derived his virtues, as well as his vices, from a feetier understanding and a pusilianimous temper scarcely deserves the labour of an apology. Yet candour may discover some reasons to inspect that the ecclematical ministers of Valens often exceeded the orders, or even the intentions, of their master, and that the real measure of facts has been very liberally magnified by the vehement declamation and easy credulity of his antagonists." 1. The silence of Valentinian may suggest a probable argument, that the partial severities, which were exercised in the name and provinces of his colleague, amounted only to some obscure and inconsiderable deviations from the established system of religious toleration: and the judicious historian, who has praised the equal temper of the elder brother, has not thought himself obliged to contrast the tranquillity of the West with the cruel persecution of the East. 22 2. Whatever credit may be allowed to vague and distant reports, the character, or at least the behaviour, of Valens may be most distinctly seen in his personal transactions with the eloquent Basil, archbishop of Cararea, who had succeeded Athanasius in the management of

The sketch of the eccessistical government of Valens a drawn from Socialist Constant of value forement seaboularly tom. Ve ste and ix i.

in the Joston Remarks on Ecclematical History, vol. iv p. 78) has already

concered and an mated the same suspicion.

If this reflection is so observed and force his that Oronius I, vin. c. 32, 34: Jelans the persention the death of Vaien man. Sociates, on the other man support of or a special part of the other man support of the other fundamental part of the other stars for the other stars processing in the year 374 (Chat, x. p. 154 in last). There is no processing in the year 374 (Chat, x. p. 154 in last). The fines in Daniel and 1. Such contradictions data in the evidence, and reduce the term, of the personation of Valera.

the Trinitarian cause. 73 The circumstantial narrative has been composed by the friends and admirers of Basil; and, as soon as we have stripped away a thick coat of rhetoric and mimele, we shall be astonished by the unexpected mildness of the Arian tyrant, who admired the firmness of his character, or was apprehensive, if he employed violence, of a general revolt in the province of Cappadocia. The archbishop, who asserted, with inflexible pride, the truth of his opinions and the dignity of his rank, was left in the free possession of his conscience and his throne. The emperor devoutly assisted at the solemn service of the cathedral; and, instead of a sentence of banishment, subscribed the donation of a valuable estate for the use of an hospital which Basil had lately founded in the neighbourhood of Casarea, 5 3. I am not able to discover that any law (such as Theodosius afterwards enacted against the Arians) was published by Valens against the Athanasian sectaries; and the ediet which excited the most violent clamours may not appear so extremely reprehensible. The emperor had observed that several of his subjects, gratifying their lazy disposition under the pretence of religion, had associated themselves with the monks of Egypt; and he directed the count of the East to drag them from their solitude; and to compel those deserters of society to accept the fair alternative of renouncing their temporal possessions or of discharging the public duties of men and citizens." The ministers of Valens seem to have extended the sense of this penal statute, since they claimed a right of enlisting the young and able-bodied monks in the Imperial armies. A detachment of envalry and infantry, consisting of three thousand men, marched from Alexandria into the adjacent desert of

Tillement, whom I follow and abridge, has extracted (Mem. Eccles. tom, viii p. 153-167) the most authentic circumstances from the Panegyriet of the two tregisters the most entirely, and the friend, of Basil. The letters of Basil himself (Depon. Bio otherse Ecclesissique, tom. u. p. 155-180) do not present the image

of a very lively persecution.

14 flax 1 is Construction Cappadocae clarus habetur, . . qui multa cont nertice et ingenii bons une superbise malo perdicht. This irreverent passage is perficially in the style and character of St. Jerom. It does not appear in sedgers edition of his Chromele, but Isane Vessus found it in some old Miss. It had not been reformed by the monks [ad ann 2392, cp. note in Migne's

** This noble and charactable foundation (almost a new city) surpassed in merit, if not in greatness, the pyramids or the walls of Pabylon. It was principally intended for the reception of lepers (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. xx. [-43 p. 439, 6-63]) and Theodox I an itt i leg 63. Godefroy (torn iv. p. 409,433) performs the daily of a commentator and advocate. Tallemont [Mem. Eccles. torn viu p. 409,433] and the daily of a commentator and advocate. Bull apparer a second law to excesse his orthodox friends, who had marepresented the edict of Valens and suppressed the liberty of choice.

THE DECLINE AND FALL

Arra. which was propled by fire threated monks. The southern were empowered by Arran princip and 2 is required that a monotoniale structure was made in the importance which

depresent the community of their sections.

"The street programmes which have been instead by the widow of pretern expected to restrain the wealth and average of the there may be occurred detailed from the example of the resource Variations. He exist "activated to Duminos being of some was paractly read to the character of the east. He economical the environmental and makes not to income the boson of wishes and supply, and present their discontinue was the associatement of the ord paige. The director was or course permutted to receive any gell, or legacy, or unbentumer, from the oteranty of his spectral daughter, every testament commer to the extent was declared not! and road, and the discal constion was combinated for the me of the treasure. Be a parampared regulation it should seem that the same processes were extended to name and bushops, and that all persons of the embrantural order were rendered accapable of receiving any testamentary guila, and strictly confined to the natural and legal rapids of interstance. As the grandien of description bappaners and vetae, Valentinian applied this severe remedy to the growing east in the capital of the empire, the females of public and operant houses presented a very ample share of mal-pendent property and many of those devout females had embraced the describes of Christianity, not only with the cold ament of the attitivities for with the warmth of affection, and perhaps with the engerness of fishion. They mentived the pleasures of deese and les er, and renounced, for the praise of chartity, the with environments of conjugal somety. Some reclesionic, of real or apparent sanctity, was chosen to direct their timorous cross-size and to amuse the vacant tenderness of their heart. and the antiounded confidence which they hashly bestowed was exten assured by knowes and enthouasts; who hastened from the

" La la Description de l'Egypte, p. 74. Hereafter I shall consider the

The state of the s

It is by so Godefees took to as an after the second of the

extremities of the East to enjoy, on a splendid theatre, the privileges of the monastic profession. By their contempt of the world, they insensibly acquired its most desirable advantages; the lively attachment, perhaps, of a young and beautiful woman, the delicate plenty of an opulent household, and the respectful homage of the slaves, the freedmen, and the chents of a senatorial family. The immense fortunes of the Roman lathes were gradually consumed in lavish alms and expensive pilgramages; and the artful monk, who had assigned himself the first or possibly the sole place in the testament of his spiritual daughter, still presumed to declare, with the smooth face of hypocrisy, that he was only the instrument of charity and the steward of the poor. The lucrative, but disgraceful, trade 50 which was excreised by the clergy to defraud the expectations of the natural heirs had provoked the indignation of a superstitious age: and two of the most respectable of the Latin fathers very honestly confess that the ignominious edict of Valentinian was just and necessary; and that the Christian priests had deserved to lose a privilege which was still enjoyed by comedians, charioteers, and the ministers of idols. But the wisdom and authority of the legislator are seldom victorious in a contest with the vigilant dexterity of private interest; and Jerom or Ambrose might patiently acquiesce in the justice of an meffectual or salutary law. If the ecclesiastics were checked in the pursuit of personal emolument, they would exert a more laudable industry to increase the wealth of the church, and dignify their covetousness with the specious names of piety and patriotism.81

Damasus, bishop of Rome, who was constrained to stigma- and tize the avarice of his clergy by the publication of the law of well Valentinian, had the good sense or the good fortune to engage in his service the real and abilities of the learned Jerom; and the grateful saint has celebrated the merit and purity of a very

*The expressions which I have used are temperate and feeble, if compared with the externent invectives of Jerom (tom a p 13, 45 44, 46.). In Air torn, he was represented with the guilt which he imputed to his brother morks, and the Sceleratas, the Verispellis, was publicly accused as the lover of the vidos fauta (torn a p 353). He undoubtedly possessed the affections but of the mother and the daughter, but he decares that he never abused his industries to very self-to or sensual jourpose.

4 Pudet dicere, sacerdates idolorum, mimi et aurigue, et acorta, hieroclitates capitalt, somewhere is an encountry that have been producted. Lt non probletter a persecutor has, sed a pennegalast thirtians. Nee de lege queror, sed dollooser encourement hanc legem. Jerom (tom, 1, p. 13) discreetly ensures the secret policy of his pation Damasus.

ambienous clumeter . But the volencial week of the clean . Rome under the reagn of Varentinuas and Language, here bet currount observed by the testorian Amountum whe or yet in appartus, seine in these expressive words. "The proviector of Juvenius a was accompanied with prace and paraty but in tranguillety of his government was more disturbed by a book endition of the distracted possible. The arthur of Parameter of Lesing, to sent the engraph sent, surpassed the sense measure of human amintum. They contended with the tar of party, the quarrel was maintained by the wounds and doub of their followers, and the predect, make to reast or to approx the tunnelt, was constrained, by superior vasience, to retire an the suburba. Liumason prevaled the wen-desputed vision remained on the side of his faction; one hundred and that seven dead bodies " were found in the Banton of Suprama" where the Christians hold their religious assemblies , and it we long before the aners much of the people resumed their ava-tomed transmility. When I consider the splendour of the capital, I am not astonished that up valuable a prize should miliance the desires of ambitious men, and produce the ferros and most obstructe contests. The successful catalactate is secur that he will be emuched by the offerings of matrons " that, a soon as his dress is composed with becaming care and elegance. he may proceed, in his chariot, through the streets of Rome, and that the samptoousness of the Imperal table will not equal the profess and descate entertanguesits provided by the taste, and at the expense, of the Roman ponties. How much man

1th Bushing of Securities or Libertos, is probably the charch of Sancta Notes in the rate of the Lague or his Baronins, A to Mr. No 3 and lers at home is a 3 p. 400 lt n depended whether the finess facer and was a new to. I mg or a reconstruction of the flas was been ma-

* The stemm of Damison styled him Austanifest Materialism the lader

ON WEST PE

to Three works of Jerom seate secures Dans a tran " 3 The wall via 1965 gas A collection of the engrams of Damasso loss been efficient by the

to must be wifus for so to allow productors interferences disease action perpenditure in Chine p. 186. Block an original is to fee and if their president of the effective party hits unaccommission compact. They after that the days of the Rail our start factor and that they are may got old that Damana man and t the tend of his own feets grave-diggers that-steen and mend girls at.
the tente of his party were hised but that one bundered and state dead had as were from Par presion is pulsashed by the P. Sermond, in the first column of the

[&]quot; turgers was ansen (Oral, exam [- 42] p. 526 [c. 24]) describes the productal we've of the periodes who impored in the imperior rather, there gill care, bert steeds turists train &c. The crowd gave way as to a wild beast.

ationally (continues the honest Pagan) would those nontiffs consult their true happiness, if, instead of alleging the greatness of the city as an excuse for their manners, they would imitate the exemplary life of some provincial bishops, whose temperance and sobriety, whose mean apparel and downeast looks, recomsended their pure and modest virtue to the Deity and his true sursimppers "85 The schism of Damasus and Ursinus was estinguished by the exile of the latter; and the wisdom of the prefect Pratextatus 10 restored the tranquility of the city. Pretextatus was a philosophic Pagan, a man of learning, of taste, and politeness; who disguised a reproach in the form of a jest, when he assured Damasus that, if he could obtain the bishopric of Rome, he himself would immediately embrace the Christian religion " This lively picture of the wealth and luxury of the paper in the fourth century becomes the more curious as it represents the intermediate degree between the humble poverty of the apostolic fisherman and the royal state of a temporal prince whose dominions extend from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po.

When the suffrage of the generals and of the army com-resident the sceptre of the Roman empire to the hands of A.D. Valentinian, his reputation in arms, his military skill and experience, and his rigid attachment to the forms, as well as spirit of ancient discipline, were the principal motives of their judicious choice. The eagerness of the troops who pressed him to nominate his colleague was justified by the dangerous situation of public affairs; and Valentinian himself was conscious that the abilities of the most active mind were unequal to the defence

[&]quot; Veir an xxxi 3. Propetus Numini, wereyee ejus cultoribus. The incom-

¹⁸ June 2014 who trakes a fair report of his praefecture (xxvii. 9), styles him and use a close gray tat sque senator and 7, and Vales, ad loc.). A curious in proceeding proceeding the control Mr. If Na. 2) recombs in two columns his religious and could be control Mr. If Na. 2) recombs in two columns his religious and could be control to the Sun, and of Verla Augur, Quandesemvie, the process of the control of the Sun, and of Verla Augur, Quandesemvie, the control of the control of

^{*} Faute use Romane urbis episcopum; et ero protinus Christianus (Jerom, tom. is 1841). It is more than probable that Damasus would not have purchased but conserved at such a price.

of the distant frontiers of an invaded monarchy. As soon a the death of Julian had relieved the Barbarians from the terre of his name, the most sangume hopes of rapine and conquest excited the nations of the East, and of the North, and of the South. Their inroads were often vexations, and sometimes formidable; but, during the twelve years of the reign of Valentinian, his firmness and vigilance protected his own dominions; and his powerful genius seemed to inspire and direct the feeble counsels of his brother. Perhaps the method of annals would more foreibly express the urgent and divided cares of the two emperors; but the attention of the readrilikewise, would be distracted by a tedious and desultory name tive. A separate view of the five great theatres of war: I Germany; II. Britain; III. Africa; IV. The East; and, by The Danube; will impress a more distinct image of the military state of the empire under the reigns of Valentinian and Valena

I. The ambassadors of the Alemann, had been offended by the harsh and haughty behaviour of Ursacius, master of the offices; of who, by an act of unseasonable parsimony, had diminwhed the value, as well as the quantity, of the presents to which they were entitled, either from custom or treaty, on the accession of a new emperor. They expressed, and they communicated to their countrymen, their strong sense of the national affront The irascible minds of the chiefs were exasperated by the surpicion of contempt; and the martial youth crowded to ther standard. Before Valentinian could pass the Alps, the villages of Gaul were in flames; before his general Dagalaiphus could encounter the Alemanni, they had secured the captives and the spoil in the forests of Germany. In the beginning of the ensuing year, the military force of the whole nation, in deep and solid columns, broke through the barrier of the Rhme, during the seventy of a northern winter. Two Roman counts were defeated and mortally wounded; and the standard of the Heruli and Bata sians fell into the hands of the conquerors, who displayed, with insulting shouts and menaces, the trophy of their victory. The standard was recovered; but the Batavians had not redcemed the shame of their disgrace and flight in the eyes of their severe judge. It was the opinion of Valentinian that his soldiers must learn to fear their commander, before they could cease to fear the enemy. The troops were solemnly assembled; and the

^{**}Ammun xxxi. s. Valesius adds a long and good note on the master of the offices. For the chronology of these campaigns, see Reiche, Chronologie de sechs letzien Bücher des Amm. Marc., 1889.)

trembling Batavians were inclosed within the circle of the Impercul army. Valentinian their ascended his tribunal; and, as if he disdained to punish cowardice with death, he inflicted a stain of indelible ignormay on the officers whose misconduct and puulbinimity were found to be the first occasion of the defeat. The Batavians were degraded from their rank, stripped of their arms, and condemned to be sold for slaves to the highest bidder. At this tremendous sentence the troops fell prostrate on the ground, depressed the indignation of their sovereign, and protested that, if he would indulge them in another trial, they would approve themselves not unworthy of the name of Romans, and of his soldiers. Valentinian, with affected reluctance, yielded to their entreaties; the Batavians resumed their arms, and, with their arms, the invincible resolution of wiping away their disgrace in the blood of the Alemanni.22 The principal command was declined by Dagalaiphus; and that experienced general, who had represented, perhaps with too much prudence, the extreme difficulties of the undertaking, had the mortification, before the end of the campaign, of seeing his rival Jovinus convert those difficulties into a decisive advantage over the scattered Tom dental forces of the Barbanans. At the head of a well disciplined army of cavalry, infantry, and light troops, Jovinus advanced, with cautious and rapid steps, to Scarponna, 98 in the territory of Metz, (Corporate where he surprised a large division of the Alemanni, before they had time to run to their arms; and flushed his soldiers with the confidence of an easy and bloodless victory. Another division, or rather army, of the enemy, after the cruel and wanton devastation of the adjacent country, reposed themselves on the shady banks of the Moselle. Joynnus, who had viewed the ground with the eyes of a general, made his silent approach through a deep and woody vale, till he could distinctly perceive the indolent security of the Germans. Some were bathing their huge limbs in the river; others were combing their long and daxen hair; others again were swallowing large draughts of rich and delicious wine. On a sudden they heard the sound of the Roman trumpet, they saw the enemy in their camp. Astonish ment produced disorder; disorder was followed by flight and

Amm an. xxv... 2 Zosmus, i. iv. p. 208'c 9'. The disgrace of the Batavans is suppressed by the contempurary volume from a regard for military honour who beyond not affect a Greek thet me, in of the succeeding age.

**See D'Asia v. Notice do. Ap. or no Carlo g. (8). The name of the Moselle which is to superfield by Ammianus is my independently Massic Mar. of the analysis of the command but was recalled to take the command but was recalled to take the command but was recalled. to enter a the consulate as consigne of Gratiana]

dismay; and the confused multitude of the bravest warriors we pierced by the swords and javelins of the legionaries and anx ries. The fugitives escaped to the third and most considerable camp, in the Catalauman plains, near Châlons in Champagne the struggling detachments were hastily recalled to their standard. and the Barbanan chiefs, alarmed and admonished by the fite of their companions, prepared to encounter, in a decisive batter the victorious forces of the lieutenant of Valentinian. The bloody and obstinate conflict lasted a whole summer's day with equal valour, and with alternate success. The Romans of length prevailed, with the loss of about twelve hundred mea Six thousand of the Alemanni were slain, four thousand were wounded; and the brave Joyanus, after chasing the flying rem nant of their host as far as the banks of the Rhine, returned to Paris, to receive the appliance of his sovereign and the ensignof the consulship for the ensuing year. 4 The triumph of the Romans was indeed sullied by their treatment of the captur king, whom they hung on a gibbet without the knowledge of their indignant general. This disgraceful act of cruelty which might be imputed to the fury of the troops, was followed by the deliberate murder of Withicab, the son of Vadomair; a German prince, of a weak and sickly constitution, but of a daring and form dable spirit. The domestic assassin was instigated and protected by the Romans; to and the violation of the laws of humanity and justice betrayed their secret apprehension of the weakness of the declining empire. The use of the dagger s seldem adopted in public councils, as long as they retain an confidence in the power of the sword.

July

[7A D 860]

While the Alemanni appeared to be humbled by their recent calamities, the pride of Valentinian was mortified by the unexpected surprisal of Moguntiacum, or Mentz, the principal city of the Upper Germany. In the unsuspicious moment of a Christian festival, Rando, a bold and artful chieftain, who had long meditated his attempt, suddenly passed the Rhine; entered the defenceless town, and retired with a multitude of captives of either sex. Valentinian resolved to execute severe ven geance on the whole body of the nation. Count Schastian, with

MThe barries are described by Ammianus areh as and by Zowmun flow a

Who is the property of the form the first bit is beginnered at death as we not seen as the form the first bit is beginnered at death as we not seen as the second of authority of the new of seen the first bit is beginnered as the second of t

the bands of Italy and Illyneum, was ordered to invade their mentry, most probably on the side of Rhatia. The emperor in person, accompanied by his son Gratian, passed the Rhine at mann the head of a formidable army, which was supported on both fanks by Jovinus and Severus, the two masters-general of the stalry and infantry of the West. The Alemanni, unable to mevent the devastation of their villages, fixed their camp on a bity, and almost inaccessible, mountain, in the modern duchy of Wirtemberg, and resolutely expected the approach of the The life of Valentinian was exposed to imminent langer by the intrepid curiosity with which he persisted to explure some secret and unguarded path. A troop of Barbarians suddenly rose from their ambuseade: and the emperor, who corously spurred his horse down a steep and slippery descent, obliged to leave behind him his armour-bearer, and his belinet, magnificently enriched with gold and precious stones. At the signal of the general assault, the Roman troops encompassed and ascended the mountain of Solicinium on three passed different sides. Every step which they gained increased their burg ardour and abated the resistance of the enemy; and, after their united forces had occupied the summit of the hill, they impetuously urged the Barbanans down the northern descent where Count Schootian was posted to intercept their retreat. After the signal victory, Valentinian returned to his winter-quarters at Treves; where he indulged the public joy by the exhibition of splendid and triumphal games. But the wise monarch, instead of aspiring to the conquest of Germany, confined his attention to the important and laborious defence of the Gallic frontier, against an enemy whose strength was renewed by a stream of daring colunteers, which incessantly flowed from the most distant tribes of the North." The banks of the Rhine, from its source to the straits of the ocean, were closely planted with strong castles and convenient towers; new works, and new arms, were invented by the ingenuity of a prince who was skilled in the mechanical

"The expedition of Valentinian is related by Ammianus (xxvii. 10); and

The expectation of Valentinian is related by Ammianus (xxvii. 10); also cited eated by Ausconus (Musell 44x &x.), who foolishly supposes that the Romans age georant of the sources of the Danuba. [As Smith points out, Ausonius call said unknown to Roman annals." Latus gneum annal bus.]

Intumate the associate annual and incumabular primes sarietate casuum imminuta; eta sarpuis adolescit ut fuisse longis saculas artimotur intacta. Amm annual transit of the Count de Bust (Hist, des Pempier de l'Europe, tom vi. p. 370) associates the few individual of the Alemanni to their easy adoption of strangers. [For the activity of Valentinian in the defence of the frontiers co an inscription on the conreforming of the Custra of Salva 215 367 A.D.I., th Ephean, Epig. 2, p. 389, and C. I. L. 3 suppl. 10356, also C. I. L. 3, 4670 a and 3271.]

arts; and his numerous levies of Roman and Barbarian youth were severely trained in all the exercises of war. The progress of the work, which was sometimes opposed by modest representations, and sometimes by hostile attempts, secured the tranquillity of Gaul during the nine subsequent years of the administration of Valentinian. 166

A D 271 [270]

That prudent emperor, who diligently practised the wise maxims of Diocletian, was studious to foment and excite the intestine divisions of the tribes of Germany. About the middle of the fourth century, the countries, perhaps of Lusiuc and Thuringia, on either side of the Elbe were occupied by the sague dominion of the Bergerpishs; a warlike and numerous people of the Vandal race,99 whose obscure name insensibly swelled into a powerful kingdom, and has finally settled on a flourishing province. The most remarkable circumstance in the ancient manners of the Burgundians appears to have been the difference of their civil and ceclesiastical constitution. The appellation of Heudinos was given to the king or general, and the title of Simulus to the high priest, of the nation. The person of the priest was sacred, and his dignity perpetual; but the temporal government was held by a very precarious tenure. If the events of war accused the courage or conduct of the king, he was immediately deposed; and the injustice of his subjects made him responsible for the fertility of the earth and the regularity of the seasons, which seemed to fall more properly within the sacerdotal department. 100 The disputed possession of some salt-pits 161 engaged the Alemanni and the Burgundians in frequent contests: the latter were easily tempted by the secret solicitations and liberal offers of the emperor; and their fabulous descent from the Roman soldiers who had formerly been left to garrison the fortresses of Drusus was admitted with

^{**}Amman xxviii. 2. Zosimua, 1. iv. p. 214 °c. ib. The vounger Victor mentions the mechanical genius of Valentinian, nova arma med tari, fingere terrà seu limo simulacia. Epit. 45).

Belicosos et pulius minensin viribus affluentes, et ideo metiendos finitimis universis. Animian, xxviii 5. Play represented them as a \(\tau\) bi vision of the Vandalic branch. They were closely allied to the Goths and Vandalic.]

¹⁰⁰ I am always apt to suspect historians and travellers of improving extenordinary facts into general laws. Aminianus assertiers a similar custom to higher, and the Changes have imprated it to the Taisin or Roman empire (de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. part.). p. 79).

Possel's they disjuised the possession of the Nata a cover which produced sait and which had been the object of anciest contention. Their Annal XII, 57, and Lipsius ad loc.

mutual credulity, as it was conducive to mutual interest. 105 An army of fourseore thousand Burgundians soon appeared on the banks of the Rhine; and impatiently required the support and subsidies which Valentinian had promised; but they were amused with excuses and delays, till at length, after a fruitless expectation, they were compelled to retire. The arms and tortifications of the Gallie frontier checked the fury of their just resentment; and their massacre of the captives served to embitter the hereditary feud of the Burgundians and the Alemanni. The inconstancy of a wise prince may, perhaps, be explained by some alteration of circumstances; and perhaps it was the original design of Valentinian to intimidate rather than to destroy, as the balance of power would have been equally overturned by the externation of either of the German nations. Among the princes of the Alemanni, Macrianus, who, with a Roman name, had assumed the arts of a soldier and a statesman, deserved his hatred and esteem. The emperor him-tap mi self, with a light and unencumbered hand, condescended to pass the Rhine, marched fifty miles into the country, and would infallibly have seized the object of his pursuit, if his judicious measures had not been defeated by the impatience of the troops. Macrianus was afterwards admitted to the honour of a personal conference with the emperor; and the favours which he received fixed him, till the hour of his death, a steady and sincere friend of the republic,160

The land was covered by the fortifications of Valentinian; The Gastra but the sea-coast of Gaul and Britain was exposed to the depredations of the Saxons. That celebrated name, in which we have a dear and domestic interest, escaped the notice of Tacitus; and in the maps of Ptolemy it faintly marks the narrow neck of the Cumbric peninsula and three small islands towards the mouth of the Elbe. 104 This contracted territory, the present

I'm fam inde temporabus praces sobolem se esse Romanam Burgunda scaunt, and the vague trad to a gradually assumed a more regular form. Oros. I. v.a. c. It is in reliasted by the deceave a shority of Phiny, who composed the history of Desura, and server a in Germany (Fin. Secund, Fint in, 5) within serve years where the feath of that here. Germanoram graces quinque, Vindali, quorum para Burgundanar &c. Hat Nature is 28.

21 The wars and negotiations relative to the Burgundana and Alemana are

descript related by Americanus Marcadonis (xxxxx & xxxx 4, xxx 3). Orosius it will constitute the Chronicles of Jerom and Cassiodorius fix some dates and addisone (incumstances,

of the per conta (the Cumbric promounts) of Plans, iv 27) Ptolony fixes the a the six of our to law, who were in ted as carry as the sixth continue, under the national appoilation of Duner See Chiver, German, Antiqui, in, c. 21, 22, 23.

Duchy of Sleswig, or perhaps of Holstein, was incapable of pouring forth the inexhaustible swarms of Saxons who received over the ocean, who filled the British island with their language, their laws, and their colonies; and who so long defended the liberty of the North against the arms of Charlemagne, 126 The solution of this difficulty is easily derived from the similar manners and loose constitution of the tribes of Germany; which were blended with each other by the slightest accidents of war or friendship. The attration of the native Saxons disposed them to embrace the hazardous professions of fishermen and parates; and the success of their first adventures would naturally excite the emulation of their bravest countrymen, who were impatient of the gloomy solitude of their woods and mountains. Every tide might float down the Elbe whole fleets of canoes, filled with hardy and intrepid associates, who aspired to behold the unbounded propect of the ocean and to taste the wealth and luxury of unknown worlds. It should seem probable, however, that the most numerous auxiliaries of the Saxons were furnished by the nations who dwelt along the shores of the Baltic. possessed arms and ships, the art of navigation, and the habits of naval war; but the difficulty of issuing through the northern columns of Hercules (which during several months of the year are obstructed with ice) confined their skill and courage within the limits of a spacious lake. 106 The rumour of the successful armaments which sailed from the mouth of the Elbe would soon provoke them to cross the narrow isthmus of Sleswig and to launch their vessels on the great sea. The various troops of pirates and adventurers who fought under the same standard were insensibly united in a permanent society, at first of rapine. and afterwards of government. A military confederation was gradually moulded into a national body, by the gentle operation of marriage and consunguinity; and the adjacent tribes, who solicited the alliance, accepted the name and laws, of the baxons. If the fact were not established by the most unquestionable evidence, we should appear to abuse the credulity of our readers by the description of the vessels in which the Saxon pirates ventured to sport in the waves of the German

M. M. d'Anville (histossement des bints de l'Europe &c., p. 19-26) has market the extensive lim to of the Sazony of Charlemagne

De The fleet is of Drussis had found in their attempt to pass, or even to approach, the Scand (its) of found the constraint the most enterprise was never testined (The tide Mersian German e 34). The knowledge which the Romans acquired of the mixal powers of the Bastic is 44, 45) was obtained by their land journeys in search of mixer.

Ocean, the British Channel, and the Bay of Biscay The keel of their large flat-bottomed boats was framed of light timber, but the sides and upper work consisted only of wicker, with a covering of strong hides. In the course of their slow and distant pavigations, they must always have been exposed to the danger, and very frequently to the misfortune, of shipwreck; and the paval annals of the Saxons were undoubtedly filled with the accounts of the losses which they sustained on the coasts of Britain and Gaul. But the daring spirit of the pirates braved the penls, both of the sea and of the shore; their skill was confirmed by the habits of enterprise; the meanest of their manners was alike capable of handling un our, of rearing a sail, or of conducting a vessel; and the Saxons rejoiced in the appearance of a tempest, which concealed their design, and dispersed the fleets of the enemy, 108. After they had acquired an accurate knowledge of the maritime provinces of the West, they extended the scene of their depredations, and the most sequestered places had no reason to presume on their security. The Saxon boats drew so little water that they could easily proceed fourscore or an hundred miles up the great rivers; their weight was so inconsiderable that they were transported on waggons from one river to another; and the pirates who had entered the mouth of the Seine or of the Rhine, might descend, AD m with the rapid stream of the Rhone, into the Mediterranean. Under the reign of Valentinian, the maritime provinces of Gaul were afflicted by the Saxons: a military count was stationed for the defence of the sea-coast, or Armonean limit; and that otheer, who found his strength, or his abilities, unequal to the task, implored the assistance of Severus, master-general of the infantry The Saxons, surrounded and out-numbered, were forced to relinquish their spoil, and to yield a select band of their tall and robust youth to serve in the Imperial armies. They supulated only a safe and honourable retreat: and the

> W Quin et Aremoricus perutam Serveu tractus Sperabat; cu- pede selum su care lir tannum Ladus et assuto giatacum mare findere lembo.

The general of Custar managed, for a particular service their rude, but optiversels, which were idea so used by the natives of Brisis of Comment de Bell.

The Pertah vessels with 100% 1230mb the genus of cash

Apparatus it in a green 6, p. 223 other bearing and the best consecraty in the Alberta Base Hand Critique de a Manier at transport Action is L. c. 16, p. 148-146. See I havened p. 77, 78. [The Sances seem to have made a settlement in the north of Gasal.]

condition was readily granted by the Roman general, wh meditated an act of perfidy, 100 imprudent as it was inhume while a Saxon remained alive, and in arms, to revenge the biof his countrymen. The premature eagerness of the manin who were secretly posted in a deep valley, betrayed the arbuseade; and they would perhaps have fallen the victims their own treachery, if a large body of curramers, alarmed by the noise of the combat, had not hastily advanced to extrate their companions and to overwhelm the undaunted valour of the Saxons. Some of the prisoners were saved from the edge w the sword, to shed their blood in the amphitheatre; and the orator Symmachus complains that twenty-nine of those despense savages, by strangling themselves with their own hands, and disappointed the amusement of the public. Yet the polite and philosophic citizens of Rome were impressed with the deepest horror, when they were informed that the Saxons consecrated to the gods the tythe of their human spoil; and that they are tamed by lot the objects of the barbarous sacrifice the

II. The fabulous colonies of Egyptians and Trojans, of Scandinavians and Spaniards, which flattered the pride, and vanished in the light of science and philosophy.111 The present age is satisfied with the simple and rational opinion that the islands of Great Britain and Ireland were gradually peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul From the coast of Kent to the extremity of Caithness and Ulster, the memory of a Celtie ongin was distinctly preserved, in the perpetual resemblance of language, of religion, and of manners and the peculiar characters of the British tribes might be naturally ascribed to the influence of accidental and local circumstances. 111 The Roman province was

Amman, (axen, 5) justifies this breach of faith to present and robbers; and Office is (i. vir. c. 32) more clearly expresses their real guilt; ricture atque against

construction of the control of the state of

the Parties or rather his father in him Ages is in ght remark the Garrens or frames In an versual tunion and month ballor vicinum solution or a description talle at Forum sacra depertendas sermo hand emittem diversus (es Và

In the beginning of the list century the learned to be in was childed to understance of sespectful secretarium the commerce of Brains the Trease when new hir id in a lent oblis on we in seria, the it is less of Phases at the games our process. Vet I am informed that some changions of the Miceina conthen or be found among the original natives of Irrhand. A provide disease of with their present condition gives of any assess of their past or fair in given,

reduced to the state of civilized and peaceful servitude the oghts of savage freedom were contracted to the narrow builts of (aledonia. The inhabitants of that northern region were divided, as early as the reign of Constantine, between the two great tribes of the Scors and of the Picro, 118 who have since experienced a very different fortune. The power, and almost the memory, of the Picts have been extinguished by their successful ry als , and the Scots, after maintaining for ages the dignity of an independent kingdom, have multiplied, by an equal and voluntary umon, the honours of the English name. The hand of nature had contributed to mark the ancient distinction of the Scots and Piets. The former were the men of the hills, and the latter those of the plain. The eastern coast of Caledonia may be considered as a level and fertile country, which, even in a rude state of tillage, was capable of producing a considerable quantity of forn; and the epithet of criatinch, or wheat eaters, expressed the contempt, or envy, of the earnivorous highlander. The cultivation of the earth might introduce a more accurate separation of property and the habits of a sedentary life; but the love of arms and rapine was still the ruling passion of the Piets; and their sarrors, who stropped themselves for a day of battle, were distinguished, in the eyes of the Romans, by the strange fashion of pointing their naked bodies with gaudy colours and fantastic figures. The western part of Caledonia irregularly rises into wild and barren hills, which scarcely repay the toil of the husbandman and are most profitably used for the pasture of cattle The highlanders were condemned to the occupations of shep herds and hunters; and, as they seldom were fixed to any permanent habitation, they acquired the expressive name of which, in the Celtic tongue, is said to be equivalent to that of wanderers or ragrants. The inhabitants of a barren land were urged to seek a fresh supply of food in the waters. The

trival c x) transact had observed the recommunitely, on (Comment de Bello a no x) agained a best incident and remained the congration from the Berge Cool was a recent, and incident and stoccal exert (10). Condident the Berge Cool was a noted to the later than the congration of our great new autors the internation, vol. 1. Internation of preserve) with the dick and declared paths of Caledonian are quite. I have closen for

into the disk and decired paths of Caledonian arregion. I have closen for magnetic two lists educations. Highland is when that both and education to the conflict that of the Cardy arrest two lists on the Cardy arrest two lists. More than and the rest, the lamb to the History of Creek British and Ire with his lamb to the History of Creek British and Ire with his lamb to the History of Creek British and Ire with his lamb to the History of Creek British and Ire with his lamb to the history of the Held dec.

deep lakes and bays which intersect their country are plentifich stored with fish, and they gradually ventured to east their new in the waves of the ocean. The vicinity of the Hebrides is profusely scattered along the western coast of Scotland, tempted their curiosity and improved their skill; and they acquired in slow degrees, the art, or rather the habit, of managing thes boats in a tempestnous sea and of steering their nocturnal comby the light of the well-known stars. The two bold headlest of Caledonia almost touch the shores of a spacious island, which obtained, from its luxuriant vegetation, the epithet of Great and has preserved, with a slight alteration, the name of Eng. or Ierne, or Ireland. It is probable that in some remote period of antiquity the fertile plains of Ulster received a colony of hange Scots; and that the strangers of the North, who had dares to encounter the arms of the legions, spread their conquests over the savage and unwarlike natives of a solitary island. It is create that, in the declining age of the Roman empire, Caledona Ireland, and the Isle of Man, were inhabited by the Scots and that the kindred tribes, who were often associated in minutes enterprise, were deeply affected by the various accidents of ther mutual fortunes. They long cherished the lively tradition of their common name and origin; and the missionaries of the las of Saints, who diffused the light of Christianity over North Britain, established the vain opinion that their Irish countrymer were the natural as well as spiritual fathers of the Scottish race The loose and obscure tradition has been preserved by the venerable Bede, who scattered some rays of light over the darkness of the eighth century. On this slight foundation, a huge superstructure of fable was gradually reared, by the bards and the monks; two orders of men who equally abused the privilege at fiction. The Scottish nation, with mistaken pride, adopted their Insh genealogy: and the annals of a long line of unaguary kings have been adorned by the fancy of Boethius and the classe elegance of Buchanan.114

194 The Irish descent of the Scots has been revived in the last moments of moderay, and strenuously supported, by the Rex. Mr. Whitesee ill at of Manchester, vol. 1 p. 430, 431, and because listery of the Browns asserted & ... 14 901. Yet he acknowledges, 1. Feat the Scots of Arabi annus March on (A.1.300) were already setted in Caledonar; and that the Roman authors he afford any hints of their emigration from another country. It has ready setted in Caledonar; and that the Roman authors he afford any hints of their emigration from another country. I That is the accounts of such emigrations, which have been assured, or recoiled, by Italian Scotch historians, or Fing sh anoquaries In binan, Caledon United Scotch historians, or Fing sh anoquaries In binan, Caledonar United Scotch historians, or Fing sh anoquaries In binan, Caledonar United Scotch historians, or Fing sh anoquaries of the link tribes will are not some of the Irish tribes and the Irish tribes will are not some of the Irish tribes and Irish tribes are not some of the Irish tribes and Irish tribes are not some of the Irish tribes and Irish tribes are not some of the Irish tribes and Irish tribes are not some of the Irish tribes and Irish tribes are not some of the Irish tribes and Irish tribes are not some of the Irish tribes are not some of the Irish tribes and Irish tribes are not some of the Irish tribes are not some of

his years after the death of Constantine, the destructive moistandon arouds of the Scots and Picts required the presence of his abases mangest son, who reigned in the western empire. Constans saird his British dominions; but we may form some estimate of the importance of his achievements by the language of paneeine, which celebrates only his tnumph over the elements; or, n other words, the good fortune of a safe and easy passage from the port of Boulogne to the harbour of Sandwich 116 The chanties which the afflicted provincials continued to experience, from foreign war and domestic tyranny, were aggravated by the freble and corrupt administration of the eunuchs of Constantius; and the transient relief which they might obtain from the virtues of Julian was soon lost by the absence and death of their benefactor. The sums of gold and solver which had been painfully reflected, or liberally transmitted, for the payment of the troops were intercepted by the avarice of the commanders; discharges, or, at least, exemptions, from the military service were publicly sold, the distress of the soldiers, who were injuriously deprived of their legal and seanty subsistence, provoked them to frequent tesertion; the nerves of discipline were relaxed, and the highwere infested with robbers. 116 The oppression of the good ual the impunity of the wicked equally contributed to diffuse through the island a spirit of discontent and revolt; and every amtationa subject, every desperate exile, might entertain a reasonable hope of subverting the weak and distracted government of Britain. The hostile tribes of the North, who detested the pride and power of the King of the World, suspended their domestic feuds; and the Barbarians of the land and sca, the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons, spread themselves, with and and irresistable fury, from the wall of Antoninus to the

processed the monarchy of Ireland. After these concessions, the remaining after see between Mr. Whitaker and he adversaries is minite and obscure the genome history which he produces of a Fergue, the cousin of Ossain, who was it insplanted (a D 300) from Ireland to (aledonia is bit to not conjectural appropertural to the case poetry and the feeble evidence of Richard of Circhester, and it of the fourtienth century. The lively spirit of the ferenced and ngenous adaptation. It is tempted but to forget the nature of a question, which he was returnedly debates and so absolutely devides. (It is now generally admitted that he so its of Scotland were immigrants from (the north-cast of) Ireland. See Ap-

De Morme turrentes ac savientes undas calcàstia Oceani sub remis vestra; loperar si imperatoria facienti Britannia expandi. Julius Firmicus Materius de savier Prifan Religip, 264, edit Gronor indicalcem Minue, Fel. See Fillemont

(But des Empereurs, tota is p. 336)

1-1 units. Orat Parent C XXXX p. 264. This ourious passage has encaped the diagence of our British antiquaries.

THE DECLINE AND FALL

shows of Kent Freit production of art and tature (stant of especimence of luxury which they were not of error of he labour or procuring by tracks, was account on the r h and fruitful privates of Britain. " A philips may deplace the eternal desert of the burnan race, but is content that the desire of spaid is a more fat occasi provide than the vanity of conquest. From the age of Constant that of the Plantagenets this saparous spirit court naed stagate the poor and hardy Caledonians, but the same of where generous burnan ty seems to inspire the seems of () was disgrared in a savage againstance of the virtues of pead of the issue of war. These southern neighbours have tell perhaps exaggerated, the cruel depredations of the Scut Firsts 164 and a valuant tribe of Calciloma, the Attacutti. enemies, and afterwards the soldiers, of Valentinian, are acby an eye-witness, of delighting in the taste of human When they hunted the woods for prev, it is said that attacked the shephen) rather than his mock; and that rusiously selected the most delegate and brawny parts, hi males and females, which ther prepared for their reports in If, in the neighbourhood of the commercial literary town of Glasgow, a race of cannibals has really ex we may contemplate, in the period of the Scottish history opposite extremes of savage and civilized life. Such refle tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas, and to encourage pleasing hope that New Zealand may produce, in some age, the Hume of the Southern Hemisphere

Forey messenger who escaped across the British channel veyed the most melancholy and alarming tidings to the channel alarming

15 The Combinatopened and construct the gold the weeds the light are property or Dr. Burr, Description on Oscar for up 343, and Miles

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military commanders of the province had been surprised and out of by the Barbariana. Severus, count of the domestics, was bothly dispatched, and as suddenly recalled, by the court of The representations of Jovinus served only to indicate the greatness of the evil; and after a long and serious consultation, the defence, or rather the recovery, of Britain was intrusted to the abitities of the brave Theodosius. The exploits of that general, the father of a line of emperors, have been celebrated, with peculiar complacency, by the writers of the age: but his mai merit deserved their applause; and his nomination was received, by the army and province, as a sure presage of aprecaching victory. He seized the favourable moment of navication, and securely landed the numerous and veteran bands of the Hernh and Batavians, the Jovians and the Victors. In his march from Sandwich to London, Theodosius defeated several parties of the barbarians, released a multitude of captives, and, after destributing to his soldiers a small portion of the spoil, established the same of disinterested justice by the restitution of the remainder to the nghtful proprietors. The citizens of London, who had almost despured of their safety, threw open their gates; and, as soon as Theodosius had obtained from the court of Treves the important aid of a military lieutenant and a civil governor, he executed, with wisdom and vigour, the labonous task of the deliverance of Britain, in The vagrant soldiers were recalled to their standard; an ediet of amnesty dispelled the public apprehensions; and his cheerful example alleviated the rigidar of martial discipline. The scattered and desultory variare of the Barbarians, who infested the land and sea, deprived him of the glory of a signal victory; but the prudent ment and consummate art of the Roman general were displayed 6.0 100 in the operations of two campaigns, which successively rescued every part of the province from the hands of a cruel and rapacious enemy. The splendour of the cities and the security of the fortifications were diligently restored by the paternal care of Theodosus who with a strong hand confined the trembling laledonians to the northern angle of the island; and perpetuated, by the name and settlement of the new province of lalestia, the glones of the reign of Valentinian, 122 The voice

10 Theodonas had the task too of suppressing a tyrant, Valentinus; Amm.

amounts has concisely represented (ax. 1, xxx), q, xxx 3 xxx 3 the above series of the Perish war. [It is generally and that the name Valentia was a bonour of Valentia and. But sould it not, to that case as Valentia and It seems more likely that it was a companion to Valent on the part of his brother.

ent which he required before he would march to the assistance of Impoli, his demand was equivalent to a refusal, and he might eastly be accused as the author of the public calamity. In the urual assembly of the three cities, they nominated two deputies, to las at the feet of Valentinian the customary offering of a gold netury; and to accompany this tribute of duty, rather than of gratitude, with their humble complaint that they were ruined by be enemy and betrayed by their governor. If the seventy of Mentionan had been rightly directed, it would have fallen on be guilty head of Romanus. But the Count, long exercised in the arts of corruption, had dispatched a swift and trusty messener to secure the venal friendship of Remignis, master of the thers. The wisdom of the Imperial council was deceived by orthre; and their honest indignation was cooled by delay. ength, when the repetition of complaint had been justified by the repetition of public misfortunes, the notary Palladius was ent from the court of Treves, to examine the state of Africa, and the conduct of Romanus. The rigid impartishty of Palludius was easily disarmed: he was tempted to reserve for busself a part of the public treasure which he brought with him for the payment of the troops; and from the moment that he was conscious of his own guilt, he could no longer refuse to attest the innocence and merit of the Count. The charge of the Impolitans was declared to be false and frivolous; and Palladius himself was sent back from Treves to Africa, with a special commission to discover and prosecute the authors of this impious consuracy against the representatives of the sovereign. His nameres were managed with so much dexterity and success that be compelled the citizens of Leptis, who had sustained a recent nege of eight days, to contradict the truth of their own decrees and to censure the behaviour of their own deputies. A bloody sentence was pronounced, without hesitation, by the rash and headstrong cruelty of Valentinian. The president of Tripoli, she had presumed to pity the distress of the province, was puboly executed at Uties; four distinguished citizens were put to death as the accomplices of the imaginary fraud; and the tengues of two others were cut out by the express order of the emperor. Romanus, elated by impunity and irritated by resistance, was still continued in the military command; till the Africans were provoked by his avarice to join the rebellious standard of Firmus, the Moor, 125

123 Animum, xviii. 6. Tillement (Hist. des Empereurs, tom v. p. 25, 676) has dacussed the chronological difficulties of the history of Count Romanus. [Attacks

Reselt of Firmus.

His father Nabal was one of the nebest and most powerfaof the Moonsh princes, who acknowledged the supremacy it But, as he left, either by his wives or concubines a very numerous posterity, the wealthy inheritance was eagens disputed; and Zamma, one of his sons, was slain in a domest quarrel by his brother Firmus. The implacable zeal with when Romanus prosecuted the legal revenge of this murrier could a ascribed only to a motive of avarice, or personal hatred - but or this occasion, his claims were just; his influence was weight and Firmus clearly understood that he must either present by neck to the executioner or appeal from the sentence of the Imperial consistory to his sworn and to the people, 126 He was received as the deliverer of his country; and, as soon as it appeared that Romanus was formidable only to a submissive province, the tyrant of Africa became the object of universal contempt. The rum of Casarea, which was plundered and burnt by the licentious Barbarians, convinced the refractory cities of the danger of resistance; the power of Firmus was established at least in the provinces of Mauritania and Numidia; and it seemed to be his only doubt, whether he should assume the diadem of a Moorish king or the purple of a Roman emperor But the imprudent and unhappy Africans soon discovered that in this rash insurrection, they had not sufficiently consulted their own strength or the abilities of their leader. Before he could procure any certain intelligence that the emperor of the West had fixed the choice of a general, or that a fleet of transports was collected at the mouth of the Rhone, he was suddenly mformed that the great Theodosus, with a small band of veterars had landed near Igilgilis, or Gigeri, on the African coast; and the timid usurper sunk under the ascendant of virtue and military genius. Though Firmus possessed arms and treasures his despair of victory immediately reduced him to the use of

Throdonius cocoses Afri CA A D 373

of the harbar are on the Tripolitan towns are fixed by Reache, op. cat. to wester \$61 and summer \$61.2 Valentinan dispatches Nestorus and others to present Africa, within \$51 (Anim axis 5, 14). Tripolits again invaded summer \$60. Tripolits again invaded summer \$60. Tripolits again invaded summer \$60. Tripolits again tripolitation of La lader summer \$70. Tripolitation of Palladius to Africa spring \$58. Firmum tripolitation are seasond to the Palladius to Africa spring \$58. Firmum tripolitation are seasond to the part of Palladius to Africa spring \$58. Firmum tripolitation are the same \$70. Therefore are the part of Palladius to Africa spring \$58. Firmum tripolitation are the part of Palladius to Africa spring \$58. Firmum tripolitation are the part of Palladius to Africa spring \$58. Firmum tripolitation are the part of Palladius to Africa spring \$58. Firmum tripolitation are the part of Palladius to Africa spring \$58. Firmum tripolitation are the part of Palladius to Africa spring \$58. Firmum tripolitation are the part of Palladius to Africa spring \$58. Firmum tripolitation are the part of Palladius to Africa spring \$58. Firmum tripolitation are the part of Palladius to Africa spring \$58. Firmum tripolitation are the part of Palladius to Africa spring \$58. Firmum tripolitation are the part of Palladius to Africa spring \$58. Firmum tripolitation are the part of Palladius to Africa spring \$58. Firmum tripolitation are the part of \$58. Fir

Sources Country of Ammianus is loose and obscure, and Origins (I we like the chief logs of Ammianus is loose and obscure, and Origins (I we like the Havercomp) seems to place the result of hierard after the chief of hierard after the chief of hierard after the chief of hierard after the hierard of hierard and the hop tom a public indicator of his way. The pattern and his death of he of the Alphaniar he invited in the most support paths. (Some and Re, he greathst test on a way suppressed in 373, Capital prefers the date

mer roma be d. Mrsq x p. 78.

hose arts which, in the same country and in a similar situation. ad formerly been practised by the crafty Jugurtha. He atsimpted to deceive, by an apparent submission, the vigilance of ne Roman general; to seduce the fidelity of his troops; and to rotract the duration of the war, by successively engaging the adependent tribes of Africa to esponse his quarrel or to protect is flight. Theodosus imitated the example, and obtained the access, of his predecessor Metellus, When Firmus, in the baracter of a suppliant, accused his own rashness and humbly licited the clemency of the emperor, the licutement of Valen minn received and dismissed him with a friendly embrace; but e diligently required the useful and substantial pledges of a peere repentance; nor could be be persuaded, by the assurnees of peace, to suspend, for an instant, the operations of an ctive war. A dark conspiracy was detected by the penetration Theodosius; and he satisfied, without much reluctance, the ablic indignation, which he had secretly excited. Several of he guilty accomplices of Firmus were abandoned, according to ncient custom, to the tumult of a multary execution; many nore, by the amputation of both their hands, continued to schibit an instructive spectacle of horror; the hatred of the chels was accompanied with fear; and the fear of the Roman oldiers was mingled with respectful admiration. Amidst the oundless plains of Getulia, and the innumerable valleys of fount Atlas, it was impossible to prevent the escape of Firmus; end, if the usurper could have tired the patience of his antagonist, e would have secured his person in the depth of some remote olitude, and expected the hopes of a future revolution. He ras subdued by the perseverance of Theodosius; who had brined an inflexible determination that the war should end only by the death of the tyrant, and that every nation of Africa which resumed to support his cause should be involved in his ruin. At the head of a small body of troops, which seldom exceeded hree thousand five hundred men, the Roman general advanced with a steady prudence, devoid of rashness or of fear, into the cart of a country where he was sometimes attacked by armies of twenty thousand Moors. The boldness of his charge dismayed the irregular Barbarians; they were disconcerted by his seasonble and orderly retreats; they were continually buffled by the usknown resources of the military art; and they felt and conessed the just superiority which was assumed by the leader of civilized nation. When Theodosius entered the extensive commons of Igmazen, king of the Isaflenses, the haughty savage

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required, in words of defiance, his name and the object of his expedition, "I am," replied the stern and disclainful count, "I am the general of Valentiman, the lord of the world; who has sent me hither to pursue and punish a desperate robber Deliver him instantly into my hands; and be assured that, if thou dost not obey the commands of my invincible sovereign, thou, and the people over whom thou reignest, shall be utterly extirpated." As soon as Igmazen was satisfied that his enemy had strength and resolution to execute the fatal menace, he consented to purchase a necessary peace by the sacrifice of a guilty fugitive. The guards that were placed to secure the person of Firmus deprived him of the hopes of escape; and the Moorish tyrant, after wine had extinguished the sense of danger, disappointed the insulting triumph of the Romans by strangling hanself in the night. His dead body, the only present which Igmazen could offer to the conqueror, was carelessly thrown upon a camel; and Theodosius, leading back his victorious troops to Sitifi, was saluted by the warmest acclamations of joy and loyalty.127

Africa had been lost by the vices of Romanus; it was restored by the virtues of Theodosius, and our curiosity may be usefully directed to the inquiry of the respective treatment which the two generals received from the Imperial court. The authority of Count Romanus had been suspended by the master-general of the cavalry, and he was committed to safe and honourable custody till the end of the war. His crimes were proved by the most authentic evidence; and the public expected, with some impatience, the decree of severe justice. But the partial and powerful favour of Mellobaudes encouraged him to challenge his legal judges, to obtain repeated delays for the purpose of procuring a crowd of friendly witnesses, and, finally, to cover his guilty conduct by the additional guilt of fraud and forgery. About the same time, the restorer of Britain and Africa, on a vague suspicion that his name and services were superior to the runk of a subject, was ignonumously beheaded at Carthage. Valentinian no longer reigned; and the death of Theodosius, as well as the impunity of Romanus, may justly be imputed to the arts of the ministers who abused the confidence, and deceived the mexperienced youth, of his sons,125

broker and corrupted and the nural re is perplexed by the main of carone logical p. 187. For confusion of Merchandes and Medichandes op. 10 and App. 4.

If the geographical accuracy of Ammanus had been fortun-same stely bestowed on the British exploits of Theodosius, we should ave traced, with eager curosity, the distinct and domestic mutsteps of his march. But the tedious enumeration of the anknown and uninteresting tribes of Africa may be reduced to the general remark that they were all of the swarthy race of the Moors; that they inhabited the back settlements of the Mauritanian and Numidian provinces, the country, as they have sare been termed by the Arabs, of dates and of locusta; 150 and that, as the Roman power declined in Africa, the boundary of contracted manners and cultivated land was insensibly contracted. Beyond the atmost limits of the Moors, the vast and inhospitable beert of the South extends above a thousand miles to the maks of the Niger. The ancients, who had a very faint and superfect knowledge of the great peninsula of Africa, were metanes tempted to believe that the tornd zone must ever mmain destitute of inhabitants: 130 and they sometimes amused their fancy by filling the vacant space with headless men, or rather monsters; 181 with horned and cloven-footed satyrs; 185 with fabulous centaurs; 123 and with human pygimes, who waged a bold and doubtful warfare against the cranes. 154 Carthage

*Les Afrennes in the Vinggi di Ramuno, tom 1, fol 78-83) has traced a source porture of the people and the country, which are more minutely described the Vingge de Marmol tom ... p. 1-54.

The metable cone was gradually reduced, by the improvements of people and programs, from forty-five to twenty-four or even watern degrees of the New Alexandriand judicious note of Dr. Robertson, Hist of America, p. 435.

Intra, is credere bet, viv jam homous et mag s semifer. Blei myes, sairt ce. Pomessian Mea, i 4 p. 26 edit Vess, in 870. Play the inosphially is est (v. 35) the inegularities of nature, which be had creationally admitted

of if the sater was the Orang-outang, the great human ape (Buffon, Hist toom at p 43. 6c.) one of that species might actually be shown alive at the artists in the reign of Constant no. Yet some difficulty will still remain the construction which St Anthony held with one of these prous savages a few feneral of Declars (Jerom, to V. 19ad Frenit, tom a. p. 238).

St Ar hony; sewise are one of their monsters, whose easierne was seriously mound by the emperor Chaid is. The public huighed, but his product of regulated the address to send an arthur preparation, the embedded corps of an hisponentaine, at home proserved almost a century afterwards in the Imperial passes. See Play (these Nature, in a), and the judicious observations of Frerei

At the fable of the pygones as old as Homer (fluid, or. 6). The pygones of todic and Athopia were (trajethen twents seven inches ligh and spring spring seven in the fable of the control on rans and goats) in ched in hattle at its to destroy the ranse eggs after (ways Pluy) future gregoless non resists. Their houses were to formal, feathers, and eggshells. See Pluy (s) 3c vii, 2), and Strabo (l. 0, p. 121, § 1, 9).

was twee trembted at the strange intelligence that the water un estrer suic of the equator were filled with in mercane astrone, who differed only in their colour from the minutes appearance of the human species; and the subjects of the Rosesn empire might have anaiously expected that The parties of Burbarians which posted from the North was be encountered from the South by new swarms These and equally formulable. These course terrors would indeed have been dispelled by a se structe sequentance with the character of their African The maction of the negroes does not seem to be the for either of their virtue or of their pusillanimity. They inthe the rest of mankind, their passions and appetites, and the adjacent tribes are engaged in frequent acts of hos-But their rude ignorance has never invented any dectual weapons of defence or of destruction; they appear inanable of forming any extensive plans of government or conwest, and the obvious inferiority of their mental faculties has been descovered and abused by the nations of the temperate enter thousand blacks are annually embarked from the coast of Guinea, never to return to their native country; but they are embarked in chains 136 and this constant emigration, which, in the space of two centuries, might have furnished armes to overnm the globe, accuses the guilt of Europe and the weakness of Africa.

IV. The ignominous treaty which saved the army of Jovian had been faithfully executed on the side of the Romans: and, as they had solemnly renounced the sovereignty and alliance of trinema and Iberia, those tributary kingdoms were exposed, without protection, to the arms of the Persian monarch. The sapor entered the Armenian territories at the head of a formidable host of cuirassiers, of archers, and of mercenary foot; but it was the invariable practice of Sapor to mix war and

20 The third and fourth volumes of the valuable H stour des Voyages describe on print state of the regrees. The nations of the process have been pounded to hance a commerce, and those of the inland country have been emproved to Macrobial from er.

126 History Philosophique et Politique &c. tom e p roa-



The evalence of A marius is the all and decisive training the Moses of Operated C. 17, p. 24, and c. 34 p. 28, and Presoperate Bell Person, I. 1, q. p. 19 cdid. I centrel have been constant to but have been assumed to be had a surface and the conformal data of first repeat the same everts and attod of the person to be used to be and control. The assumption the text of the war about the central same and the conformal conformal to the same about the central same and the conformal conformal to the same and the central same and the conformal conformal to the same and the central same and the central conformal conformal to the same and the central conformal confo

negotiation, and to consider falsehood and perjuty as the most powerful instruments of regal policy. He affected to proise the prudent and moderate conduct of the king of Armema; and the unsuspicious Tiranus was persuaded, by the repeated assurances [anax] of insidious friendship, to deliver his person into the hands of a futhless and cruel enemy. In the midst of a splendid entertunment, he was bound in chains of silver, as an honour due to the blood of the Arsacides; and, after a short confinement in the Tower of Oblogon at Echatana,128 he was released from the miseries of life, either by his own dagger or by that of an parable massin. The kingdom of Armenia was reduced to the state of a Persian province; the administration was shared between a distinguished satrap and a favourite cunuch; and Sapor marched, without delay, to subdue the martial spirit of the Iberians. Sauromaces, who reigned in that country by the permession of the emperors, was expelled by a superior force; and, as an usult on the majesty of Rome, the King of kings placed a diadem on the head of his abject vassal Aspacuras. The city of Artogerassa 120 was the only place of Armenia which presumed to resist the effort of his arms. The treasure deposited in that strong fortress tempted the avarice of Sapor; but the danger of Olympias, the wife, or widow, of the Armenian king, excited (parinters) the public compassion, and animated the desperate valour of her subjects and soldiers. The Persians were surprised and repulsed under the walls of Artogerassa, by a bold and wellconcerted sally of the besieged. But the forces of Sapor were continually renewed and increased; the hopeless courage of the garrison was exhausted; the strength of the walls yielded to the wault; and the proud conqueror, after wasting the rebellious att with fire and sword, led away captive an unfortunate queen. who, in a more auspicious hour, had been the destined bride of the son of Constantine. 140 Yet, if Sapor already triumphed in the easy conquest of two dependent kingdoms, he soon felt hat a country is unsubdued, as long as the minds of the people are actuated by an hostile and contunuacious spirit. The satraps, whom he was obliged to trust, embraced the first opportunity

The part of the state of the mother of Para. The wife was Pharandeem, not be papara, I substitute in 55-1

the castle of Annish (Ammunicalls it Agabana) in Susiana; exact locality is uncertad. For the events (to bloom makes Archite and Turan see Licitus, or 54 life Postagos Antagoria or Arda Antakers) under whose was Gasus, the grander of Augustus, was nounded. This fortees was not after these Antala, and any of the nounces of the Tight. See d'Anville, Geographic Annienne tons.

of regaining the affection of their countrymen and of signalizing their immortal hatred to the Persian name. Since the conversion of the Armenians and Iberians, those nations considered the Christians as the favourites, and the Magians as the adversaries, of the Supreme Being; the influence of the clergy over a superstitious people was uniformly exerted in the cause of Rome; and, as long as the successors of Constantine disputed with those of Artaxerxes the sovereignty of the intermediate provinces, the religious connexion always threw a decisive advantage into the scale of the empire. A numerous and active party acknowledged Para, the son of Tiranus, as the lawful sovereign of Armenia; and his title to the throne was deeply rooted in the hereditary succession of five hundred years. the unanimous consent of the Iberians, the country was equally divided between the rival princes; and Aspacuras, who owed his duidem to the choice of Sapor, was obliged to declare that his regard for his children, who were detained as hostages by the tyrant, was the only consideration which prevented him from openly renouncing the alliance of Persia. The emperor Valens, who respected the obligations of the treaty, and who was apprehensive of involving the East in a dangerous war, ventured, with slow and cautious measures, to support the Roman party in the kingdoms of Iberia and Armenia. Twelve legion established the authority of Sauromaces on the banks of the Cyrus. The Euphrates was protected by the valour of Anntheus. A powerful army, under the command of Count Trajan, and of Vadomair, king of the Alemanni, fixed their camp on the confines of Armenia. But they were strictly enjoined not to commit the first hostilities, which might be understood as a breach of the treaty; and such was the implicit obedience of the Roman general that they retreated, with exemplary patience, under a shower of Persian arrows, till they had clearly acquired a just title to an honourable and legitimate victory. Yet these appearances of war insensibly subsided in a vain and tedious negotistion. The contending parties supported their claims by mutual reproaches of perfidy and ambition; and it should seem that the original treaty was expressed in very obscure terms, since they were reduced to the necessity of making their meonclusive appeal to the partial testimony of the generals of the two nations who had assisted at the negotiations.10. The in-

(A.D. 373)

(Papl

(A D STA Rattle of Vegabenta)

¹⁶ Ammanda (aasta 12, aast 1, aast 2, a) has described the execute authors the dates, of the Persian wit. Moses of Chinene (I) Armee 1 to 5 28 p 263 6 45 p 265 6 45 p 275 sfords some additional facts, but it is extremely difficult to separate fruit from fabre.

vasion of the Goths and Huns, which soon afterwards shook the foundations of the Roman empire, exposed the provinces of Asia to the arms of Sapor. But the declining age, and perhaps the infirmatics, of the monarch suggested new maxims of tranquellity and moderation. His death, which happened in the full AD 300 maturity of a reign of seventy years, changed in a moment the mo court and councils of Persia; and their attention was most probably engaged by domestic troubles, and the distant efforts of a (armanian war, 161 The remembrance of ancient injuries was lost in the enjoyment of peace. The kingdoms of Armenia and the tenty beria were permitted, by the mutual, though tacit, consent of ab at both empires, to resume their doubtful neutrality. In the first years of the reign of Theodosius, a Persian embassy arrived at Constantinople, to excuse the unjustifiable measures of the former reign; and to offer, as the tribute of friendship, or even of respect, a splendid present of gems, of silk, and of Indian elephants, 145

In the general picture of the affairs of the East under the Advances reign of Valens, the adventures of Para form one of the most of Para time striking and singular objects. The noble youth, by the persuasion of his mother Olympias, had escaped through the Per (Paradam) and host that besieged Artogenissa, and implored the protection (A.a. m) of the emperor of the East. By his timid councils. Para was alternately supported, and recalled, and restored, and betrayed, (Paradam) The hopes of the Armenians were sometimes raised by the presence of their natural sovereign; and the ministers of Valens were satisfied that they preserved the integrity of the public faith, if their vassal was not suffered to assume the diadem and title of King. But they soon repented of their own rashness. They were confounded by the reproaches and threats of the Persian monarch. They found reason to distribut the cruel and inconstant temper of Para himself, who sacrificed, to the hightest suspicions, the lives of his most faithful servants; and (A.a. m) held a secret and disgraceful correspondence with the assassin

of his father and the enemy of his country. Under the specious

11 1 PT 1 P 418 For dates of his macrosort see Append a complete time and Property Company Version 22 and Crosses I and Complete time fashing on a persons Oriens using and name (A.D. 416) transportations frontier.

In Arraxerses was the successor and brother the course german of the great Sayer, and the gratian of his son Sayer III. Agathus, I. IV. p. 136 odit.

The array property of Benn I. See the Universal History, vol. xi. p. 86 offi.

The array of that anequal work have compared the Sussainan dynasty with array on I. I. were but it is a proposterous arrangementatio doubt the Reman and the entire accounts are two distinct buttones. The first year of Ardenhus, accounts on Sagor was reck ned from 10 Aug. 370. Neddeke Carech der Perser at I. S. S. S. P. 418. For dates of his successors not Appendix S.

pretence of consulting with the emperor on the subject of their common interest, Para was persuaded to descend from the mountains of Armenia, where his party was in arms, and to trust his independence and safety to the discretion of a perfidious court. The king of Armenia, for such he appeared in his own eyes and in those of his nation, was received with due honour by the governors of the provinces through which he passed but, when he arrived at Tursus in Cilicia, his progress was stopped under various pretences; his motions were watched with respectful vigilance; and he gradually discovered that he was a prisoner in the hands of the Romans. Para suppressed his indignation, dissembled his fears, and, after secretly preparing his escape, mounted on horseback with three hundred o his furthful followers. The officer stationed at the door of his apartment immediately communicated his flight to the consular of Ciheia, who overtook him in the suburbs, and endeavoured without success, to dissuade him from prosecuting his rash and dangerous design. A legion was ordered to pursue the roya fugitive; but the pursuit of infantry could not be very alarming to a body of light cavalry; and upon the first cloud of arrows that was discharged into the air they retreated with preciptation to the gates of Tarsus. After an incessant march of two days and two nights, Para and his Armenians reached the banks of the Euphrates; but the passage of the river, which they were obliged to swim, was attended with some delay and some loss The country was alarmed; and the two roads, which were only separated by an interval of three miles, had been occupied by a thousand archers on horseback, under the command of a count and a tribune. Para must have yielded to superior force, if the accidental arrival of a friendly traveller had not revealed the danger, and the means of e-cape. A dark and almost impervious path securely conveyed the Armenian troop through the thicket; and Para had left behind him the count and the tribune, while they patiently expected his approach along the public highways. They returned to the Imperial court to excuse their want of diligence or success; and senously alleged that the king of Armenia, who was a skilful magician, had transformed himself and his followers, and passed before their eyes under a borrowed shape. After his return to his native king don, Para still continued to profess himself the friend and allof the Romans; but the Romans had injured him too deeply ever to forgive, and the secret sentence of his death was signed in the council of Valens. The execution of the bloody deed

was committed to the subtle prudence of Count Trajan; and he had the merit of insunuating himself into the confidence of the credulous prince, that he might find an opportunity of stabling him to the heart. Para was invited to a Roman banquet, which had been prepared with all the nomp and sensuality of the East: the hall resounded with cheerful music, and the company was already heated with wine; when the count retired for an instant, drew his sword, and give the signal of the murder. A robust and desperate Barbarian instantly rushed on the king of Armenia; and, though he bravely defended his life with the first weapon that chance offered to his hand, the table of the A.D. PH Imperial general was stained with the royal blood of a guest, and an ally. Such were the weak and wicked maxims of the Roman administration, that, to attain a doubtful object of political interest, the laws of nations and the sacred rights of hospitality were inhumanly violated in the face of the world.144

V. During a peaceful interval of thirty years, the Romans v THE DAME COMsecured their frontiers, and the Goths extended their dominions The victories of the great Hermanne, 145 king of the Ostrogoths, and the most noble of the race of the Amali, have been compared, by the enthusiasm of his countrymen, to the exploits of Alexander: with this singular, and almost incredible, difference, that the martial spirit of the Gothic hezo, instead of being supported by the vigour of youth, was displayed with glory and success in the extreme period of human life; between the age of fourscore and one hundred and ten years. The independent tribes were persuaded, or compelled, to acknowledge the king of the Ostrogoths as the sovereign of the Gothic nation: the shiefs of the Visigoths, or Thervingi, renounced the royal title, and assumed the more humble appellation of Judges; 146 and, among those judges, Athanaric, Fritigern, and Alavivus were the most illustrious, by their personal merit, as well as by their vicinity to the Roman provinces. These domestic conquests,

144 See in Ammianus (XXX 1) the adventures of Para. [Pap is the true name, The atter B. H. [12] Moses of Chorene calls him Tiridites; and tells a long and not represent a trey of his son finelin, who afterwards made himself or east in Arrama, and provoked the jessions of the reigning king (i. til. c. 21, i. 22; d.). [Kind was nephess of Arshak, who killed him and married his life that o liters. Faistes, iv 15.]

covered to a state fragments when Jonateyles (c. 28) borrowed from the Gottne

"I mag eas that the Vergoth's belonged to a (loose) confederacy of which there is a way of ef. K. n. der Germanen, " 90. But be doubt the legitimacy of the property of the same of Athanana (called Judge by Themstus, Or X., and Amman.) that the other chiefs were called Judges iv 50).

which increased the military power of Hermanric, enlarged his ambitions designs. He invaded the adjacent countries of the North; and twelve considerable nations, whose names and limits cannot be accurately defined, successively yielded to the supemonth of the Gothic arms. (4) The Heruli, who inhabited the marshy lands near the lake Marotis, were renowned for their strength and agility; and the assistance of their light infantry was eagerly solicited, and highly esteemed, in all the wars of the Barbarians. But the active spirit of the Heruli was subdued by the slow and steady perseverance of the Goths; and, after a bloody action, in which the king was slain, the remains of that warlike tribe became an useful accession to the camp of Hermanrie. He then marched against the Venedi; unskilled in the use of arms, and formidable only by their numbers, which filled the wide extent of the plains of modern Poland. The victorious Goths, who were not inferior in numbers, prevailed in the contest, by the decenve advantages of exercise and discipline After the submission of the Venedi, the conqueror advanced, without resistance, as far as the confines of the Actu; 165 an ancient people, whose name is still preserved in the province of Esthonia. Those distant inhabitants of the Baltic coast were supported by the labours of agriculture, enriched by the trade of amber, and consecrated by the peculiar worship of the Mother of the Gods. But the scarcity of iron obliged the Astian warriors to content themselves with wooden clubs; and the reduction of that wealthy country is ascribed to the prudence. rather than to the arms, of Hermanne. His dominions, which extended from the Danube to the Baltic, included the native seats, and the recent acquisitions, of the Goths; and he reigned over the greatest part of Germany and Scythia with the authority of a conqueror, and sometimes with the cruelty of a tyrant. But he reigned over a part of the globe meapable of perpetuating and adorning the glory of its heroes. The name of Hermanrie is almost buried in oblivion; his exploits are imperfectly known, and the Romans thomselves appeared unconscious of

of the edit of the compact of the period of the first whose numbers also at act on are expressed by the period of Tacitia (Germania of 45)

[&]quot;M de Brist Hist des Perples de l'Europe i vo p 321-220 investigates, wit intere industry i in access the notions sale and by the attach of Herman. He deries the existence of the 10 modernes, on a constaint the in-alterial length of their name. Yet the French every to Ritistion or Dresden insist have tracepted the country of the Medical and the country.

the progress of an aspiring power, which threatened the liberty

of the North and the peace of the empire.149

The Goths had contracted an hereditary attachment for the The came of Imperal house of Constantine, of whose power and liberality we are they had received so many signal proofs. They respected the public peace; and, if an hostile band sometimes presumed to pass the Roman limit, their irregular conduct was candidly seenbed to the ungovernable spirit of the Barbarian youth. Their contempt for two new and obscure princes, who had been mised to the throne by a popular election, inspired the Goths with bolder bopes; and, while they agitated some design of marching their confederate force under the national standard, 159 they were easily tempted to embrace the party of Procopius, and to foment, by their dangerous aid, the civil discord of the Romans. The public treaty might stipulate no more than ten thousand auxiliaries; but the design was so zealously adopted by the chiefs of the Visigoths that the army which passed the Danube amounted to the number of thirty thousand men.151 They marched with the proud confidence that their invincible valour would decide the fate of the Roman empire; and the provinces of Thrace grouned under the weight of the Barbarians. ho displayed the insolence of masters and the heentiousness of enemies. But the intemperance which gratified their appetites retarded their progress; and, before the Goths could receive any certain intelligence of the defeat and death of Proconius, they perceived, by the hostile state of the country, that the avil and military powers were resumed by his successful rival. A chain of posts and fortifications, skilfully disposed by Valens, r the generals of Valens, resisted their march, prevented their retreat, and intercepted their subsistence. The berceness of the Barbarians was tamed and suspended by hunger; they indignantly threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror, who offered them food and chains; the numerous captives were distributed in all the cities of the East; and the provincials, who were soon familiarized with their savage appearance, venbured, by degrees, to measure their own strength with these

Person of the per multa variague fonter facta vien's gent his formulate &c.

12 Varia . . . decetar relation bus Decim, genten toot ornin at tempestale
zonam ideogue savassimum conspirantem in unum, ad persidenda parari

Ammunum (xxx. 3) observes, in general terms Ermenrich' . . poblissimi

ts. M. de Buat (Hist, des Peuples de l'Europe, tom, vi. p. 332) has curiously certained the real number of these any large. The second formation, and the 10.000 of Zos mus, were only the first divisions of the Gothic arms

formidable adversaries, whose name had so long been the object of their terror. The king of Scythia (and Hermanne alone could deserve so lofty a title) was grieved and exasperated by this national calamity. His ambassadors loudly complained a the court of Valens, of the infraction of the ancient and solone alliance which had so long subsisted between the Romans and the Goths. They alleged that they had fulfilled the duty of allies by assisting the kinsman and successor of the emperu Julian; they required the immediate restitution of the noble captives; and they urged a very singular claim, that the Gothe generals, marching in arms and in hostile array, were entitled to the sacred character and privileges of ambassadors. The decent but peremptory refusal of these extravagant demands was signified to the Barbarians by Victor, master-general of the cavalry, who expressed, with force and dignity, the just complaints of the Emperor of the East 192 The negotiation was interrupted; and the manly exhortations of Valentinas encouraged his timid brother to vindicate the insulted majesty of the empire.143

Hostilities and penes, A.D. Ser, 200, 368

The splendour and magnitude of this Gothic war are celebrated by a contemporary historian; ¹⁵⁸ but the events scarcely deserve the attention of posterity, except as the preliminary steps of the approaching decline and fall of the empire. Instead of leading the nations of Germany and Scythia to the hanks of the Danube, or even to the gates of Constantinople, the aged monarch of the Goths resigned to the brave Athananc the danger and glory of a defensive war, against an enemy who wielded with a feeble hand the powers of a mighty state. A bridge of boats was established upon the Danube; the presence of Valens animated his troops; and his ignorance of the art of war was compensated by personal bravery and a wise deference to the advice of Victor and Arintheus, his masters-general of the cavalry and infantry. The operations of the campaign were

the Valent en must consult placement frater enjus regeletur arterne, arma concust in Gothes ratione justs permotts. Annueus (a.v. 4) then provends to dear the not the country of the Gothe but the peaceful and obedient present of there, which is a not affected by the war.

1's Eurapius, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 18, 10 [18.]. The Greek sophist must have considered as one and the same war the whole series of Gothic history till the victories and peace of Fheodosius.

The march and subsequent negot at on ore described in the Pragments of Funapous (Faccept Legal p of edd. Louise from F. H. G. iv.). The promotals, who afterwards became familiar with the Burbarrans found that the extrength was more apparent than usal. They were tall of stature; but their legal were clumes, and ther shoulders were narrow.

126 Valens on most consulte placement frater cultus regeleature arterior, arms

ted by their skill and expenence; but they found it ble to drive the Visigoths from their strong posts in the ins : and the devastation of the plains obliged the themselves to repass the Danube on the approach of The meessunt mins, which swelled the waters of the reduced a tacit suspension of arms, and confined the Valens, during the whole course of the ensuing t to his camp of Marcianopolis. The third year of the more favourable to the Romans and more permenous Goths. The interruption of trade deprived the Barof the objects of luxury which they already confounded necessaries of life; and the desolation of a very extensive country threatened them with the horrors of famine. rie was provoked, or compelled, to risk a battle, which in the plains; and the pursuit was rendered more by the cruel precaution of the victorious generals, who mised a large reward for the head of every Goth that hight into the Imperial camp. The submission of the ans appeared the resentment of Valens and his council; peror listened with satisfaction to the flattering and te remonstrance of the senate of Constantinople, which for the first time, a share in the public deliberations; same generals, Victor and Arintheus, who had sucdirected the conduct of the war, were empowered to the conditions of peace. The freedom of trade, which hs had hitherto emoved, was restricted to two cities on tabe; the rashness of their leaders was severely punished suppression of their pensions and subsidies, and the n, which was stipulated in favour of Athanaric alone, re advantageous than honourable to the Judge of the Athanaric, who, on this occasion, appears to have d his private interest, without expecting the orders of reign, supported his own dignity, and that of his tribe, ersonal interview which was proposed by the ministers as. He persisted in his declaration that it was imposhim, without incurring the guilt of perjury, ever to foot on the terntory of the empire; and it is more than that his regard for the sanctity of an oath was cony the recent and fatal examples of Roman treachery. mube, which separated the dominions of the two innt nations, was chosen for the scene of the conference. peror of the East and the Judge of the Visigoths, aced by an equal number of armed followers, advanced

in their respective barges to the middle of the stream. the ratification of the treaty, and the delivery of hostages, Valens returned in triumph to Constantinople, and the Goths remained in a state of tranquility about six years; till they were violently impelled against the Roman empire by an innumerable host of Scythians, who appeared to issue from the

frozen regions of the North 185

The Emperor of the West, who had resigned to his brother the command of the Lower Danube, reserved for his immediate care the defence of the Rhietian and Illyrian provinces, which spread so many hundred indes along the greatest of the European rivers. The active policy of Valentinian was continually employed in adding new fortifications to the security of the frontier; but the abuse of this policy provoked the just resentment of the Barbarians. The Quadr complained that the ground for an intended fortress had been marked out on their territories; and their complaints were urged with so much reason and moderation that Equities, master-general of Illyricum, consented to suspend the prosecution of the work. till he should be more clearly informed of the will of his sovereign. This fair occasion of injuring a rival, and of advancing the fortune of his son, was eagerly embraced by the inhuman Maximin, the prefect, or rather tyrant, of Gaul. The passions of Valentinian were impatient of control; and he credulously listened to the assumnces of his favourite that, if the government of Valeria, and the direction of the work, were intrusted to the zeal of his son Marcellinus, the emperor should no longer be importuned with the audicious remonstrances of the Barbarians.176 The subjects of Rome, and the natives of Germany, were insulted by the arrogance of a young and worthless minister, who considered his rapid elevation as the proof and reward of his superior merit. He affected, however, to receive the modest application of Gabinus, king of the Quadi, with some attention and regard; but this artful civility

Marcel

14 The Gothic war is described by Ammaian (axvii. 4), Zosimin (I. iv. p. 211-21.4 c. 10], and Thomas a Crait x, px 12x, 14x. The orator Thomasian was seed from the service of Constantinople to congratulate the victorious empirior, and his service elequence con paren Valent en the Darmbe to Achiles on the Sea candles. Jecusaries fregets a war position to the Paradicths, and mightinum to the Gother name (Mancous Hist. of the Cormans, viz. 2).

10 [The name of the feet in the Cormans of the first of the feet in the feet in the feet in the first of the feet in the first of the feet in the

preserved inscribed on several tiles, C. L. J., 3701. Cp. also Mommser, Herman

17. 1 503.

concealed a dark and bloody design, and the credulous prince was persuaded to accept the pressing invitation of Marcellinus, am at a loss how to vary the narrative of similar crimes; or how to relate that, in the course of the same year, but in remote parts of the empire, the inhospitable table of two Imperial generals was stained with the royal blood of two guests and allies, inhumanly murdered by their order and in their presence. The fate of Gabinus and of Para was the same: but the cruel death of their sovereign was resented in a very different manner by the servile temper of the Armenians and the free and daring spirit of the Germans. The Quadi were much declined from that formidable power which, in the time of Marcus Antonius, had spread terror to the gates of Rome. But they still possessed arms and courage, their courage was animated by despair, and they obtained the usual reinforcement of the cavalry of their Sarmatan allies. So improvident was the assassin Marcellinus that he chose the moment when the bravest veterans had been drawn away to suppress the revolt of Firmus; and the whole province was exposed, with a very feeble defence, to the rage of the exasperated Barbarians. They invaded Pannonia in the season of harvest; unmercifully destroyed every object of plunder which they could not easily transport; and either disregarded or demolished the empty The princess Constantia, the daughter of the fortifications. emperor Constantius and the grand-daughter of the great Constantine, very narrowly escaped. That royal maid, who had innecently supported the revolt of Procepius, was now the destined wife of the heir of the Western empire. She traversed the peaceful province with a splendid and unarmed Her person was saved from danger, and the republic from disgrace, by the active zeal of Messalla, governor of the provinces. As soon as he was informed that the village, where she stopped only to dine, was almost encompassed by the Barbarrans, he hastily placed her in his own chariot, and drove fall speed till he reached the gates of Sirmium, which were at the distance of six and twenty miles. Even Sirmium might not have been secure, if the Quadi and Sarmatians had diligently advanced during the general consternation of the Pratorian prafect, sufficient time to recover his own spirits and to revive the courage of the citizens. He skilfully directed their strenuous efforts to repair and strengthen the decayed fortifications; and procured the seasonable and effectual

blood-vessel suddenly burst in his body; and Valentinian fell speechless into the arms of his attendants. Their pious care immediately concealed his situation from the crowd; but, in a few and sauta, of minutes, the Emperor of the West expired in an agony of pararetaining his senses till the last, and struggling, without success. to declare his intentions to the generals and ministees who surrounded the royal couch. Valentinian was about fifty-four years of age; and he wanted only one hundred days to accom-

plish the twelve years of his reign, 161

The polygamy of Valentinian is seriously attested by an coclesiastical historian, 142 "The empress Severa (I relate the fable) admitted into her familiar society the lovely Justina, the daughter of an Italian governor; her admiration of those naked charms which she had often seen in the hath was expressed with such lavish and imprudent praise that the emperor was tempted to introduce a second wife into his bed; and his public edict extended to all the subjects of the empire the same domestic privilege which he had assumed for himself." But we may be assured, from the evidence of reason as well as history, that the two marriages of Valentinian, with Severa, and with Justina. were morespeely contracted; and that he used the ancient permission of divorce, which was still allowed by the laws, though it was condemned by the church. Severa was the mother of Gratian, who seemed to unite every claim which could entitle him to the undoubted succession of the Western empire. He was the eldest son of a monarch, whose glorious reign had confinned the free and honoumble choice of his fellow-soldiers. Before he had attained the ninth year of his age, the royal youth received from the hands of his indulgent father the purple robe and diadem, with the title of Augustus: the election was solemnly ratified by the consent and applause of the armies of Gaul : 161 and the name of Gratian was added to

[A.D. 2003

191 See, on the death of Valentinan, Ammanus axx. 6), Zoomans (Liv p. 22) [c. 17]). Victor on Fiptom [45], Norvites (Liv c. 31) and Jerom (in Chr = p. 18) and tom, it p. 26 ad Headdor.). There is much variety of cateumstaness among them, and Ammanus is so enoquent that he writes measurese.

her Societies (L. v. c. 31) is the only or goal winess of this to distory so re-pugnant to the laws and manners of the Romans that it serves it will be pugnant to the laws and manners of the Romans that it serves the formal and elaborate discriming of M. Bonamy Mem de I Ara In a tree are possible to I would preserve the natural creamistance of the bath instead of following Zoumius, who represents Junious as an old woman, the wide of Magnanius. (For the discrete of Valeria Severa Marina and maintage with Avant to that op. Richter Ina west rea sche Rock p. 278

100 Anniham as (xxx., 6) describes the free of the red try floot on and magnature to law the Rock p. 278

101 Anniham as (xxx., 6) describes the free of the red try floot on and magnificant tree Valent, an does not appear to have computed or even informed, the senate of Rome. Date I datus Fast. Cons.)

the names of Valentinian and Valens, in all the legal transactons of the Roman government. By his marriage with the rand-daughter of Constantine, the son of Valentinian acquired command all the hereditary rights of the Flavian family; which, in a on wires of three Imperial generations, were sanctified by time, religion, and the reverence of the people. At the death of his ather, the royal youth was in the seventeenth year of his age; and his virtues already justified the favourable opinion of the army and people. But Gratian resided, without apprehension, a the palace of Treves; whilst, at the distance of many handred miles, Valentiman suddenly expired in the camp of Bregetin. The passions, which had been so long suppressed by the presence of a master, immediately revived in the imperial concel; and the ambitious design of reigning in the name of on infant, was artfully executed by Mellohaudes and Equitius, the Man ho commanded the attachment of the Illyrian and Italian They contrived the most honourable pretences to remove the popular leaders and the troops of Gaul, who might have asserted the claims of the lawful successor; they suggrated the necessity of extinguishing the hopes of foreign and Impestic enemies by a bold and decisive measure. empress Justina, who had been left in a palace about one bundred miles from Bregetio, was respectfully invited to appear a the camp, with the son of the deceased emperor. On the both day after the death of Valentinian, the infant prince of the same name, who was only four years old, was shewn in the was of his mother to the legions; and solemnly invested by military acclamation with the titles and ensigns of supreme power The impending dangers of a civil war were seasonably prevented by the wise and moderate conduct of the emperor He cheerfully accepted the choice of the army; leclared that he should always consider the son of Justina as s brother, not as a rival; and advised the empress, with her on Valentinian, to fix their residence at Milan, in the fair and praceful province of Italy; while he assumed the more arduous mmand of the countries beyond the Alps, Gratian dissembled his resentment till he could safely punish, or disgrace, the authors of the conspiracy; and, though he uniformly behaved with tenderness and regard to his infant colleague, he gradually confounded, in the administration of the Western empire, the office of a guardian with the authority of a so ereign. The government of the Roman world was exercised in the united names of Valens and his two nephews; but the

THE DECLINE AND FALL

68

feeble emperor of the East, who succeeded to the rank of hit elder brother, never obtained any weight or influence in the councils of the West. 184

184 Ammianua, xxx. in. Zonimus, l. iv. p. 292-223, 'c. 19. Thermoor far proved (Hist des Empereurs tom v. p. 707-200 that Gratian respect in 'u. africa, and Illyricum. I have endeavoured to express his authority over his brother's documents, as he used it, in an ambiguous style.

CHAPTER XXVI

Manners of the Pastoral Nations—Progress of the Huns, from
China to Encope—Flight of the Gothe—They pass the
Danube Gothe war Defeat and Death of Valens—Gratian
invests Theodorus with the Eastern Empire—His Character
and Success—Peace and Settlement of the Goths

Is the second year of the reign of Valentinian and Valens, on saying the morning of the twenty first day of July, the greatest part of no the Roman world was shaken by a violent and destructive arthquake. The impression was communicated to the waters: the shores of the Mediterranean were left dry, by the sudden retreat of the sen; great quantities of fish were caught with the hand; large vessels were stranded on the mud; and a curious spectator 1 amused his eye, or rather his fancy, by contemplating the various appearance of valleys and mountains, which had arver, since the formation of the globe, been exposed to the But the tide soon returned, with the weight of an immense and irresutible deluge, which was severely felt on the coast of Siedy, of Dalmatia, of Greece, and of Egypt; large boats were transported, and lodged on the roofs of houses, or at the distance of two miles from the shore; the people, with their habitations, were swept away by the waters; and the city of Alexandria annually commemorated the fittal day on which fifty thousand persons had lost their lives in the inunda-This calamity, the report of which was magnified from one province to another, astonished and terrified the subjects of home; and their affrighted imagination enlarged the real extent of a momentary evil. They recollected the preceding earthquakes, which had subverted the cities of Palestine and Bithynia; they considered these alarming strokes as the prelude only of still more dreadful calamities, and their fearful vanity was disposed to confound the symptoms of a declining empire and a

¹ Sects is the laid taste of Ammanus axvi. (o) that it is not easy to distingual, has facts from his mera, born. Yet he post-vely affirms that he saw the rotten carcase of a ship ad secondom lagisless as Methone, or Modon, in Peloponnessa.

sinking world.9 It was the fashion of the times to attribute every remarkable event to the particular will of the Deity, the alterations of nature were connected, by an invisible chain, with the moral and metaphysical opinions of the human mind; and the most sugacious divines could distinguish, according to the colour of their respective prejudices, that the establishment of heresy tended to produce an earthquake, or that a deluge wathe inevitable consequence of the progress of sin and error. With out presuming to discuss the truth or propriety of these loftr speculations, the historian may content himself with an observation, which seems to be justified by experience, that man has much more to fear from the passions of his fellow-creature than from the convulsions of the elementa. The mischievous effects of an earthquake or deluge, a hurricane, or the eruption of a volcano, bear a very inconsiderable proportion to the ordinary calamities of war, as they are now moderated by tirprudence or humanity of the princes of Europe, who amass their own lessure, and exercise the courage of their subjects in the practice of the unitary art. But the laws and manner of modern nations protect the safety and freedom of the vanquished soldier; and the peaceful citizen has seldom reason to complain that his life, or even his fortune, is exposed to the rage of war. In the disastrous period of the fall of the Rome empire, which may justly be dated from the reign of Valens, the happiness and security of each individual were personally attacked; and the arts and labours of ages were rudely defaced The Born and by the Barbarians of Scythia and Germany. The invasion of the Huns precipitated on the provinces of the West the Gotha nation, which advanced, in less than forty years, from the Danube to the Atlantic, and opened a way, by the success of their arms, to the inroads of so many hostile tribes, more savage than themselves. The original principle of motion was concealed in the remote countries of the North; and the curious observa-

> The enribguskes and mundations are variously described by Libanius (Oral de ulcuscendà fu iani nece c. x. in Pabricus, Bibl. Gree. tom, vii. p. 133 s./ a learned note of C min is. Zosimus (1. v. p. 221 [c. 18]) Sozimen (1. vi. c. 2) Cut renus (p. 310, 314) and Jesom in C min p. 186, and t. i. p. 250 in Vit. H. at or. Epistanus must have been overwhelmed had not the predent catheory pl. ed Sc. Hilanon, an Egyphan monk, on the beach. He made the kigh of the cross, the morantain serve stopped, bowed, and othered. [The earthquakes in Greece mentioned by Zosumus belong to A D. 275].

> *Uncearches, the Perspatche, composed a formal freatise, to prove this choice from , which is not the most biscourable to the human species. Coore, or Official, is 5

tion of the pastoral life of the Scythians, or Tartam, will illustrate the latent cause of these destructive emigrations.

The different characters that mark the civilized nations of the The pasters! globe may be asenbed to the use, and the abuse, of reason; which which so variously shapes, and so artificially composes, the warrant manners and opinions of an European or a Chinese. But the operation of instinct is more sure and supple than that of reason: it is much easier to ascertain the appetites of a quadruped than the speculations of a philosopher; and the savage tribes of mankind, as they approach nearer to the condition of animals, preserve a stronger resemblance to themselves and to each The uniform stability of their manners is the natural consequence of the imperfection of their faculties. Reduced to a similar situation, their wants, their desires, their enjoyments, still continue the same; and the influence of food or climate, which, in a more improved state of society, is suspended or subdued by so many moral causes, most powerfully contributes to form and to maintain the national character of Barbarians. In every age, the immense plains of Scythia or Tartary have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement of a sedentary life. In every age, the Scythians and Tartars have been renowned for their invincible courage and rapid conquests. The thrones of Asia have been repeatedly overturned by the shepherds of the North; and their arms have spread terror and devastation over the most fertile and warlike countries of Europe.6 On this occasion, as well as on many others, the sober historian is forcibly awakened from a pleasing vision; and is compelled,

The original Sevitiums of Herodottis (l. 15 c. 47-57, 99-501) were confined to the Dar obe at 1 the Fall as Microtis, within a square of 4000 stadia (400 Reman 15 Sec d'Ar occidental A. Adon e. tom. xxxv. p. 573-573). Discourse to the 1 top. 155 edit. Wessening, has marked the gradual progress of the name and out on

*Tor Pater, or Tarture were a primitive tribe, the rivals, and at length the marks of the Maguls. In the veterious armies of Zing's Khan, and his were, the lactair fermed the vingulard, and the name which first resched to the whole nation friend; in the Hist de tribe, torn aven p out In speaking of all, or any, of the northern personal fermed to the state of Europe, or test, I indifferently use the appellations of Scythauser

the time of justin 1. 2, they have multiplied this a time of many first in a time of justin 1. 2, they have multiplied this a time in a few words (tom. x. p. 64, Hat. Generale, c. 156), has

draiged the Tartar conquests,

Of our the trembing nations from afar Hus Sythia breath'd the away cloud of war.

with some reluctance, to confess that the pastoral manners which have been adorned with the fairest attributes of pieces and innocence are much better adapted to the fierce and cruel habits of a military life. To illustrate this observation, I shall now proceed to consider a nation of shepherds and of warriors, in the three important articles of, I. Their diet; II. Their habitations; and, III. Their exercises. The narratives of antiquity are justified by the experience of modern times; and the banks of the Boryxthenes, of the Volga, or of the Selinga, will mainferently present the same uniform spectacle of similar and native manners.

I. The corn, or even the rice, which constitutes the ordinarand wholesome food of a civilized people, can be obtained coliby the patient toil of the husbandman. Some of the happy savages who dwell between the tropics are plentifully nourshed by the liberality of nature; but in the chinates of the North a nation of shepherds is reduced to their flocks and herds. The skilful practitioners of the medical art will determine (if ther are able to determine) how far the temper of the human mind may be affected by the use of animal or of vegetable food; and whether the common association of carmivorous and cruel deserves to be considered in any other light than that of an innocent, perhaps a salutary, prejudice of humanity.2 Yet, if it be true that the sentiment of compassion is imperceptibly weakened by the sight and practice of domestic cracity, we man observe that the horrid objects which are disguised by the arts of European refinement are exhibited, in their naked and

The fourth book of Herodotus affords a currons though imperfect portrae of the Soyth ins. Among the moderns, who describe the sandorn sease, the Khim of Khimwaresin, Abulghar Barndur, expresses his rate of feelings, as his Genatogical History of the Tarter has been copously ill strangs by the French and English editors. Carpan Asserts and Rosen, a critical History of the Mogals of the formion the cutture. In the guides, I have added Gerbion, and the other Jesuits Discovered that the par du Haide, tenn in I, who accurated surveyed the United States, 25th honest and intelligent traveller, Bell of Antermony (too volumes in atolicaryon 1763).

The Usercks are the most silved from their possession of the Street and 2, by the possession of the Street and 2, by the possession of the cities and

harvests of the great Bocheral

Pff est certain que les grands mangeurs de vande s'ett en général crucis et féroces plus que les auties homines. Cette observation est de tous est en le terbure Anylose est connue de Frolle de Reuss es territoris les team la tarbure Anylose est connue de Frolle de Reuss es territoris les teams at territoris est en la partie de la lor de la partie de la lor de la partie de la lor de la lor de la partie de la lor de la partie de la

Dist

most disgusting simplicity, in the tent of a Tartarian shepherd. The ox or the sheep are slaughtered by the same hand rum which they were accustomed to receive their daily food; and the bleeding limbs are served, with very little preparation. on the table of their unfeeling murderer. In the military protemon, and especially in the conduct of a numerous army, the exclusive use of animal food appears to be productive of the most solid advantages. Com is a bulky and perishable commodity, and the large magazines, which are indispensably necessary for the subsistence of our troops, must be slowly transported by the labour of men or horses. But the flocks and herds, which accompany the march of the Tartars, afford a sure and increasing supply of flesh and milk; in the far greater part of the uncultivated waste, the vegetation of the grass is quick and luxuriant; and there are few places so extremely barren that the hardy rattle of the North cannot find some tolerable pasture. The supply is multiplied and prolonged by the undistinguishing appetite and patient abstinence of the Tartars. They indifferently feed on the flesh of those animals that have been killed for the table or have died of disease. Horse-flesh, which in every age and country has been proscribed by the civilized nations of Europe and Asia, they devour with peculiar greediness; and this singular taste facilitates the success of their military opera-The active cavalry of Scythia is always followed, in their must distant and rapid incursions, by an adequate number of spare horses, who may be occasionally used, either to redouble the speed, or to satisfy the hunger, of the Barbarians. Many are the resources of courage and poverty. When the forage round a camp of Tartars is almost consumed, they shughter the greatest part of their cattle, and preserve the flesh either smoked or dried in the sun. On the sudden emergency of a hasty march, they provide themselves with a sufficient quantity of little balls of cheese, or rather of hard card, which they occasionally dissolve in water; and this unsubstantial diet will support, for many days, the life, and even the spirits, of the patient warrior. But this extraordinary abstinence, which the Stoic would approve and the hermit might envy, is commonly succeeded by the most voracious indulgence of appetite. The wines of a happier climate are the most grateful present, or the most valuable commodity, that can be offered to the Tartars; and the only example of their industry seems to consist in the art of extracting from mares' mik a fermented liquor, which possesses a very strong power of intoxication. Like the animals of prey, the savages, both of the

waggons, and their cattle, the smooth and hard surface of an

in mense plain

III The pastoral life, compared with the labours of agn culture and manufactures, is undoubtedly a life of idleness. and, as the most honourable shepherds of the Tartar per devolve on their captives the domestic management of the cattle, their own lessure is seldom disturbed by any servile and assidgous cares. But this lessure, instead of being devoted to the soft enjoyments of love and harmons, is usefully spent in the varient and singuinary exercise of the chase. The plans of Tartary are filled with a strong and serviceable breed of horses, which are easily trained for the purposes of war and hunting. The Sevilhans of every age have been celebrated as hold and skilful riders; and constant practice had seated them so firmly on horseback that they were supposed by strangers to perform the ordinary duties of civil life, to est, to drink, and even to sleep, without dismounting from their steeds. They excel in the dexterous management of the lance; the long Tartar bow is drawn with a nervous arm; and the weighty arrow is directed to its object with unerring aim and irresistible force. These arrows are often pointed against the harmless animals of the desert, which increase and multiply in the absence of their most formidable enemy the hare, the goat, the roebuck, the fallow-deer, the stag the elk, and the antelope. The vigour and patience both of the men and horses are continually exercised by the fatigues of the chase; and the plentiful supply of game contributes to the subsistence, and even luxurs, of a Tartar camp. But the exploits of the hunters of serthus are not confined to the destruction of himd or in nexious beasts; they boldly encounter the angry wild boar when he turns against his pursuers, excite the sluggish courage of the bear, and provoke the fury of the tiger, as he slumbers in the thicket. Where there is danger, there may be glory and the mode of hunting which opens the fairest field to the exertions of valour may justly be considered as the image and as the school of war. The general hunting matches, the pede and delight of the Tartar princes, compose an instructive everence for their numerous cavalry. A circle is drawn, of many unles in circumference, to encompass the game of an extensive district; and the troops that form the circle regularly all ance towards a common centre, where the captice anumals, nded on every side, are abundened to the darts of the

a. In this march, which frequently continues many days,

the cavalry are obliged to climb the hills, to swin the rivers, and to wind through the valleys, without interrupting the prescribed order of their gradual progress. They acquire the liabit of directing their eye, and their steps, to a remote object; of preserving their intervals; of suspending, or accelerating, heir pace, according to the motions of the troops on their right and left, and of watching and repeating the signals of their leaders. Their leaders study, in this practical school, the most important lesson of the military art: the prompt and accurate judgment of ground, of distance, and of time. To imploy against a human enemy the same patience and valour, he same skill and discipline, is the only alteration which is required in real war; and the anuscements of the chase serve

a prelude to the conquest of an empire.13

The political society of the ancient Germans has the appear- sormous ance of a voluntary alliance of independent warriors. The tribes of Scythia, distinguished by the modern appellation of Hords, assume the form of a numerous and increasing family; which, in the course of successive generations, has been propasated from the same original stock. The meanest and most ignorint of the Tartars preserve, with conscious pride, the mestimable treasure of their genealogy; and, whatever distinctions of rank may have been introduced by the unequal distribution of justoral wealth, they mutually respect themselves, and each ther, as the descendants of the first founder of the tribe. The custom, which still prevails, of adopting the bravest and most faithful of the captives may countenance the very probable puspecion that this extensive consanguinity is, in a great measure, regal and fictitious. But the useful prejudice, which has sinamed the sanction of time and opinion, produces the effects of truth; the haughty Barbarians yield a cheerful and voluntary abedience to the head of their blood; and their chief or marsa, a the representative of their great father, exercises the suthority of a judge, in peace, and of a leader, in war. In the inginal state of the pastoral world, each of the mursus (if we may continue to use a modern appellation) acted as the independent chief of a large and separate family; and the limits

¹¹ Petit de la Croix (Vie de Gengiscan, L. ia. c. 7) represents the ful glory and extent of the Mogal chase. The Jesuito Gerbillon and Verbiest fallowed the percer hands when he hanted in Tartary (Dahalde Two pt on de la Chine or p. 51 250, d. followitts. Its graneson has no wood to Chine or percent of septiments the laws and earning of China describes of orgede Marketen, p. 27, 280, as a poet the pleasures which he had often enjoyed as a sportainan-

of their peculiar territories were gradually fixed by superor force or mutual consent. But the constant operation of vanous and permanent causes contributed to unite the vagrant Hords into national communities, under the command of a supreme head. The weak were desirous of support, and the strong were ambitious of dominion; the power, which is the result of unico. oppressed and collected the divided forces of the adjacent tribes; and, as the vanquished were freely admitted to share the advantages of victory, the most valuant chiefs hastened to range themselves and their followers under the formidable standard of a confederate nation. The most successful of the Tartar princes assumed the inditary command, to which be was entitled by the superiority either of merit or of power. He was raised to the throne by the acclamations of his equals, and the title of Khan expresses, in the language of the North of Asia, the full extent of the regal dignity. The right of bereditary succession was long confined to the blood of the founder of the monarchy; and at this moment all the Khans, who reign from Crimea to the wall of China, are the lineal descendants of the renowned Zingis, 12 But, as it is the indispensable duty of a Tartar sovereign to lead his warlike subjects into the field, the claims of an infant are often disregarded, and some royal kinsman, distinguished by his age and valour, is intrusted with the sword and sceptre of his predecessor Two distinct and regular taxes are levied on the tribes, to support the dignity of their national monarch and of their peculiar chief; and each of those contributions amounts to the tythe both of their property and of their spoil. sovereign enjoys the tenth part of the wealth of his people; and, as his own domestic riches of flocks and herds increase in a much larger proportion, he is able plentifully to maintain the rustic splendour of his court, to reward the most deserving, or the most favoured, of his followers, and to obtain, from the gentle influence of corruption, the obedience which might be sometimes refused to the stern mandates of authority manners of his subjects, accustomed, like himself, to blood and rapine, might excuse, in their eyes, such partial acts of tyranny

Whee the second volume of the Genealogical History of the Tartars and the list of the Khans at the end of the life of Geneal or Zings. Under the cogn of Timus or Tumerlane one of his subjects in descendant of Tings at 1 hours the cogn at periation of Khan, and the conqueror of Asia contented himself with the title of Finite or Soliton Abelgham pivil a Difference Bibliothèque Orientale p. 876.

would excite the horror of a civilized people; but the power of a despot has never been acknowledged in the deserts of Seethon. The immediate jurisdiction of the Khan is conmed within the limits of his own tribe; and the exercise of be royal prerogative has been moderated by the ancient institution of a national council. The Comultar, is or Diet, of the Tartars was regularly held in the spring and autumn, in the muchst of a plain; where the princes of the reigning family and the nursas of the respective tribes may conveniently memble on horseback, with their martial and numerous trains; and the ambitious monarch, who reviewed the strength, must moult the inclination, of an armed people. The rudiments of a feudal government may be discovered in the constitution of the Seythan or Tartar nations; but the perpetual conflict of these hostile nations has sometimes terminated in the establishment of a powerful and despotic empire. The victor, enriched by the tribute, and fortified by the arms, of dependent kings, has spread his conquests over Europe or Asia; the successful benberds of the North have submitted to the confinement of erts, of laws, and of cities; and the introduction of luxury, ofter destroying the freedom of the people, has undermined the foundations of the throne, 15

The memory of past events cannot long be preserved, in the automotor frequent and remote emigrations of illiterate Barbarians. The attent of modern Tartars are ignorant of the conquests of their automotors; "and our knowledge of the history of the Scythians is derived from their intercourse with the learned and civilized pations of the South, the Greeks, the Persians, and the Chinese. The Greeks, who navigated the Euxine, and planted their tolonies along the sea-coast, made the gradual and imperfect incovery of Scythia; from the Danube, and the confines of Thrace, as far as the frozen Misotia, the seat of eternal winter

Marco De's time. Parker p. 19.

18 A w to Khan in the two first parts of his Genealogical History, relates to me three and traditions of the Usbek Tartars concerning the times which preceded the reign of Zingis.

the sees the Diets of the ancient Huns (de Guignes tom n.p. 26), and a curious few point is decision of Zinger, N. e. ile Going seith 1, 2, 6, 5, 1 or 6, 11st. Such the same to a see frequently mentioned in the Perasan history of Timure; though they red or) to commance the resolutions of their master. ["Tavery New Year of Zingha (t the of the king) held a great religious fest val at what the Clinese and Linghort (t) divar endeathy much the same kind of affair as the Mongol of Marco P. Singha (Parker p. 19.)

and Mount Caucasus, which, in the language of poetry, was described as the utmost boundary of the earth. They celebrated with simple credulty, the virtues of the pastoral life.17 Thes. entertuned a more rational apprehension of the strength and numbers of the warlike Barbarians,18 who contemptuously bailled the immense armament of Danus, the son of Hystasues." The Persian monarchs had extended their western conquests to the banks of the Danube and the limits of European Scythia. The eastern provinces of their empire were exposed to the Seythians of Asia: the wild inhabitants of the plains beyond the Oxus and the Jaxartes, two mighty rivers, which direct their course towards the Caspian Sea. The long and memorable quarrel of Iran and Touran is still the theme of history or romance; the famous, perhaps the fabulous, valour of the Persian heroes, Rustan and Asfendiar, was signalized in the defence of their country against the Afrasiabs of the North, " and the invincible spirit of the same Barbarians resisted, on the same ground, the victorious arms of Cyrus and Alexander." In the eyes of the Greeks and Persians, the real geography of Scythia was bounded, on the East, by the mountains of Imaus. or Caf; and their distant prospect of the extreme and maccesable parts of Asia was clouded by ignorance or perplexed by fiction. But those inaccessible regions are the ancient residence of a powerful and civilized nation,22 which ascends, by a probable tradition, above

15 Pricialides, Lore 97

More the fourth look of Herodotus. When Dar is advanced into the More day at discrete the herodotus and the Director the king. I the Scythians sent him a merisc, a trop, a bird, and five arrows, a fremendous allegacy.

These wars and hereign may be found under their respective teller in the fible chiegor Operation of d Herbelot. They have been conducted in an epistocen of sty thou and rivined couplets by bordus, the Honor of Persia. See the black of Nichr Shale p. 146, 166. The public must lament that Mr. Jones has be needed the pursuit of oriental learning.

If the Caspian box, with its rivers and ad a contribut, are laborated a think fraction Contributed by the variety or governor of the tracks.

The or goal seat of the nation appears to have been in the North west or Their in the provinces of Chemical Chamical Chamical the two her dynastics the personal town was still a re-reable camp, the stages were this viscotices the first disassemble of including the createst of the highest could be a stage of the could be a stage of the s

If In the thereonth book of the Iliad I spiter turns away has eyes from the bloods he do of Troy to the phinas of Thrace and Senthia. He would not be change ig the prespect, behold a more penerful or innecent scene.

forty centuries; in and which is able to verify a series of near two consand years, by the perpetual testimony of accurate and screenporary historians, 14. The annals of China 25 illustrate the tate and revolutions of the pastoral tribes, which may still be istinguished by the vague appellation of Seythians, or Tartars; w vassals, the enemies, and sometimes the conquerors, of a cat empire, whose policy has umformly opposed the blind ad insectuous valour of the Barbarians of the North. From 5- mouth of the Danube to the sea of Japan, the whole ngitude of Seythia is about one hundred and ten degrees, sheb, in that parallel, are equal to more than five thousand The latitude of these extensive deserts cannot be so saly or so accurately measured; but, from the fortieth degree, each touches the wall of China, we may securely advance here a thousand miles to the northward, till our progress is opped by the excessive cold of Siberia. In that dreary climate, estead of the animated picture of a Tartar camp, the smoke theh usues from the earth, or rather from the snow, betrays he subterraneous dwellings of the Tongouses and the smoreden: the want of horses and oxen is imperfectly supplied is the use of reindeer and of large dogs; and the conquerors

"The mera of the Chinese monarchy has been variously fixed, from 2952 to applied before the strong the year of 37 has been chosen for the lawful epoch who all the present emperor. The difference arises from the uncertainty one of the two first dynasties; and the vacant space that lies beyond them as not be real or fabilities, tenes of Folious Houngt. Demantion dates he authority are not possible to the statement of the war date he was date; the thirty say of possible thereto not do before the real possible them. The Asstories period of China does not useen above the Grook Olympia.

Major severa ages of anarchy and despotism, the dynasty of the Han (before but acts) was the erra of the reveal of learning. The fragments of ancient are were removed; the characters were impressed and hard, and the fature were those was soured by the useful insentions of its, paper, and the stage of the acts by the second insentions of its, paper, and the stage of the acts in the latest personal transfer of the acts in the second and continued by a source of one and outside the first beautiful and continued by a source of one are need and continued to them are now deposited in the king of France's library.

The substance of the missionaries of the French, of the missionaries of ek.c., and blesses. Freret and de Gagnes at Park. The substance of the three see ed.c.g. notes as extracted from The Charles are with the prefere and notes of the Gagnes, Park. 1770, the Trans-Kree Kree flow translated by the P. de Maria trader the name of Han Genérale de la Chine tom 1 p. alia co; the Measures are la Chine Puris, 1770 &c., tom. k. p. 1-121, tom. i p. 5 364; the trade de la Chine Puris, 1770 &c., tom. k. p. 1-123, tom. i p. 5 364; the trade des Inscriptions tom. x. p. 377-403, tom. xv. p. 495-504, tom xviii. p. 152-238.

of the earth insensibly degenerate into a race of deformed and diminutive savages, who tremble at the sound of arms."

Original cont

The Huns, who under the reign of Valens threatened the empire of Rome, had been formidable, in a much earlier person to the empire of China, 27 Their ancient, perhaps their original seat was an extensive, though dry and barren, tract of country immediately on the north side of the great wall. Their place of at present occupied by the forty nine Hords or Banners of the Mongous, a pastoral nation, which consists of about two hundred thousand families.24 But the valour of the Huns had extended the narrow lumits of their dominions; and their rustic chiefs, who assumed the appellation of Tanjou, gradually became the conquerors, and the sovereigns, of a formidable empire. Towards the East, their victorious arms were stopped only by the ocean; and the tribes, which are thinly scattered between the Amoor and the extreme peninsula of Corea, adhered with reluctance to the standard of the Huns. On the West, near the head of the Irtish and in the valleys of Imaus, they found a more ample space, and more numerous enemics. One of the heutenants of the Tanjou subdued in a single expedition twentysix nations; the Igours, 29 distinguished above the Tartar race by the use of letters, were in the number of his vassals, and by the strange connexion of human events, the flight of one of those vagrant tribes recalled the victorious Parthians from the invasiou of Syria. On the side of the North, the ocean was assigned as the limit of the power of the Huns. Without enemies to resist their progress or witnesses to contradict their vanity, they might securely achieve a real, or imaginary, conquest of the frozen regions of Siberia. The Northern Sea was fixed as the remote boundary of their empire. But the name of that sea, on whose shores the patriot Sovou embraced the life of a shepherd

(Tengri Emis Soughi) Their conquests to Scythia

[Eought] [Eirghin]

> 26 New the Histoire Générale des Voyages tom aville and the Genealogue-Histoire, vol. 11, p. 620-664

28 See in Duhalde (tom iv p. 18-65) a circumstantial description with a correct map of the country of the Mongous.

20 Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tous xxx p. 17-33. The comprehensive new of M. de Guignes has compared these dutant events.

If M de Guignea (tom, n, p. 1-124) has given the original history of the incent. Hong nou or Huns. The Clauses geography of their country domain part of lychair) seems to comprise a part of their conquests.

The Ignus, or Vigoura Ou gover were divided into three branches business should be like that class was desposed by the two forms see Abughan, part 1 c 2

and an exile,31 may be transferred, with much more probability. to the Baikal, a capacious basin, above three hundred miles in length, which disdans the modest appellation of a lake, if and which actually communicates with the seas of the North, by the long course of the Angara, the Tonguska, and the Jemssea. The submission of so many distant nations might flatter the pride of the Tanjou, but the valour of the Huns could be re- (2-14) warded only by the enjoyment of the wealth and luxury of the empire of the South. In the third century before the Christian practice, a wall of lifteen hundred miles in length was constructed, as to defend the frontiers of China against the inroads of the Huns, " but this stupendous work, which holds a conspicuous place in the map of the world, has never contributed to the afety of an unwarlike people. The cavalry of the Tanjou requently consisted of two or three hundred thousand men, formulable by the matchless dextenty with which they managed their bows and their horses; by their hardy patience n supporting the inclemency of the weather; and by the neredible speed of their march, which was seldom checked by torrents or precipiees, by the deepest rivers or by the most lofts mountains. They spread themselves at once over the face of the country; and their rapid impetuosity surprised, astonished, contains and country in and disconcerted the grave and elaborate tactics of a Chinese The emperor Kaoti, 34 a soldier of fortune, whose per- formas of smal merit had raised him to the throne, marched against the san draw Huns with those veteran troops which had been trained in the wars of China. But he was soon surrounded by the Barburians; and after a siege of seven days, the monarch, hopeless (Nor 72) of relief, was reduced to purchase his deliverance by an amount of gnorminuous capitulation. The successors of Kaoti, whose lives were dedicated to the arts of peace or the luxury of the palace,

The free of Novon, or Novon La merit, and his angular adventures are conclusived in Class. See the Hope de Moukden p. 20, and notes, p. 241 ap., and M or resour la Chile tem ... p. 317 60.

"Nove Jahansed Law in Hausers collection vol. in. p. 931; Bell's Travels, vol. i.

"After and Common on the H st Generale des Vivages tom, avan p. 283
"They all remark the vulgar opinion that the sour see grows angry and regest as if now one persones to call it a Joke. This grainmanual morty often to a distante between the abound superstation of the mariners and the abound as n in of travellers.

December of the wild of China is mentioned by Duhalde from. i. p. a rest start on the management of the

"See the firef Lorotague y or Kant, in the Hist de la Chine, published at the see on to the free Assa Rang Hos, the celebrated alongment of the good II tory of Semakou og [A D 1084] and his continuators,

submitted to a more permanent disgrace. They too hastily confessed the insufficiency of arms and fortifications. They were too easily convinced that, while the blazing signals announced on every side the approach of the Huns, the Chinese troops, who slept with the belinet on their head and the cuirass on their back, were destroyed by the incessant labour of ineffectual marches, 85 A regular payment of money and silk was stipulated as the condition of a temporary and precarious peace; and the wretched expedient of disguising a real tribute under the names of a gift or a subsidy was practised by the emperors of China, as well as by those of Rome. But there still remained a more disgraceful article of tribute, which violated the sacred feelings of humanity and nature. The hardships of the savage life, which destroy in their infancy the children who are born with a less healthy and robust constitution, introduce a remarkable disproportion between the numbers of the two sexes. The Tartars are an ugly, and even deformed mee; and, while they consider their own women as the instruments of domestic labour, their desires, or rather their appetites, are directed to the enjoyment of more elegant beauty. A select band of the fairest maidens of China was annually devoted to the rude embraces of the Huns; 36 and the alliance of the haughty Tanjous was secured by their marriage with the genuine, or adopted, daughters of the Imperial family, which vainly attempted to escape the sacrilegious pollution. The situation of these unhappy victims is described in the verses of a Chinese princess, who laments that she had been condemned by her parents to a distant exile, under a Barbarian husband; who complains that sour milk was her only drink, raw flesh her only food, a tent her only palace; and who expresses, in a strain of pathetic simplicity, the natural wish that she were transformed into a bird, to fly back to her dear country; the object of her tender and perpetual regret. W

(Menghin)

The conquest of China has been twice achieved by the pastoral tribes of the North: the forces of the Huns were not

A supply of women is mentioned as a customary article of treaty and tribute (Hiss de la conquête de la Chine par les Tartarea Mantcheoux, tom. 1 p. 186.

ie, with the note of the city of De Guignes, Hist des Huns tom, ii, p. 6a.

See a free and ample memorial presented by a Mandaria to the emperor Venti [Wen Ti] (before themselves its 150 is 7) in Dishalde (ton, it p. 419-426); from a collection of State papers marked with the real peners by Kanish himself (p. 384-612). Another memorial from the minimer of war (Karg Mou, t. ii. p. 556) supplies some curious cucumstances of the manners of the Huas.

nierror to those of the Moguls, or of the Mantcheoux; and heir ambition might entertain the most sauguine hopes of necess. But their pride was humbled, and their progress was becked, by the arms and policy of Vouti, the fifth emperor of (went he powerful dynasty of the Han. In his long reign of fifty- second bur years, the Barbanaus of the southern provinces submitted to the laws and manners of China; and the ancient limits of the popurchy were enlarged, from the great river of Kiang to the port of Canton. Instead of confining himself to the timid perations of a defensive war, his heutenants penetrated many hundred miles into the country of the Huns. In those boundess deserts, where it is impossible to form magazines and difficult to transport a sufficient supply of provisions, the armies of Vouts were repeatedly exposed to intolerable hardships : and, one hundred and forty thousand soldiers, who marched carnst the Barbarians, thirty thousand only returned in safety to the feet of their master. These losses, however, were comensated by splendid and decisive success. The Chinese genehis improved the superiority which they derived from the temper of their arms, their chariots of war, and the service of their Tartar auxiliaries. The camp of the Tanjon was surprised (Inch!) a the midst of sleep and intemperance; and, though the sonarch of the Huns bravely cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he left above fifteen thousand of his subjects on the feld of battle. Yet this signal victory, which was preceded and bllowed by many bloody engagements, contributed much less to the destruction of the power of the Huns than the effectual policy which was employed to detach the tributary nations from their obedience. Intimidated by the arms, or allured by the Ant. Christ promises, of Vouti and his successors, the most considerable. ribes, both of the East and of the West, disclaimed the Expectally athority of the Tanjou. While some acknowledged them-structs, elves the allies or vassals of the empire, they all became the inplacable enemies of the Huns; and the numbers of that haughty people, as soon as they were reduced to their native trength, might, perhaps, have been contained within the walls one of the great and populous cities of Chipa " The deser-

where the reign of the emperor Vorti, in the Kang-Mou 1 in p. 1-98. His import and extensistent chara for seems to be impart ally decare.

The expression is used to the normonal to the emperor Venti (Duhalde, inc.) p. 4171. Within a deeping the exaggrations of Marco-Polo and Isaac Joseph we may rationally allow for Polo two palents of chalatants. The discretizes of the South, which contain the manufactures of thank are that more specious.

86

(Khugaaja)

Ant. Christ 31 [Ellen 71] tion of his subjects, and the perplexity of a civil war, at length compelled the Tanjou himself to renounce the dignity of 4 independent sovereign and the freedom of a warlike and highspirited nation. He was received at Sigan, the capital of the monarchy, by the troops, the Mandarus, and the emperor has self, with all the honours that could adorn and disguise the triumph of Chinese vanity.40 A magnificent palace was prepared for his reception; his place was assigned above all the princes of the royal family; and the patience of the Barbaran king was exhausted by the ceremonies of a banquet, which consixted of eight courses of meat, and of nine solemn pieces of music. But he performed, on his knees, the duty of a respectful homage to the emperor of China; pronounced, in his own name, and in the name of his successors, a perpetual oath of fidelity; and gratefully accepted a seal, which was bestowed as the emblem of his regal dependence. After this humiliating submission, the Tanjous sometimes departed from their allegamee, and seized the favourable moments of war and rapine; but the monarchy of the Huns gradually declined, till it was broken, by civil dissension, into two hostile and separate king doms. One of the princes of the nation was urged, by fear and ambition, to retire towards the South with eight hords, which composed between forty and fifty thousand families. He obtained, with the title of Tanjou, a convenient territory on the verge of the Chinese provinces; and his constant attachment to the service of the empire was secured by weakness and the desire of revenge. From the time of this fatal schism, the Hum of the North continued to languish about fifty years; till they were oppressed on every side by their foreign and domestic enemies. The proud inscription 4 of a column, erected on a lofty mountain, announced to posterity that a Chinese army had marched seven hundred miles into the heart of their country. The Sienpi, 12 a tribe of Oriental Tartars, retaliated the injuries which they had formerly sustained, and the power of the Tanjous, after a reign of thirteen hundred years, was

(A.D. 80)

A D 10 (But of the his-room of th Nections Sengths)

"See the Kang Men tom in principal and the subsequent events under the proper year. This remove he feet and a celebrated in the Moge de Moulden, and explained in a none by the P. Grachil, p. 89, 90.

This inscript in was compresed on the apet by Presker President of the Tribunal of Hat ty change M to ton an property a monotonical base been decovered in many parts of lastery (Hastory des Huma from at p. 122). Parker n too.

42 M. de Guignes storn a p. 1865 has inserted a short accessor of the Sweeps.

atterly destroyed before the end of the first century of the

Ine fate of the vanquished Huns was diversified by the their enters A.D. arious influence of character and aituation.44 Above one in andred thousand persons, the poorest, indeed, and the most millanumous of the people, were contented to remain in their stire country, to renounce their peculiar name and origin, and to manufe with the victorious nation of the Sienni. Fiftyeght hords, about two hundred thousand men, ambitious of a core honourable servitude, retired towards the South; implored the protection of the emperors of China; and were permitted to initiabit, and to guard, the extreme frontiers of the province of Chansi and the territory of Ortous. But the most warlike and powerful tribes of the Huns maintained, in their adverse bringe, the undaunted spirit of their ancestors. The western world was open to their valour; and they resolved, under the conduct of their hereditary chieftains, to discover and subthe some remote country, which was still maccessible to the of the Sienpi and to the laws of China. The course of their emigration soon carried them beyond the mountains of maus, and the limits of the Chinese geography; but we are able in distinguish the two great divisions of these formidable exiles, which directed their march towards the Oxus, and towards the rethe fruitful and extensive plains of Sogdiana, on the eastern ude of the (aspian; where they preserved the name of Huns, outh the epithet of Euthalites or Nepthalites.40 Their mansers were softened, and even their features were insensibly improved, by the mildness of the climate and their long residence in a flourishing province 47 which might still retain a faint

The series of the Hune is placed, by the Chinese, 1210 years before Christ, but the series of the kings does not commence till the year 230 fH st. des less, term p 21 1232. The southern Zenghis continued till nearly the end

ast deserts of I try (term 1, p. 12), 277 &c., 375 &c.).

I be I plura, see were not ga tof it. I living ou but seem to have been the living to the long struggling province now knew as the long struggling province now knew the living struggling st

⁴ Medianical Sultan of Comme, regional in Seadural when it was marked at 5 and to year by Zings and his Moguls. The Oriental Historians (see d'Hertwork, Patri de 14 Capital de 15 celebrate the populous cities which he ruined, and the

impression of the arts of Greece. The white Hum, a name which they derived from the change of their complexions, som abandoned the pastoral life of Seythia. Gorgo, which, undthe appellation of Carame, has since enjoyed a temporary splendour, was the residence of the king, who exercised a lenauthority over an obedient people. Their luxury was mus tained by the labour of the Sogdians; and the only vestige of their ancient barbarism was the custom which obliged all the companions, perhaps to the number of twenty, who had shared the liberality of a wealthy lord, to be buried alive in the same grave. The vicinity of the Huns to the provinces of Perso involved them in frequent and bloody contests with the power of that monarchy. But they respected, in peace, the faith of treaties; in war, the dictates of humanity, and their memor able victory over Peroses, or Firuz, displayed the moderation, a well as the valour, of the Barlsurians. The second division of their countrymen, 50 the Huns, who gradually advanced toward the North-west, were exercised by the hardships of a colder climate and a more laborious march. Necessity compelled there to exchange the silks of China for the furs of Siberia; the imperfect rudiments of civilized life were obliterated; and the native hereeness of the Huns was exasperated by their into course with the savage tribes, who were compared, with some propriety, to the wild beasts of the desert. Their independent spirit soon rejected the hereditary succession of the Tanjous. and, while each hord was governed by its peculiar mursa, ther tomultuary council directed the public measures of the whole nation. As late as the thirteenth century, their transient residence on the Eastern banks of the Volga was attested by the name of Great Hungary. 31 In the winter, they descended with

fruitful country which be desolated. In the next century, the same province of Chorsam a and Massachahr were described by Abrahada Haden and Massachahr were described by Abrahada Haden and Massacham in the Generalogical Haden of the Fartars, p. 423-460.

*1 w h vi 6) has left a short abridgment of the Greek kings of Bactriana. To their industry I should as a heathe new and extraord navy toads which terms Cyma, the Phase and the Fares. The other ware, both of the land and sea, were possessed by the Scheucides and the Prolemics. See I happet de Lort Lare.

40 Proceedings de Bell. Presson, I & C 3, p. q. 100 These is no evidence that the Huns of the Volga had magrated from the bonders of China.

In the th steenth century, the monk Rubruques (who traversed the numers pin n of K risk in the journey to the court of the Great Khard placement to municipal to name of Hangary with the traces of a common language and or gas Hast, des Voyages, tome via p. 269.

The Russ of

their flocks and herds towards the mouth of that mighty river; and their summer excursions reached as high as the latitude of matual, or perhaps the conflux of the Kama. Such at least were the recent limits of the black Calmucks, 32 who remained about a century under the protection of Russia; and who have more returned to their native seats on the frontiers of the hunese empire. The march and the return of those wandering larters, whose united camp consists of fifty thousand tents or unities, illustrate the distant emigrations of the ancient Huns 33

It is impossible to fill the dark interval of time, which elapsed, rough of the Huns of the Volga were lost in the eyes of the Chinese, 2001 of the and before they shewed themselves to those of the Romans. There is some reason, however, to apprehend, that the same force which had driven them from their native seats, still conanned to impel their march towards the frontiers of Europe. The power of the Sienpi, their implacable enemies, which extended above three thousand miles from East to West,54 must have gradually oppressed them by the weight and terror of a formidable neighbourhood; and the flight of the tribes of sevilua would inevitably tend to increase the strength, or to contract the territories, of the Huns. The harsh and obscure appellations of those tribes would offend the ear, without informing the understanding, of the reader; but I cannot suppress the very natural suspicion, that the Huns of the North derived considerable reinforcement from the rain of the dynasty of the south, which, in the course of the third century, submitted to the dominion of China; that the bravest warriors marched away in search of their free and adventurous countrymen; and that, as they had been divided by prosperity, they were easily reunited by

13 Ben 1904 to p. 30 34 , and the editors of the Genralogical History (p. 539).

3. described the Calmucks of the Volga in the beginning of the present sections.

** This great transmigration of yoo,ooo Calmucks, or Torgouts, happened in the very 1974. The original nativities of Kinning, the reigning enperies of him, which was intended for the inserption of a column has been translated by transferance of Pean, Memore sur la Chine, tom a pa 401418). The master the insooth and specious language of the Son of Heaven and the Pather of his large.

At the being Monitons, in p. 147) unribed to their conquest a space of 14,000 in Airesting to the persent standard 200 for or more accurately 193) are equal to one legime of latitude, and one highsh mile consequently exceeds three newspapers. For them are string reasons to believe that the ancient for sourcely record one half of the modern. See the elaborate researches of M. if Any the a good other why is not a stranger in any age, or climate of the globe. Meaning there why is not a stranger in any age, or climate of the globe. Meaning the Acad. tons if p. 125 soa. Meaning limitations, p. 154-167.

the common hardships of their adverse fortune. The Huns, with their Bocks and herds, their wives and children, their dependents and allies, were transported to the West of the Volga, and they boldly advanced to invade the country of the Alani, a pastoral people who occupied, or wasted, an extensive tract of the deserts of Seythia. The plains between the Volga and the Tanais were covered with the tents of the Alam, but their name and manners were diffused over the wide extent of their conquests; and the painted tribes of the Agathyrsi and Geloni were confounded among their vassals. Towards the North, they penetrated into the frozen regions of Siberia, among the savages who were accustomed, in their rage or hunger, to the taste of human flesh; and their Southern inroads were pushed as far as the confines of Persia and India. The mixture of Sarmatic and German blood had contributed to improve the features of the Alani, to whiten their swarthy complexions, and to tinge their hair with a yellowish cast, which is seldom found in the Tartar race. They were less deformed in their persons, less brutish in their manners, than the Huns; but they did not yield to those formidable Barburnans in their martial and independent spirit; in the love of freedom, which rejected even the use of domestic slaves; and in the love of arms, which considered war and rapine as the pleasure and the glory of mankind. A naked seymetar, fixed in the ground, was the only object of their religious worship; the scalps of their enemies formed the costly trappings of their horses, and they viewed, with pity and contempt, the pusillanimous warriors, who patiently expected the infirmities of age and the tortures of lingering disease 4 On the banks of the Tapais, the military power of the Huns and the Alam, encountered each other with equal valour, but with unequal success. The Huns prevailed in (A. 5 323 the bloody contest; the king of the Alani was slain; and the remains of the vanquished nation were dispersed by the ordinary alternative of hight or submission. " A colony of exiles found a

*See the History 1: Buns, tom : p. 120144. The subsequent history of 140-277 of the confour Home dynastics excitently proves that their marks, spirit was not empt of his a long residence of him.

Wen the subject of the Alan, see Ammures (220, 2) Jornandes de Rette Get 2 c and M de Gognes .H.s., des hours tom, it, p. 279), and the Genea ogned History of the Partary (tom, a, p. 617).

had toped only of the allog research of the entire tope of the conquerors of the con

secure refuge in the mountains of Caucasus, between the Euxine and the Caspian; where they still preserve their name and their independence. Another colony advanced, with more intropid courage, towards the shores of the Baltie; associated themselves with the Northern tribes of Germany; and shared the spoil of the Roman provinces of Gaul and Spain. But the greatest part of the nation of the Alani embraced the offers of an honourable and advantageous union; and the Huns, who esteemed the valour of their less fortunate enemies, proceeded, with an increase of numbers and confidence, to invade the limits of the Gothic chibire.

The great Hermanric, whose dominions extended from the Date of Baltic to the Euxine, enjoyed, in the full maturity of age and to death A.D. Ta reputation, the fruit of his victories, when he was alarmed by the formidable approach of an host of unknown enemies, 54 on whom his barbarous subjects might, without injustice, bestow the epithet of Barbarians. The numbers, the strength, the rapid motions, and the implacable cruelty of the Huns were felt and treaded and magnified by the astonished Goths; who beheld their fields and villages consumed with flames and deluged with indiscriminate slaughter. To these real terrors they added the arprise and abhorrence which were exerted by the shrill voice, the uncouth gestures, and the strange deformity, of the Huns, These savages of Scythia were compared (and the picture had ome resemblance) to the animals who walk very awkwardly on two legs; and to the misshapen figures, the Termini, which were often placed on the bridges of antiquity. They were distinguished from the rest of the human species by their broad aboutders, flat noses, and small black eyes, deeply buried in the head, and, as they were almost destitute of beards, they never enjoyed other the manly graces of youth or the venerable aspeet of age. 10 A fabulous origin was assigned worthy of their form and manners; that the witches of Scythia, who, for their foul and deadly practices, had been driven from society, had

As we are possessed of the authorian autory of the Hans, it would be imper unit to repeat or to refuse, the follow which misrepresent their origin and a great the passage of the stud or water of the Mantin in passage of an ox or is a least of a second decouvere, as I see passage of the stud of water of the Mantin in passage of an ox or is a least of a second decouvere, as I see that is a passage of the study. His Massage of the study of

has been asses, c. 72.

* Pred grosse for the et parel ; ut bipedes existemes less et, and quales in the parel for et parel ; ut bipedes existemes less et, and quales in the parel less effects dolanter recompt. Ammuna xaxi 1, I amendes is an deserva a strong cureature of a Calmuckface. Species passed any same question defect et in non facies habensque magis puncia quant

samps. See Button, Hat Naturalle tern on to plo

copulated in the desert with infernal spirits; and that the Hum were the offspring of this execrable conjunction. The tale, so full of horror and absurdity, was greedily embraced by the credulous hatred of the Goths; but, while it gratified then hatred, it increased their fear; since the posterity of demonand witches might be supposed to inherit some share of the preternatural powers, as well as of the malignant temper, of the parents. Against these enemies, Hermanne prepared to east the united forces of the Gothic state; but he soon discovered that his vassal tribes, provoked by oppression, were much more inclined to second, than to repel, the invasion of the Huza One of the chiefs of the Roxolani a had formerly deserted the standard of Hermanne, and the cruel tyrant had condemned the innocent wife of the traitor to be torn asunder by wik horses. The brothers of that unfortunate woman serzed the favourable moment of revenge. The aged king of the Goths languished some time after the dangerous wound which he received from their daggers; but the conduct of the war was retarded by his infirmities, and the public councils of the nation were distracted by a spirit of jealousy and discord death, which has been imputed to his own despair, left the remof government in the hands of Withimer, who, with the doubtful aid of some Scythian mercenaries, maintained the unequal contest against the arms of the Huns and the Alani, till he was tan met n defeated and slain in a decisive battle. The Ostrogoths sale mitted to their fate; and the royal race of the Amah will hereafter he found among the subjects of the haughty Attila, But the person of Witheric, the infant king, was saved by the diligence of Alatheus and Saphrax: two warriors of approved valour and fidelity; who, by cautious marches, conducted the independent remains of the nation of the Ostrogoths towards the Danastus, or Director, a considerable river, which now separates the Turkish dominions from the empire of Russia. On the banks of the Dinester the prudent Athananic, more attentive to his own than to the general safety, had fixed the camp of the Visigoths; with the firm resolution of opposing the victorious

This executable origin, which Jernandes (c. 24 describes with the rangous et a Goth in ght be originally derived from a more pleasing fable of the Greeks (Herodot 1, iv. 2, 9, 50).

The Revoluniousy he the fithers of the Pue, the Russian Anville, Empire de Russia p 1 tol, whose rendence (4.0.862 shout Novgorod Velki cannot buy; remote from that which the Geographic of Ravenna (1.12, 1) a 36 x, 25 at 28 pas to the Rozolan (4.0.88). Rosomers is the name in Jordanes Get, 24 A connection with Physis interfy wild.

Barbarians whom he thought it less advisable to provoke. The summery speed of the Huns was checked by the weight of bag. race, and the encumbrance of captives; but their military skill icceived, and almost destroyed, the army of Athanaric. the judge of the Visigoths defended the banks of the Duiester. he was encompassed and attacked by a numerous detachment of avairy, who, by the light of the moon, had passed the river in s fordable place; and it was not without the utmost efforts of courage and conduct that he was able to effect his retreat wards the fully country. The undaunted general had already formed a new and judicious plan of defensive war; and the drong lines, which he was preparing to construct between the mountains, the Pruth, and the Danube, would have secured the extensive and fertile territory that bears the modern name of Walachia from the destructive inroads of the Huns." But the sopes and measures of the judge of the Visigoths were soon exappointed by the trembling impatience of his dismayed countrymen; who were persuaded by their fears that the interposition of the Danube was the only burner that could save them from the rapid pursuit and invincible valour of the Barbreans of Scythia. Under the command of Fritigern and llavivus, the body of the nation hastily advanced to the banks of the great river, and implored the protection of the Roman imperor of the East. Athanaric himself, still anxious to avoid the guilt of perjury, retired with a band of faithful followers ato the mountainous country of Caucaland; which appears to have been guarded, and almost concealed, by the impenetrable forests of Transylvania, 64

After Valens had terminated the Gothic war with some appear-the solutions the unce of glory and success, he made a progress through his protection dominions of Asia, and at length fixed his residence in the state of Syria. The five years to which he spent at Antioch

The text of Ammianua seems to be imperfect or corrupt; but the nature of or ground capla us, and almost defines, the Gothe nampart. Memores de Asadémie, Se tom axion p. 444 452. The fortification counting to Westersmand Hodgkin was "between the mountains of Transylvania and the river men."

Stat de Bust (Hun des Peuples de l'Europe, t. 11, p. 407) has conceived a stange idea that Austrius was the same forman as Upbillia the Cethic bishop at that Ubb is, the grandson of a Cappodocian captive, became a temporal prince of the tiestha.

⁴⁴ Americans xxxi, 3] and Jornandes (de Rebus Getico, c. 24) describe the molecular of the Gotha engine by the Huns. [For Caucalinid see below, p. 125.]

1 The chronology of Americans is obscure and imperfect. Tillement has abound to clear and settle the Annals of Valens. See Reiche. 26, 124, p. 29 say.)

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were employed to watch, from a secure distance, the hostile designs of the Person monarch; to check the depredations of the Sameens and Isaurians; to to enforce, by arguments more prevalent than those of reason and eloquence, the belief of the Arian theology, and to satisfy his anxious suspicions by the promiseuous execution of the innocent and the guilty. But the attention of the emperor was most seriously engaged by the important intelligence which he received from the civil and military others who were intrusted with the defence of the Danube. He was informed that the North was agreated by a furious tempest; that the irruption of the Hans, an unknown and monstrous race of savages, had subverted the power of the Goths; and that the suppliant multitudes of that warlike nation, whose pride was now humbled in the dust, covered a space of many miles along the banks of the river. With outstretched arms and pathetic lamentations, they loudly deplored their past misfortunes and their present danger; acknowledged that their only hope of safety was in the elemency of the Roman government, and most solemnly protested that, if the gracious liberality of the emperor would permit them to cultivate the waste lands of Thrace, they should ever hold themselves bound, by the strongest obligations of duty and gratitude, to obey the laws, and to guard the limits, of the republic. These assurances were confirmed by the ambassadors of the Goths, who impatiently expected, from the mouth of Valens, an answer that must finally determine the fate of their unhappy countrymen. The emperor of the East was no longer guided by the wisdom and authority of his elder brother, whose death happened towards the end of the preceding year: and, as the distressful situation of the Goths required an instant and peremptory decision, he was deprived of the bivourite resource of feeble and timid minds; who consider the use of dilatory and aminguous measures as the most admirable efforts of consummate prodence. As long as the same passions and interests subsist among mankind, the questions of war and peace, of justice and policy, which were debated in the councils of antiquity, will frequently present themselves as the subject of modern deliberation. But the most experienced statesman of Europe has never been summoned to consider the propriety or the danger of admitting or rejecting an innumerable multitude

AD STO,

^{*}Zermus Liv p. 223 'v. 20]. Softemen l. vi. c. 38. The Isnurians each winter, inlested the roads of Asia M sor at far as the neighbourhood of Constantinople. But I Epist cell apud T. 1. ... u.t., Hist des Impereurs, tom v. p. 206.

Barbarians whom he thought it less advisable to provoke. The ordinary speed of the Huns was checked by the weight of bag. rage, and the encumbrance of captives; but their multary skill leceived, and almost destroyed, the army of Athanaric. While the judge of the Visigoths defended the banks of the Dniester. he was encompassed and attacked by a numerous detachment of cavalry, who, hy the light of the moon, had passed the river in a fordable place; and it was not without the utmost efforts of courage and conduct that he was able to effect his retreat towards the hilly country. The undaunted general had already formed a new and judicious plan of defensive war; and the strong lines, which he was preparing to construct between the mountains, the Pruth, and the Danube, would have secured the extensive and fertile territory that bears the modern name of Walachia from the destructive inroads of the Huns. 42 But the hopes and measures of the judge of the Visigoths were soon desappointed by the trembling impatience of his dismayed countrymen; who were persuaded by their fears that the interposition of the Danube was the only barrier that could save them from the rapid pursuit and invincible valour of the Barbarrans of Seythin. Under the command of Fritigern and Alavivus, the body of the nation hastily advanced to the banks of the great river, and implored the protection of the Roman emperor of the East. Athanaric himself, still anxious to avoid the guilt of perjury, retired with a band of faithful followers into the mountainous country of Cancaland; which appears to have been guarded, and almost concealed, by the impenetrable torests of Transylvania.64

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the chronology of Arman's is observed and married. The months about the Collection of Arman's is observed and married. The months about to clear and settle the Annals of Valents. See Reiche, of art, p. 29, 39, 31.

nation, it but the execution of this order was a task of labour and difficulty. The stream of the Danube, which in those parts to above a mile broad,60 had been swelled by incessant rain and, in this tumultuous passage, many were swept away and drowned by the rapid violence of the current. A large feet of vessels, of bosts, and of canoes was provided; many days and nights they passed and repassed with indefatigable tool; and the unot stremuous diligence was exerted by the others of Valena that not a single Barbarian, of those who were reserved to sulvert the foundations of Rome, should be left on the commute abore. It was thought expedient that an accurate account should be taken of their numbers; but the persons who were employed soon desisted, with amazement and dismay, from the prosecution of the endless and impracticable task, is and the principal historian of the age most senously atterns that the producious armies of Darius and Xerxes, which had so long been considered as the fables of vain and creduloss autiquity, were now justified, in the eyes of mankind, by the twitence of fact and experience. A probable testimony has fixed the number of the Gothic warners at two hundred theocand men; and, if we can venture to add the just proportion of women, of children, and of slaves, the whole mass of people which compared this formidable emigration must have amounted to mear a nullion of persons, of both seves and of all ages. The children of the Goths, those at least of a distinguished rank, were separated from the multitude. They were conducted, without delay, to the distant seats assigned for their residence and education, and, as the numerous trum of hostages or captives passed through the cities, their gav and splendid apparel, their robust and martial ngure, excited the surprise and envy of the Previous But the stipulation, the most offensive to the Cioths and the most important to the Bomans, was shamefully

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Sufference when it was to be the transfer with the best of the transfer of the transfer when the transfer of the transfer when the transfer of the transfer when the transfer of the transfer

The Barbarians, who considered their arms as the resigns of honour and the pledges of safety, were disposed to ofer a price which the lust or avarice of the Imperial officers was easily tempted to accept. To preserve their arms, the aughty warriors consented, with some reluctance, to prostitute their wives or their daughters; the charms of a beautous said, or a comely boy, secured the confivance of the inspectors; sho sometunes cast an eye of covetonsness on the fringed arpets and linen garments of their new allies,70 or who sacriseed their duty to the mean consideration of filling their farms outh cattle and their houses with slaves. The Goths, with ones in their hands, were permitted to enter the boats; and, then their strength was collected on the other side of the river, be immense camp which was spread over the plains and the alls of the Lower Musia assumed a threatening and even hostile aspect. The leaders of the Ostrogoths, Alatheus and suphrax, the guardians of their infant king, appeared soon ofterwards on the Northern banks of the Danube; and immediately dispatched their ambassadors to the court of Antioch, to solicit, with the same professions of allegance and gratitude, the same favour which had been granted to the suppliant sagoths. The absolute refusal of Valens suspended their progress, and discovered the repentance, the suspicions, and the form of the Imperial council.

An unshaciplined and unsettled nation of Barbarians required more sustained formers temper and the most dexterous management. The said the firmest temper and the most dexterous management. daily subsistence of near a million of extraordinary subjects rould be supplied only by constant and skilful diligence, and might continually be interrupted by mistake or accident. The asolence or the indignation of the Goths, if they conceived themselves to be the objects either of fear or of contempt, might urge them to the most desperate extremities; and the betune of the state seemed to depend on the prudence, as well in the integrity, of the generals of Valens. At this important rais, the military government of Thrace was exercised by Lumennus and Maximus, in whose venal minds the slightest tope of private emolument outweighed every consideration of while advantage; and whose guilt was only alleviated by their acapacity of discerning the permicious effects of their rish and

* Earnpius and Zosimus curiously specify these articles of Gothic wealth and the Barbarans had acquired as the speak of war, or as the gifts or the lands of pewer [to ther true, of I unaputs (55) describes a later crossing type . to rearn of Theodosius, c. 383 A.D.)

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I was lifered the word other must be understood feenandes because the state of the state of the periods of the Bacharate and the state of the Bacharate and the state of the Bacharate and the state of the periods of the Bacharate and the state of the st

quarters of cantonment through the interior provinces. As thry were conscious how ill they had deserved the respect, or confidence, of the Barbanans, they diligently collected, from carry side, a military force, that might urge the tardy and reluctant march of a people who had not yet renounced the title, or the duties, of Roman subjects. But the generals of lalens, while their attention was solely directed to the disconlented Visigoths, imprudently disarmed the ships and fortifirations which constituted the defence of the Danube. The latal oversight was observed and improved by Alatheus and aphrax, who anxiously watched the favourable moment of exping from the pursuit of the Huns. By the help of such rafts and vessels as could be hastily procured, the leaders of the Ostrogotha transported, without opposition, their king and their army; and holdly fixed an hostile and independent camp

on the territories of the empire."

Under the name of judges, Alavivus and Fritigern were the Revolution leaders of the Visigoths in peace and war; and the authority Kant which they derived from their birth was ratified by the free visionic smeent of the nation. In a season of tranquillity, their power might have been equal, as well as their rank; but, as soon as their countrymen were exasperated by hunger and oppression, the superior abilities of Fritigern assumed the military command, which he was qualified to exercise for the public He restrained the impatient spirit of the Visigoths, till the injunes and the insults of their tyrants should justify their resistance in the opinion of mankind; but he was not disposed to sacrifice any solid advantages for the empty praise of justice and moderation. Sensible of the benefits which would result from the umon of the Gothic powers under the same standard, he secretly cultivated the friendship of the Ostrogoths; and, while he professed an implicit obedience to the orders of the Roman generals, he proceeded by slow marches towards Marcianopolis, the capital of the Lower Masia, about seventy (mental) miles from the banks of the Danube. On that fatal spot, the temes of discord and mutual hatred burst forth into a dreadful (a.p. m) conflagration. Lupicinus had invited the Gothic chiefs to a plendid entertainment; and their martial train remained under arms at the entrance of the palace. But the gates of the city were strictly guarded; and the Barbarians were sternly excluded from the use of a plentiful market, to which they

100

asserted their equal claim of subjects and allies. Their humble prayers were rejected with insolence and derision; and, as their patience was now exhausted, the townsmen, the soldiers, and the Goths were soon involved in a conflict of passionate altereation and angry reproaches. A blow was imprudently given; a sword was hastily drawn; and the first blood that was spilt in this accidental quarrel became the signal of a long and destructive war. In the midst of noise and brutal intemperance, Lupicinus was informed, by a secret messenger, that many of his soldiers were slain and despoiled of their arms; and, as he was already inflamed by wine and oppressed by sleep, he issued a rash command that their death should be revenged by the massacre of the guards of Fritigern and Alavivus. The clamorous shouts and dving growns approach Fritigern of his extreme danger; and, as he possessed the calm and intrepid spirit of a hero, he saw that he was lost if he allowed a moment of deliberation to the man who had so deeply injured him. "A trifling dispute," said the Gothe leader, with a firm but gentle tone of voice, "appears to have arisen between the two nations; but it may be productive of the most dangerous consequences, unless the tumult is immediately pacified by the assumnce of our safety and the authority of our presence." At these words, Entigern and his companions drew their swords, opened their passage through the unresisting crowd which filled the palace, the streets, and the gates of Marcianopolis, and, mounting their horses, hastily vanished from the eyes of the astonished Romans. The generals of the Goths were saluted by the fierce and joyful acclamations of the ening; war was instantly resolved, and the resolution was executed without delay; the banners of the nation were displayed according to the custom of their ancestors; and the air resounded with the harsh and mournful music of the Barbarian trumpet. The weak and guilty Lupicinus, who had dared to provoke, who had neglected to destroy, and who still presumed to despise, his formidable

Weaths do were sublates, and to gue triste towarishes clearers. Ammun. 1931. 5. These are the result cerema of Chrotian I'n R fin q 57), the larger 1.75 of the 1/22 or wild built; such as have be a more recently used by the 5% six Cantana of Un and Underwald (Souler de Reguldick Helvet, L., p. 201, riba. Pose a Thight 174). The meative horn is to be though perhaps taxed builted doction an original magniture of the battless Nancy (A.D 1477). The store he combat le dit or into consequent to the battless Nancy (A.D 1477). The store he combat le dit or into consequent to the battless Nancy (A.D 1477). The store the Potent Late of Manual de Bourge por personal discounties from its p. 493-)

enemy, marched against the Goths, at the head of such a military force as could be collected on this sudden emergency. The Barbarians expected his approach about nine nules from Marcianopolis; and on this occasion the talents of the general were found to be of more prevailing efficacy than the weapons and discipline of the troops. The valour of the Goths was so ably directed by the genius of Fritigern that they broke, by a close and vigorous attack, the ranks of the Roman legions. Lupicinus left his arms and standards, his tribunes and his bravest soldiers, on the field of battle; and their useless courage served only to protect the ignominious flight of their leader. "That successful day put an end to the distress of the Barbarians and the security of the Romans: from that day, the Goths, renouncing the precarious condition of strangers and exiles, assumed the character of citizens and masters, claimed an absolute dominion over the possessors of land, and beld, in their own right, the northern provinces of the empire, which are bounded by the Danube." Such are the words of the Gothic historian, 4 who celebrates, with rude eloquence, the glory of his countrymen. But the dominion of the Barbarians was exercised only for the purposes of rapine and destruction. As they had been deprived, by the ministers of the emperor, of the common benefits of nature and the fair intercourse of social life, they retalisted the injustice on the subjects of the empire; and the crimes of Lupicinus were expeated by the rum of the peaceful husbandmen of Thrace, the they peated in conflagration of their villages, and the massacre, or enptivity, new of their innocent families. The report of the Gothic victory was soon diffused over the adjacent country; and, while it filled the minds of the Romans with terror and dismay, their own hasty prudence contributed to increase the forces of Fritigern and the calamities of the province. Some time before the great emigration, a numerous body of Goths, under the command of Suerid and Cohas, had been received into the protection and service of the empire.75 They were encamped under the walls of Hadranople: but the ministers of Valens were anxious to remove them beyond the Hellespont, at a distance from the dangerous temptation which might so easily

at the popular sand know some a wapts. We are ignorant of the precise date and exemistances of their transmigration,

⁷⁴ Joseph de Rebus Geness, c. 26. p. 648, edit. Grot. Them opleaded paners (they are re-paret to v. v. v. are readoubtedly transcribed from the larger histories

be communicated by the neighbourhood, and the success, of their countrymen. The respectful submission with which they yielded to the order of their march might be considered as a proof of their fidelity; and their moderate request of a sufficient allowance of provisions, and of a delay of only two days, was expressed in the most dutiful terms. But the first magistrate of Hadranople, inceused by some disorders which had been committed at his country-house, refused this indulgence; and arining against them the inhabitants and manufacturers of a populous city, he arged, with hostile threats, their instant departure. The Barbarians stood silent and amazed, till they were exasperated by the insulting clamours, and missile weapons, of the populace: but, when patience or contempt was fatigued, they crushed the undisciplined multitude, inflicted many a shameful wound on the backs of their flying enemies. and despoiled them of the splendid armour 16 which they were unworthy to hear. The resemblance of their sufferings and their actions soon united this victorious detachment to the nation of the Visigoths; the troops of Colus and Suerid expected the approach of the great Fritigem, ranged themselves under his standard, and signalized their ardour in the siege of Hadrianople. But the resistance of the garrison informed the Barbarians that, in the attack of regular fortifications, the efforts of unskilful courage are seldom effectual. general acknowledged his error, mised the siege, declared that "he was at peace with stone walls," " and revenged his disappointment on the adjacent country. He accepted, with pleasure, the useful reinforcement of hardy workmen, who laboured in the gold mines of Thrace of for the emolument, and under the lash, of an unfeeling master: " and these new associates conducted the Barbanans, through the secret patis, to the most sequestered places, which had been chosen to

⁷⁶ An In perial mine facture of shields, &c., was established at Hadragole and the populace were headed by the Fatricesies, or workmen (Vales, ad Amman,

Papers sib case cum paper his memorius. Amm xxxx 7 If There in our were in the country of the Bess. In the salge of mountains, the Rhodaye, that runs between I'm and Pt , popula , two Macedonian orea which derived their name and some from the father of Venneter Free by in nes of librace be annut; so on the value of the way, of a the said There's (200 000), a reven with hold the billian 3 dictiffed the conference of Grances See Indoor See as, tend 1 to p. 88 and t. Wesser at, there are of commentary on the theodosian Code, tona p. 490. Celarosis, from the first time is p. 490. Celarosis, from the first time is p. 490. The show or hippy we altern from the new two had ensemble to drag them from the religious Cod. Thousands, t. x. the new eng. 5, 7.

secure the inhabitants, the cattle, and the magazines of corn. With the assistance of such guides, nothing could remain impervious or inaccessible; resistance was fatal; flight was impracticable; and the patient submission of helpless innocence seldom found mercy from the Barbarian conqueror. In the course of these depredations, a great number of the children of the Goths. who had been sold into captivity, were restored to the embraces of their afflicted parents; but these tender interviews, which might have revived and cherished in their minds some sentiments of humanity, tended only to stimulate their native herceness by the desire of revenge. They listened, with eager attention, to the complaints of their captive children, who had suffered the most cruel indignities from the lustful or angry passions of their masters; and the same cruelties, the same indignities, were severely retaliated on the sons and daughters of the Romans, 60

The imprudence of Valens and his ministers had introduced operations of into the heart of the empire a nation of enemies; but the Visigoths might even yet have been reconciled, by the manly confession of past errors and the sincere performance of former engagements. These healing and temperate measures seemed to concur with the timorous disposition of the sovereign of the Fast; but, on this occasion alone, Valens was brave; and his unseasonable bravery was fatal to himself and to his subjects. His declared his intention of marching from Antioch to Constantmople, to subdue this dangerous rebellion; and, as he was not ignorant of the difficulties of the enterprise, he solicited the assistance of his nephew, the emperor Gratian, who commanded all the forces of the West. The veteran troops were hastily recalled from the defence of Armenia; that important frontier was abandoned to the discretion of Sapor; and the immediate conduct of the Gothic war was intrusted, during the absence of Valens, to his heutenants Trajan and Profuturus, two generals who indulged themselves in a very false and favourable opinion of their own abilities. On their arrival in Thrace, they were joined by Richomer, count of the domestics; and the auxiliaries of the West, that marched under his banner, were composed of the Gallie legions, reduced indeed by a spirit of desertion to the vain appearances of strength and numbers. In a council of war, which was influenced by pride rather than

*See Ammanus, xxx, c 6. The historian of the Gothic war loses time and space by an unsensonable recupitulation of the aneant inroads of the Barbarians.

by reason, it was resolved to seek and to encounter the Rarbarians, who lay encamped in the spacious and fertile meadors near the most southern of the six mouths of the Danube.¹⁵ Their camp was surrounded by the usual fortification of waggens; 12 and the Barbarians, secure within the vast ende

of the inclosure, enjoyed the fruits of their valour and the spoils of the province. In the midst of notous intemperance, the watchful Entigern observed the motions, and penetrated the designs, of the Romans. He perceived that the number of the enemy were continually increasing; and, as he understood their intention of attacking his rear as soon as the scarcity of forage should oblige him to remove his camp, he recalled to their standard his predatory detachments which covered the adjacent country. As soon as they descried the flaming beacons,3 they obeyed, with incredible speed, the signal of their leader; the camp was filled with the martial crowd of Barbarians; their impatient clamours demanded the battle, and their tumultuous zeal was approved and animated by the spirit of their chiefs. The evening was already far advanced; and the two armies prepared themselves for the approaching combat, which was deferred only till the dawn of day. While the trumpets sounded to arms, the undaunted thans of As courage of the Goths was confirmed by the mutual obligation of a solemn oath; and, as they advanced to meet the coems. the rude songs, which celebrated the glory of their forefathers. were mingled with their fierce and dissonant outeries, and opposed to the artificial harmony of the Roman shout. Some military skill was displayed by Fritigern to gain the advantage of a commanding emmence; but the bloody conflict, which began and ended with the light, was maintained, on either side, by the personal and obstinate efforts of strength, valous, and agility. The legions of Armenia supported their fame in

The Innerity of Antoninus (p. 226, 227, edit Wesseling) marks the sample of this place about the interior of Ionii, Ovel siexile, and the nature of notice (the whole course est the interior of the x.l., T.v. kom as a succeeded the strong country, and then the line of the Ricking Country, and then the line of the Rilkans, of the Gothic arms (Hodgain, t. 2511.)

(Hodgam, 1, 25th)

The carie of waggens, the turney, was the usual fortdication of the Bartarrans Vegetius de Re Miltin 1 ... o to Valence at 1 ... on a fact a same preserved by their decembers, as fire as the filter this century. The Charron, which surrounded the Oil, is a word face burne the renders of Frossard or Council.

In Statum at account malfest (A) I have used the internal some of real torches or

but in it descent mallest to \$1.1 have used the bireal sense of real terches or beacons; but I descent a pect it it it is only on \$1 those in god metaphics, those faire ornaments, that perpetually disligate the style of Ammanya.

arms; but they were oppressed by the irresistible weight of the hostile multitude; the left wing of the Romans was thrown into disorder, and the field was strewed with their manufed carcusses. This partial defeat was balanced, however, by partial success; and when the two armies, at a late hour of the evening, retreated to their respective camps, neither of them could claim the honours, or the effects, of a decisive victory. The real loss was more severely felt by the Romans. in proportion to the smallness of their numbers; but the Goths were so deeply confounded and dismayed by this vigorous, and perhaps unexpected, resistance that they remained seven days within the circle of their fortifications. Such funeral rites as the circumstances of time and place would admit were piously discharged to some others of distinguished rank; but the indiscriminate vulgar was left unburied on the plain. Their Besh was greedily devoured by the birds of prey, who, in that age, enjoyed very frequent and deherous feasts; and several years afterwards the white and naked bones which covered the wide extent of the fields presented to the eyes of Aminianus a dreadful monument of the battle of Salices. 84

The progress of the Goths had been checked by the doubt- union of the ful event of that bloody day; and the Imperial generals, whose the same army would have been consumed by the repetition of such a Alan, or contest, embraced the more rational plan of destroying the Barbarians by the wants and pressure of their own multitudes. They prepared to confine the Visigoths in the narrow angle of land between the Danube, the desert of Scythia, and the mountains of Harmus, till their strength and spirit should be msensibly wasted by the inevitable operation of famine. The design was prosecuted with some conduct and success; the Barbarians had almost exhausted their own magazines, and the survests of the country; and the diligence of Saturninus, the muster-general of the cavalry, was employed to improve the strength, and to contract the extent, of the Roman fortifications. His labours were interrupted by the alarming intelligence that new swarms of Barbarians had passed the unguarded Danube, either to support the cause, or to imitate

⁴ Indicard mine usque albentes ossibus campi, Ammon, xxxi, 7. The handran in ght have vessed these plans either as a sold or or as a traveller the trains a base suppressed the advisorer of his own by the print to the Person and the state to and balant. We are represent of the same when he spatial the service and recred to Rome, where he appears to have compared his flistory of the same I mes

[Morburg,

Colmar, in the plains of Alsace. The glory of the day was justly asenbed to the massile weapons and well-practicel evolutions of the Roman soldiers; the Alemanni, who long maintained their ground, were slaughtered with unrelenting fury; five thousand only of the Barbarians escaped to the woods and mountains; and the glorious death of their king on the field of battle saved him from the reproaches of the people, who are always disposed to accuse the justice, or policy, of an unsuccessful war. After this signal victory, which secured the peace of Gaul and asserted the honour of the Roman arms, the emperor Gratian appeared to proceed without delay on his Eastern expedition; but, as he approached the confines of the Alemanni, he suddenly inclined to the left, surprised them by his unexpected passage of the Rhine, and boldly advanced into the heart of their country. The Barbarians opposed to his progress the obstacles of nature and of courage; and still continued to retreat from one hill to another, till they were satisfied, in repeated trials, of the power and perseverance of their enemies Their submission was accepted as a proof, not indeed of their sincere repentance, but of their actual distress; and a select number of their brave and robust youth was exacted from the faithless nation, as the most substantial pledge of their future moderation. The subjects of the empire, who had so often experienced that the Alemanni could neither be subdued by arms nor restrained by treaties, might not promise themselves any solid or lasting tranquillity: but they discovered, in the virtues of their young sovereign, the prospect of a long and auspicious reign. When the legions chinbed the mountains, and scaled the fortifications, of the Barbarians, the valour of Ciratian was distinguished in the foremost ranks; and the gult and variegated armour of his guards was pierced and shattered by the blows which they had received in their constant attachment to the person of their sovereign. At the age of mneteen, the son of Valentinian seemed to possess the talents of peace and war; and his personal success against the Alemanni was interpreted as a sure presage of his Gothic triamphs. 69

the 2 brocest time of colonie has at sen.

Whe to I and important narrative of Antonianus (save to) may derive sees the fact and high through the factome of V ctor the Caronice of Jerom and the Hastonianus I, the colonie I, the colonie I, the colonie I are colonied.

The field of battle, Argentaria or Argento urise is accurately fixed to M. d'Anville Notice des Antonne (and, p. 96-99) at twenty three Carlles leagues is that y four not a half Roman miles, to the south of Strasburg. From its runs the a basept time of estimar has arisen.

White Contian deserved and enjoyed the applause of his sub-values cis, the emperor Valeus, who, at length, had removed his applause of his sub-value cis, the emperor Valeus, was received by the people of his May a market and army from Antioch, was received by the people of his May a market was the people of his May a market with the people of his sub-value in the history in thi onstant mople as the author of the public calamity. Before he ad reposed himself ten days in the capital, he was urged, by he licentious clamours of the Hippodrome, to march against be Barbarans whom he had invited into his dominions; and be entizens, who are always brave at a distance from any real tinger, declared, with confidence, that, if they were supplied oth arms, they alone would undertake to deliver the province from the ravages of an insulting for. The vain reproaches of in ignorant multitude hastened the downfall of the Roman mpire; they provoked the desperate rashness of Valens, who and not find, either in his reputation or in his mund, any motives lo support with firmness the public contempt. He was soon remoded, by the successful achievements of his heutenants, to separe the power of the Goths, who, by the diligence of Fritiern, were now collected in the neighbourhood of Hadranople. The march of the Taifalse had been intercepted by the valuant Engered; the king of those licentious Barbarians was slain in [A.D. 277] attle; and the suppliant captives were sent into distant exile o cultivate the lands of Italy which were assigned for their ettlement in the vacant territories of Modena and Parma, 91 The exploits of Schastian,92 who was recently engaged in the service of Valens and promoted to the rank of master-general of the infantry, were still more honourable to himself and useful to the republic. He obtained the permission of selecting three hundred soldiers from each of the legions; and this separate detachment soon acquired the spirit of discipline and the exercise of arms, which were almost forgotten under the reign of Valens. By the vigour and conduct of Sebastian, a large body of the

Moratus paucissimos dies, seditione popularium levium pulsus. If You are owner out in a graphore the dates and some circumstances. [And I have a graph of the Mannam, Regularque et Parmam Italica oppida,

ocompetent successor Mauria susta ned a defeat there, Amin. xx. 4, 18,

ora n'i crescettem nava. Annu anua vazu que l'insecutare and districts about 100 y - 1, there to office e or the La fala [Luful], appear in a very desolute state, see M. save. Desection of sopra le Antichea Italiana, fom Lessertat, xx. pa Fr. med is fore had the pass of Sur a thetween Sofia and Photopopolis), but

tio (k.n., 200); see below, p. 114]

22 An minn xxvi ti Zormus, I iv p. 228-230 [23]. The latter expandes on the devilors exploits of Societain, and dispatches, in a few I cos the innertant is Sand H. Leaving the According to the receive, a real or have we have Schastian, the pease of Lorentz is degree of χ and χ of χ for the month Hat des I importe to χ of χ . If a projuntice and reportance undoubtedly render to a a very questional le judge of

Goths was surprised in their camp; and the immense spoil which was recovered from their hands filled the city of Hadranople and the adjacent plain. The splendid narratives which the general transmitted of his own exploits alarmed the Imperal court by the appearance of superior ment; and, though he cautiously insisted on the difficulties of the Gothic war, his valour was praised, his advice was rejected; and Valens, who listened with pride and pleasure to the flattering suggestions of the cumuchs of the palace, was impatient to senze the glory of an easy and assured conquest. His army was strengthened by a numerous reinforcement of veterans; and his murch from Constantinople to Hadrianople was conducted with so much military skill that he prevented the activity of the Barbarians. who designed to occupy the intermediate defiles and to intercept either the troops themselves or their convoys of provisions. The camp of Valens, which he pitched under the walls of Hadranople, was fortified, according to the practice of the Romans. with a ditch and rampart; and a most unportant council was summoned, to decide the fate of the emperor and of the empire The party of reason and of delay was stremiously maintained by Victor, who had corrected, by the lessons of experience, the native fierceness of the Sarmatian character; while Sebastian with the flexible and obsequious eloquence of a courtier, represented every precaution and every measure that implied doubt of immediate victory as unworthy of the courage and majesty of their invincible monarch. The rum of Valeus was precipitated by the deceitful arts of Fritigern and the prudent admonitions of the emperor of the West. The advantages of negotiating in the midst of war were perfectly understood by the general of the Barbarians; and a Christian coclesiastic was dispatched, as the holy minister of peace, to penetrate, and to perplex, the councils of the enemy. The mistortunes, well as the provocations, of the Gothic nation were forcibly and truly described by their ambassador; who protested, in the name of Fritigern, that he was still disposed to lay down hi arms, or to employ them only in the defence of the empire if be could secure, for his wandering countrymen, a tranquil settle ment on the waste lands of Thruce and a sufficient allowance of corn and cattle. But he added, in a whisper of confidentia friendship, that the exasperated Barbarians were averse to thesi reasonable conditions; and that Fritigern was doubtful whether he could accomplish the conclusion of the treaty, unless he found himself supported by the presence and terrors of an Impera-

d Thruca)

army. About the same time Count Richomer returned from the West, to announce the defeat and submission of the Alemann: to inform Valens that his nephew advanced by rapid marches at the head of the veteran and victorious legions of Gaul; and to request, in the name of Gratian and of the republic, that every dangerous and decisive measure might be suspended, till the innetion of the two emperors should ensure the success of the Cothic war. But the feeble sovereign of the East was actuated only by the fatal illusions of pride and jealousy. He disdained the importunate advice; he rejected the humiliating aid; he secretly compared the ignominous, or at least the inglorious, period of his own reign with the fame of a beardless youth: and Valeus rushed into the field, to erect his imaginary trophy. before the diligence of his colleague could usurp any share of

the tnumphs of the day.

On the minth of August, a day which has deserved to be marked among the most mauspicious of the Roman Calendar, 28 Bastle of Rotting in the emperor Valens, leaving, under a strong guard, his baggage AD 78. and mulitary treasure, marched from Hadrianople to attack the boths, who were encamped about twelve miles from the city.94 By some mistake of the orders, or ignorance of the ground, the aght wing, or column of cavalry, arrived in sight of the enemy, whilst the left was still at a considerable distance; the soldiers were compelled, in the sultry heat of summer, to precipitate their pace; and the line of battle was formed with tedious confusion and cregular delay. The Gothic cavalry had been detached to forage in the adjacent country; and Fritigern still continued to practise his customary arts. He dispatched nessengers of peace, made proposals, required hostages, and vasted the hours, till the Romans, exposed without shelter to the burning rays of the sun, were exhausted by thirst, hunger, and intolerable fatigue. The emperor was persuaded to send an ambassador to the Gothic camp; the zeal of Richomer, who done had courage to accept the dangerous commission, was uplauded, and the count of the domestics, adorned with

There are term hard by the fatal battle of Hade anople. We might consure the and has style, the faceder and perplex ty of his passature; but we must now has earn of this impartial historian, and reproach is secured by our regret for than represents loss. The most recent investigation of the Battle of Hadran-ple 1 by I which in the Deutsche Zisch f. Geschichtswissenschaft 1891 p. 1, 1993 The difference of the eight in les of Ammanus, and the twelve of thetus, our mountains these cross Valencia ad les I who suppose a great arm to be a laborate al per the control space or disease one. [The Gotha had come from the corner of the province of Hammontus, ep. Hodglun, 1269]

the splendid ensigns of his dignity, had proceeded some way in

[Palaling

A Alega

the space between the two armies when he was suddenly recalled by the alarm of battle. The hasty and improdent attack was made by Bacurius the Iberian, who commanded a body of archers and targetteers; and, as they advanced with rashness, they retreated with loss and disgrace. In the same moment, the flying squadrons of Alatheus and Saphrax, whose return was anxiously expected by the general of the Goths, descended like a whirlwind from the hills, swept across the plain, and added new terrors to the tumultuous, but presistible, charge of the Barbarian host. The event of the battle of Hadrianople, The denset so fatal to Valens and to the empire, may be described in a few words: the Roman cavalry fled; the infantry was abandoned, surrounded, and cut in pieces. The most skilful evolutions, the firmest courage, are scarcely sufficient to extricate a body of foot, encompassed, on an open plain, by superior numbers of horse; but the troops of Valens, oppressed by the weight of the enemy and their own fears, were crowded into a narrow space, where it was impossible for them to extend their ranks, or even to use, with effect, their swords and javelins. In the midst of tumult, of slaughter, and of dismay, the emperor, described by his guards and wounded, as it was supposed, with an arrow, sought protection among the Lancearn and the Mattiarii, who still maintained their ground with some appearance of order and firmness. His faithful generals, Trajan and Victor, who perceived his danger, loudly exclaimed that all was lost unless the person of the emperor could be saved. Some troops, animated by their exhortation, advanced to his relief: they found only a bloody spot, covered with a heap of broken arms and mangled bodies, without being able to discover their unfortunate prince, either among the living or the dead. Their search could not indeed be successful, if there is any truth in the circumstances with which some historians have related the death of the emperor. By the care of his attendants, Valens was removed from the field of battle to a neighbouring cottage, where they attempted to dress his wound and to provide for his future safety. But this humble retreat was instantly surrounded by the enemy; they tried to force the door; they were provoked by a discharge of arrows from the roof, till at length, impatient of delay, they set fire to a pile of dry faggots, and consumed the cottage with the Roman emperor and his train. Valens perished in the flames; " and a

Me See Chustian, B. G., 61 absumptique igne Vaientis.]

youth, who dropt from the window, alone escaped, to attest the melancholy tale and to inform the Goths of the inestimable prize which they had lost by their own rishness. A great number of brave and distinguished officers perished in the battle of Hadrianople, which equalled in the actual loss, and he surpassed in the fatal consequences, the misfortune which Rome had formerly sustained in the field of Canna. " Two master-generals of the cavalry and infantry, two great officers of the palace and thirty-five tribunes were found among the slain; and the death of Sebastian might satisfy the world that he was the victim, as well as the author, of the public calamity. Above two-thirds of the Roman army were destroyed; and the darkness of the night was esteemed a very favourable circumstance, as it served to conceal the flight of the multitude and to protect the more orderly retreat of Victor and Richomer, who alone, amidst the general consternation, maintained the dvantage of calm courage and regular discipline.56

While the impressions of grief and terror were still recent resent or the minds of men, the most celebrated rhetorician of the age and his army composed the funeral oration of a vanquished army and of an inpupular prince, whose throne was already occupied by a "There are not wanting," says the candid Libanius, Mranger. those who arraign the prudence of the emperor, or who sapute the public mixfortune to the want of courage and copline in the troops. For my own part, I reverence the semory of their former exploits: I reverence the glorious death thich they bravely received, standing, and fighting in their anks: I reverence the field of battle, stained with their blood and the blood of the Barbarians. Those honourable marks are been already washed away by the rains; but the lofty sonuments of their bones, the bones of generals, of centurious, and of valuant warriors, claim a longer period of duration. The

Noe tile, annalibus, prieter Cannensem pugnam its ad internecionem res till gesta. Amenian, xxx. 13. According to the grave Polylius, no more at 170 harve and 3000 foot escaped from the field of Canne: 10,000 were made ers, and the number of the slam amounted to 6530 horse and 70,000 foot it. I in it 571, cd.1 Casedon, in 8vo (c. 117]). Livy (xxii 49) a somewhat a boody: he slaughters only 2700 horse and 40,000 foot. The Roman army

We have grand some faint light from Jerom (t. i. p. 26 [Ep. 60, 16] and in thron. p. 188 ad ann. 2203]. Victor (in Ep tone [47]). Ordans (t. vi. c. 33, p. 14. Joenardes (c. 27. Zoumus (t. v. p. 230 [24]), Sorrates (t. v. c. 38), Sources (c. 40), Idanus (in Chron.). But their united evidence, if weighed against the content of the conte

later and above to light and unsubstantial.

". Legendam generals, the original is run expanying.

VOIL III.

(lay, con

king himself fought and fell in the foremost ranks of the battle. His attendants presented him with the deetest horses of the Imperial stable, that would soon have carried him beyond the pursuit of the enemy. They vainly pressed him to reserve ha important life for the fature service of the republic. He stall declared that he was unworthy to survive so many of the bravest and most furthful of his subjects; and the monarch was nobly buried under a mountain of the shin. Let neae. therefore, presume to asembe the victory of the Barbarians to the fear, the weakness, or the improdence, of the Housen troops The chiefs and the soldiers were animated by the virtue of their ancestors, whom they equalled in discipline and the arts of war Their generous emulation was supported by the love of gloowhich prompted them to contend at the same time with heat and thirst, with fire and the sword; and cheerfully to embrace an honourable death as their refuge against flight and infamy The indignation of the gods has been the only cause of the success of our enemies." The truth of history may disclaim some parts of this panegyric, which cannot strictly be recognized with the character of Valens or the circumstances of the battle, but the fairest commendation is due to the cloquence, and still more to the generosity, of the sophist of Antioch. "

The Gothe besings Radria Sople

The pride of the Goths was elated by this memorable victory. but their avance was disappointed by the mortifying discovers that the richest part of the Imperial spoil had been within the walls of Hadranople. They hastened to possess the reward of their valour; but they were encountered by the remains of a vanquished army with an intrepid resolution, which was the effect of their despair and the only hope of their safety. walls of the city and the ramparts of the adjacent camp were lined with military engines, that threw stones of an enormous weight; and astonished the ignorant Barbarians by the noise and velocity, still more than by the real effects, of the da-The soldiers, the citizens, the provincials, the domestics of the palace, were united in the danger and in the defence; the furious assault of the Goths was repulsed; they secret arts of treachery and treason were discovered; and, after an obstinate conflict of many hours, they retired to their tents. convinced, by experience, that it would be far more advisable to observe the treaty which their sagaeious leader had tacally stipulated with the fortifications of great and populous cities

⁸⁷ I. ben us de alesseend. Julain. Nece, c. 3. in Fabricius, Bibliot. Grac. Em. vii. p. 146-148.

ther the hasty and impolitic massacre of three hundred assisters, an act of justice extremely useful to the discipline if the Roman armies, the Goths indignantly raised the siege I Hadrianople. The scene of war and tumult was instantly converted into a silent solitude; the multitude suddenly disappeared; the sacred paths of the wood and mountains were narked with the footsteps of the trembling fagitives, who wight a refuge in the distant cities of Illyricum and Macedonia; and the faithful others of the household and the treasury autiously proceeded in search of the emperor, of whose death they were still agnorant. The tide of the Gothic inundation rollied from the walls of Hadrianople to the suburbs of Contantinopile. The Barbanans were surprised with the splendid appearance of the capital of the East, the height and extent of the walls, the invriads of wealthy and affrighted citizens who rounded the ramparts, and the various prospect of the sea and and. While they gazed with hopeless desire on the inaccesable beauties of Constantinople, a sally was made from one of the gates by a party of Saracens,²⁵ who had been fortunately engaged in the service of Valens. The cavalry of Seythia was for ed to yield to the admirable swiftness and spirit of the Arabian horses; their riders were skilled in the evolutions of or gular war; and the Northern Barbarians were astonished, and dismayed, by the inhuman ferocity of the Barbarians of the South. A Gothic soldier was slain by the dagger of an Arab; and the hairy, naked savage, applying his lips to the wound, expressed a hornd delight, while he sucked the blood of his vanquished enemy." The army of the Goths, laden with the spoils of the wealthy suburbs and the adjacent territory, lowly moved from the Bosphorus to the mountains which form the western boundary of Thrace. The important pass of Succionas betrayed by the fear, or the misconduct, of Mauris; and the Barlamans, who no longer had any resistance to apprehend from the scattered and vanquished troops of the East, spread

Notes had gained or rather purchased, the friendship of the Samorna whose controls made were felt on the borders of Phoenicia. Palest ne, and Lyopt. the this were left on the Corones of Phoenical Palestine, and Lyppi, the this best been littly introduced among a people reversed, in a crease, to know gate a other religion (Tillemont, His des Empereurs, t. v. p. 1941) 1941. Admis Beel 1, sit, p. 1951.

The use q dam, tother one as printer pulsers subraneous et luguire strepens, Amis an axis 16, and View ad loc. The Acids often (singlet maked) a custom

the heavy be ascribed to the raultry climate and stematous barriery. The prior of this taknown savage of the lasty portest of Derac, a name to the last to the Christians of Syna. See Ockley's Hist. of the Samoons, vol. 1, p.

73. 34. 87.

themselves over the face of a fertile and cultivated country, as far as the confines of Italy and the Hadriatic Sea, 100

The Romans, who so coully and so concisely mention the acts of justice which were exercised by the legions, but reserve their compassion and their eloquence for their own sufferings, when the provinces were invaded and desolated by the arms of the successful Barbanans. The simple circumstantial narrative (dul such a narrative exist) of the ruin of a single town, of the misfortunes of a single family, 102 might exhibit an interesting and instructive picture of human manners; but the tedious repetition of vague and declamatory complaints would fatigue the attention of the most patient reader. The same censure may be applied, though not perhaps in an equal degree, to the profine and the ecclesiastical writers of this unhappy period; that their minds were inflamed by popular and religious ammosity; and that the true size and colour of every object is falsified by the exaggerations of their corrupt eloquence. The vehement Jerom 108 might justly deplore the calamities inflicted by the Cioths and their barbarous allies on his native country of Pannoma and the wide extent of the provinces, from the walls of Constantinople to the foot of the Julian Alps; the rapes, the massacres, the conflagrations; and, above all, the profanation of the churches, that were turned into stables, and the contemptuous treatment of the relies of holy martyrs. But the Saint is surely transported beyond the limits of nature and history, when he affirms "that, in those desert countries, nothing was left except the sky and the earth; that, after the destruction of the cities and the extirpation of the human race, the land was overgrown with thick forests and mextricable brambles,

100 The series of events may still be traced in the last pages of Ammiania (AXXI. 15, 16). Zosmus 1 a p 227 231 x2, 24), whom we are now red and to cherah, musplaces the sally of the Arabs before the death of Valent. European In Excerpt Legat p. 20 [fr. 42, F. H. G. iv. p. 52] praises the fertially of Phrace.

101 Observe with how much indifference Cassar relates, in the Commentaries of the Gallie war, that he put to death the whole senate of the Ven to who had ye for the table will. Marke put to deal the who execute of the whole patient of the Ehurones (vi. 31 say 1. that he laboured to extripate the while mation of the Ehurones (vi. 32 say 1. that forty thousand persons were massacred at Rearges in the part revenue of lab society who spatied bother up nor sea (vi. 27 dec. 100 Such are the accounts of the sack of Magdeburg, by the eccess is and the fisherman, which Mr. Harte has transacred (H. it of G. atanta Adophus, vol.).

1313 3303 with some apprehens at of volating the digrete of history.

100 Et autres utblus, homeobasine interfects, will tall use et randoms.

10 The more apprehens at tall the processory technical and the present and the Sophomas, and tom 1 p 26. [Ep 60 16.]

of that the universal desolation, announced by the prophet sheath, was accomplished, in the searcity of the beasts, the mandeven of the fish". These complaints were pronounced multwenty years after the death of Valens; and the Illyrian maces, which were constantly exposed to the invasion and source of the Barbarians, still continued, after a calamitous med of ten centuries, to supply new materials for signic and Simetion. Could it even be supposed that a large tract of min had been left without cultivation and without inhabiand, the consequences might not have been so fatal to the voor productions of snimated nature. The useful and feeble mals, which are nourshed by the hand of man, might suffer ad perish, if they were deprived of his protection; but the wat of the forest, his enemies, or his victims, would multiply the free and undisturbed possession of their solitary domain. be various tribes that people the air, or the waters, are still sonnected with the fate of the human species; and it is stals probable that the fish of the Danube would have felt we terror and distress from the approach of a voracious pike can from the hostile inroad of a Gothic army.

Whatever may have been the just measure of the calamities Managere of flurope, there was reason to fear that the same calamities roubing and soon extend to the peaceful countries of Asia. The sons the Goths had been judiciously distributed through the thes of the East; and the arts of education were employed to whah and subdue the native fierceness of their temper. In the pace of about twelve years, their numbers had continually inwased; and the children, who, in the first emigration, were ent user the Hellespont, had attained, with mpid growth, the trength and spirit of perfect manhood. 101 It was impossible to conceal from their knowledge the events of the Gothic war; wat, as those daring youths had not studied the language of seimulation, they betrayed their wish, their desire, perhaps "or intention, to emulate the glorious example of their fathers. he danger of the times seemed to justify the jealous suspicions of the provincials; and these suspicions were admitted as enquestionable evidence that the Goths of Asia had formed secret and dangerous conspiracy against the public safety. The death of Valens had left the East without a sovereign;

nest fursipers in Except Legal p. 20 [F. H. G. iv. p. 32] foolishly supposes a nester of stall growth of the vising Gotha, that he may offorther Cadman armed in the tripes from the dragon's teeth, its Such was the Greek evoquence the tripes.

and Julius, who filled the important station of master-general of the troops, with a high reputation of diligence and ability, thought it his duty to consult the senate of Constantinople; which he considered, during the vacancy of the throne, as the representative council of the nation. As soon as he had obtained the discretionary power of acting as he should judge most expedient for the good of the republic, he assembled the principal officers; and privately concerted effectual measures for the execution of his bloody design. An order was immediately promulgated that, on a stated day, the Gothic youth should assemble in the capital cities of their respective provinces; and, as a report was industriously circulated that they were summoned to receive a liberal gift of lands and money, the pleasing hope allayed the fury of their resentment and perhaps suspended the motions of the compiracy. On the appointed day, the unarmed crowd of the Cothic youth was carefully collected in the square, or Forum; the streets and avenues were occupied by the Roman troops; and the roofs of the houses were covered with archers and slingers. At the same hour, in all the cities of the East, the signal was given of indiscriminate slaughter; and the provinces of Asia were delivered, by the cruel prudence of Julius, from a domestic enemy, who, in a few months, might have carried fire and aword from the Hellespont to the Euphrates. 195 The urgent consideration of the public safety may undoubtedly authorise the violation of every positive law. How far that, or any other, consideration may operate to dissolve the natural obligations of humanity and justice is a doctrine of which I still desire to remain ignorant.

The emperor Gratian in vaste Theo desire with the sespire of the East A.E. The Land in the East A.E. The Jan in

The emperor Gratian was far advanced on his march towards the plains of Hadrianople when he was informed, at first by the confused voice of fame, and afterwards by the more accurate reports of Victor and Richomer, that his impatient colleague had been slain in battle, and that two-thirds of the Roman army were externimated by the sword of the victorious Goths. Whatever resentment the rash and jealous vanity of his uncle might deserve, the resentment of a generous mind is easily subdued by the softer emotions of grief and compassion: and even the sense of juty was soon lost in the serious and slarming consideration of the state of the republic. Gratian was too late to assist,

¹⁰⁸ Arms arms evidently approve this execution, efficient veloc et salutaris, which concludes his wink (xix. 164. Zosinais who it curious and exposis (I iv p. 24.236. a6)), it whiles the date and laborate to find the masso why Julius did not consist the emperor Theodorius, who had not yet ascended the thrope of the East.

was too weak to revenge his unfortunate colleague; and the sant and modest youth felt himself unequal to the support a surking world. A formidable tempest of the Barbarians of rmany seemed ready to burst over the provinces of Gaul; I the mind of Gratian was oppressed and distracted by the amestration of the Western Empire. In this important crisis, government of the East and the conduct of the Gothic required the undivided attention of a hero and a statesman. exerved his fidelity to a distant benefactor; and the Imperial neil embraced the wise and manly resolution of conferring obligation rather than of yielding to an insult. It was the hh of Gratian to bestow the purple as the reward of virtue; at the age of nincteen, it is not easy for a prince, educated the supreme rank, to understand the true characters of his misters and generals. He attempted to weigh, with an imrtial hand, their various merits and defects; and, whilst he ecked the rash confidence of ambition, he distrusted the strons wisdom which despaired of the republic. As each ment of delay diminished something of the power and sources of the future sovereign of the East, the situation of times would not allow a techous debate. The choice of atian was soon declared in favour of an exile, whose father, by three years before, had suffered, under the sanction of his thority, an unjust and agnominious death. The great Theobus, a name celebrated in history and dear to the Catholic srch, to was summoned to the Imperial court, which had dually retreated from the confines of Thrace to the more ure station of Sirmium. Five months after the death of lens, the emperor Gratian produced before the assembled ops his colleague and their master; who, after a modest, rhaps a sincere, resistance, was compelled to accept, amidst the peral acclamations, the diadem, the purple, and the equal of Augustus. 107 The provinces of Thrace, Asia, and

A life of Theodosius the Great was composed in the last century (Paris, n 4to, 1980, n 1 may, to offerm the n od of the young Dauphin with

Pole 1883. The author Flicher, a terrards bishop of Numes was a cele-ted preacher, and his history is adsuned, or tanted, with pulpic elequence; the takes his learning from Paronius, and his principles from St. Ambrose **A _ with [For recert working, Appendix t] **Time hith character, and easystem of Theodoxius, are marked in Prestus **Linguar Vet his no ax 12. Them some that they, 2.282. Zee mas (i.v., 22. 24) Augustanide C is tall lieu, a 250 Creanas (I.v.) e 251 Someone (I. 2. Someone Linguary of the Epitome of Victor (§ 5., and the Characters of Presper, mus, and Marcell mas, in the Theodoxius Temporum of Scalger. [Europ. fr. 48.]

Egypt, over which Valens had reigned, were resigned to the administration of the new emperor; but, as he was specially intrusted with the conduct of the Gothic war, the Illyrian prinfecture was dismembered; and the two great thoceses of Dacia and Macedonia were added to the dominions of the Fastern empire. 108

The same province, and, perhaps, the same city, 100 which had

Birth and character of Thursdoofer

f botz o. 3661

given to the throne the virtues of Trajan and the talents of Hadrian, was the original seat of another family of Spaniards, who, in a less fortunate age, possessed, near four-core years, the declining empare of Rome. 110 They emerged from the obscurity of municipal honours by the active spirit of the elder Theodosins, a general whose exploits in Britain and Africa have formed one of the most splendid parts of the annals of Valen tinian. The son of that general, who likewise bore the name of Theodosius, was educated, by skilful preceptors, in the liberal studies of youth; but he was instructed in the art of war by the tender care and severe discipline of his father. 111 Under the standard of such a leader, young Theodosius sought glory and knowledge, in the most distant scenes of military action, enured his constitution to the difference of seasons and climates, distinguished his valour by sea and land; and observed the various warfare of the Scots, the Saxons, and the Moors Huown merit, and the recommendation of the conqueror of Africa, soon raised him to a separate command; and in the station of Duke of Musia, he vanquished an army of Sarmatians; saved the province; deserved the love of the soldiers; and provoked the envy of the court.113 His rising fortunes were soon blasted by the disgrace and execution of his illustrious father; and

(A.D. 201)

(A.D. 170)

Tillemont, Hist, des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 716, &c. [Soz. vs. 4.] 100 Itanea founded by Sc. ps. Africanus for his wounded veterans of It is The rains still appear, about a league above Scrille, on the opposite back of the river. See the Hispanus Illustrata of Nonius, a short, though valuable treatment.

The runts will appear, about a league shows Serme, on the opposite take of the error. See the Hispania Illustrate of Nonius, a short, though valuable treates. C. xv. p. 6, 67.

Illustrate with Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, toen v. p. 726) in suspecting the royal pedigies which transmed a secret to the promotion of Theodoxics From after that event the sience of Pacatas outweights the vental extense of Theodoxics Victor, and Chaudian, who connect the family of Theodoxics villabout of Trajan and Hadron.

III Pacatus con pages, and occasequently prefers, the reath of Theodown I the money education of Alexander, Hannihal, and the second Africanus who

Like him, had served under their fathers xx. 8).

113 American is (xxix of ment on their copy of Theodosius Junior Dux Minus prime) et in turn langue pixems, princeps poster prespective run. The same fact is attested by Theodosius and Zoumus; but Theodosius (x c) who said to the current of the intervention of the interventio

Recodesius obtained, as a favour, the permission of retiring to a prate life in his native province of Spain. He displayed a firm od temperate character in the ease with which he adapted smelf to this new situation. His time was almost equally toded between the town and country; the spirit which had amated his public conduct was shewn in the active and affecweste performance of every social duty; and the diligence of desoldier was profitably converted to the improvement of his mole patrimony, 115 which lay between Valladolid and Segovia, a the midst of a fruitful district still famous for a most exquisite and of sheep 116 From the innocent but humble labours of is farm Theodosius was transported, in less than four months, the throng of the Eastern empire; 115 and the whole period of be history of the world will not perhaps afford a similar example I an elevation, at the same time, so pure and so honourable. the princes who peaceably inherit the sceptre of their fathers cam and enjoy a legal right, the more secure as it is absolutely istinct from the merits of their personal characters. The mbjects, who, in a monarchy or a popular estate, acquire the possession of supreme power, may have raised themselves, by the superiority either of genius or virtue, above the heads of their equals; but their virtue is seldom exempt from ambition; and the cause of the successful candidate is frequently stained by the guilt of conspiracy or civil war. Even in those governments which allow the reigning monarch to declare a colleague or a successor, his partial choice, which may be influenced by the hundest passions, is often directed to an unworthy object. But the most suspicious malignity cannot ascribe to Theodosius, in his obscure solitude of Caucha, the arts, the desires, or even the hopes, of an ambitious statesman; and the name of the Exile would long since have been forgotten, if his genuine and distinguished virtues had not left a deep impression in the Imperial court. During the season of prosperity, he had been negected; but, in the public distress, his superior merit was universally felt and acknowledged. What confidence must have been reposed in his integrity, since Gratian could trust that a pious son would forgive, for the sake of the republic, the

¹²⁰ Decree on Panegyr Vet. 20, 30 prefers the rustic life of Theodosius to that of Contractive; the one was the effect of choice, the other of poverty

¹ to 1 to 1; the chargeaphie Are ence ten t p 25) has fixed the situation of Caucha of treat, in the old province of Galbera, where Zosimus, in 24) and lelatina it of Circon Hieron I have placed the birth, or patermony, of Theodosias.

over the barmat ans , see above, c. xxv, note 157. Cp. Ifland, p. 59.]

from the factor of the continues the late that a single man could not also because the continues the late that a single man could not also because the continue of the East. Theodosius of the continues of the third there year of his age. The ranger grand was ammented of the manip beauty of his face and the grants manner in his person, which they were proposed to common with the increment in his person, which they were proposed to common with the increment in the person, which increments of the increment of the face and incrementaring a more constant resemblance to the last and innervation in the families person.

Hat printers: and wrongers tracker or he tracker at he

It is not without the most entered regret that I must now take leave of an accurate and nothin, game who has compared the history of his own times without managing the prejudices and parameter which manufer affect the ment of a contemporary Amendment Marry hand, who terminates his metal work with the defeat and death of labets recognized the parc glonoes subsert of the ensuing reign to the voithful vigore and clouwner. ed the roung generation. I he was greatest was but depowed to service by advice or to mutate his example; If and, in the study of the rearn of Thomobous, we are resigned to Bustrate the partial narrative of Louis as by the obscure lands of dragments and chromous, by the figurative style of poetry of panegame, and in the precisions assistance of the ecclesist of when it the heat of religious metion, are apt to desper the pentage rutues of succenty and moneration. Conscious of there devidentinger, which was continue to involve a consultiable posture of the decime and tall of the Roman course, I dulproceed with doubtful and tancenes steps. Let I may holds premounce that the harrie of readminingle was never revenged by any operat or decrees victors of Theredosses over the Barhumans and the cancesure mistice of his venal contors may be confermed by the observation of the condition and circumstances of the times. The fabric of a might state, which has been

Compared to the first arms are a model. Then the model is a compared to the co

A record to the resulting of County who resultanced a parties where the resultance of the resultance o

reared by the labours of successive ages, could not be overturned by the misfortune of a single day, if the fatal power of the imagination did not exaggerate the real measure of the calamity. The loss of forty thousand Romans, who fell in the plains of Hadrianople, might have been soon recruited in the populous provinces of the East, which contained so many milions of inhabitants. The courage of a soldier is found to be the cheapest, and most common, quality of human nature; and authorent skill to encounter an undisciplined for might have been speedily taught by the care of the surviving centurions. If the Barbanans were mounted on the horses, and equipped with the armour, of their vanquished enemies, the numerous study of Cappadoesa and Spain would have supplied new squadrous of cavalry; the thirty-four arsenals of the empire were plentifully stored with magazines of offensive and defensive arms; and the wealth of Ana might still have yielded an ample fund for the expenses of the war. But the effects which were produced by the battle of Hadranople on the minds of the Barbarians, and of the Romans, extended the victory of the former, and the defeat of the latter, far beyond the limits of a single day. A Gothic chief was heard to declare, with insolent moderation, that, for his own part, he was fatigued with slaughter; but that he was astonished how a people who fled before him like a flock of sheep could still presume to dispute the possession of their treasures and provinces, 118 The same tereors which the name of the Huns had spread among the Cothic tribes were inspired, by the formidable name of the Goths, among the subjects and soldiers of the Roman empire. 110 If Theodosius, hastily collecting his scattered forces, had led them into the field to encounter a victorious enemy, his army would have been vanquished by their own fears; and his rashness could not have been excused by the chance of success. But the great Theodosius, an epithet which he honourably deserved on this momentous occasion, conducted himself as the firm and faithful guardian of the republic. He fixed his headquarters at Thessalonica, the capital of the Macedonian [spring AD diocese; 13 from whence he could watch the irregular motions

this presence, tomat p. 344 edit Montinucon. I have verified and examined this presence; but I should never, whould the set of Tillemost (Hat dies Employer) and the variety of the Property of the Property of the Property of Antioch to a young set in

¹⁰⁰ Empapers, in Except Legation, p. of [F. H. G. iv. p. 32] 170 See Godeley's 1 From Light of the Laws. Codex Theodox, tom. t. Prolo-comen. p. xxix. xxx. [Cip. Cod. Theod. v. 1, 32.]

of the Barbarians, and direct the operations of his lieutenants, from the gates of Constantinople to the shores of the Hadratic. The fortifications and garrisons of the cities were strengthened, and the troops, among whom a sense of order and discipline was revived, were insensibly emboldened by the confidence of their own safety. From these secure stations, they were encouraged to make frequent sallies on the Barbarians, who infested the adjacent country; and, as they were seldom allowed to engage without some decisive superiority either of ground or of number, their enterprises were, for the most part, successful; and ther were soon convinced, by their own experience, of the possibility of vanquishing their immerble enemies. 121 The detachments of these separate garrisons were gradually united into small armes; the same cautious measures were pursued, according to as extensive and well-concerted plan of operations; the events of each day added strength and spirit to the Roman arms; and the artful diligence of the emperor, who circulated the most favourable reports of the success of the war, contributed to subdue the pride of the Barbarians and to ammate the hopes and courage of his subjects. If, instead of this faint and imperfect outline, we could accurately represent the counsels and actions of Theodosius, in four successive campaigns, there is reason to believe that his consummate skill would deserve the applause of every military reader. The republic had formerly been saved by the delays of Fabrus: and, while the splendid trophies of Serpeo in the field of Zama attract the eyes of posterity, the camps and marches of the Dictator among the hills of Campania may claim a juster proportion of the solid and independent fame which the general is not compelled to share either with fortune or with his troops. Such was likewise the ment of Theodosius. and the infirmities of his body, which most unsersomable languished under a long and dangerous disease, could not oppress the vigour of his mind or divert his attention from the public service. 172

[4.5,36]

Divisions, defeat and supplication of the Goths.

The deliverance and peace of the Roman provinces 122 was the work of prudence rather than of valour: the prudence of

They were assisted by a pestilence. Cp. Ambrose, Epist. 18, ap. Migne,

15, p. 955.]

12 Most writers insist on the illness and long repose of Theodosses 11 There adone 1; Zovenus, to diminish his glory. Limitedes to favour the Goths and the reclassional writers to introduce his baptism.

122 (matter Themistans (Orat xiv p. 181) with Zosamus (I iv p. 232 at lorinades (c. xxv. p. 649), and the profix Commentary of M. de Italia (II des Italia), &c. ton. v. p. 477 552). The Changles of Lorina and Microsoft de an general terms to sugna certains a segment season profin. I supplies are not casely reconcised. [For chronology op Appendix 8]

Theodosius was seconded by fortune; and the emperor pever alled to seize, and to improve, every favourable circumstance. to long as the superior genius of Fritigern preserved the union. and directed the motions, of the Barbarians, their power was not redequate to the conquest of a great empire. The death of that hero, the predecessor and master of the renowned Alaric, ructed an impatient multitude from the intolerable voke of tocoline and discretion. The Barbarians, who had been retrained by his authority, abandoned themselves to the dictates if their passions; and their passions were seldom umform or assistent. An army of conquerors was broken into many therederly bands of savage robbers; and their blind and origular fury was not less permicions to themselves than to their menues, 194 Their mischievous disposition was shewn in the setruction of every object which they wanted strength to rmuse or taste to enjoy; and they often consumed, with improvident rage, the harvests or the granaries, which soon aftersands became necessary for their own subsistence. A spirit of descord arose among the independent tribes and nations, which and been united only by the bands of a loose and voluntary mance. The troops of the Huns and the Alam would naturally indicated the flight of the Goths who were not disposed to use ...th moderation the advantages of their fortune; the ancient ralousy of the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths could not long be empended; and the haughty chiefs still remembered the insults and unjuries which they had reciprocally offered, or sustained, thile the nation was seated in the countries beyond the Danube. The progress of domestic faction abated the more diffusive entiment of national animosity; and the officers of Theodosius were instructed to purchase with liberal gifts and promises the "treat, or service, of the discontented party. The acquisition of Modar, a prince of the royal blood of the Amali, gave a bold and faithful champion to the cause of Rome. The illustrious deserter soon obtained the rank of master-general, with an important command; surprised an army of his countrymen who partness) sere immersed in wine and sleep; and, after a cruel slaughter of the astonished Goths, returned with an immense spoil, and four thousand waggons, to the Imperial camp. 125 In the hands

** [Some bands made rolds note by the Nopplis capitulated to them; Eunament (c. 40 and Greece (which was deferred by one Theodore, C. I. A. ... 636]]

** Zer of I v p 232 [as]) tyles him a Syrtham, a name which the more recent literals seem to have appropriated to the Goths [See Gregory Naz, Ep. 17]. It ad Kaser Theodora der Grades p 70. There is no authority for the datement that he was ' of the royal blood of the Amal. '.]

of a skilful politician, the most different means may be successfully applied to the same ends: and the peace of the empire,

Death and Tuneral of Atlantario A D 381,

which had been forwarded by the divisions, was accomplished by the re-union of the Gothic nation. Athanaric, who had been a patient spectator of these extraordinary events, was at length driven, by the chance of arms, from the dark recesses of the woods of Caucaland. 126 He no longer heatated to pass the Danube; and a very considerable part of the subjects of Fritigern, who already felt the inconveniences of anarchy, were easily persuaded to acknowledge for their king a Gothic Judge, whose birth they respected and whose abilities they had frequently experienced. But age had chilled the daring spirit of Athanaric; and, instead of leading his people to the field of battle and victory, he wisely listened to the fair proposal of an honourable and advantageous treaty. Theodosius, who was acquainted with the merit and power of his new ally, condescended to meet him at the distance of several miles from Constantinople; and entertained him in the Imperial city, with the confidence of a friend and the magnificence of a monarch. "The Barbarian prince observed, with curious attention, the variety of objects which attracted his notice, and at last broke out into a sincere and passionate exclamation of wonder. I now behold (said he) what I never could believe, the glories of this stupendous capital! and, as he cast his eyes around, he viewed, and he admired, the commanding situation of the city, the strength and beauty of the walls and public edifices, the capacious harbour, crowded with innumerable ressels, the perpetual concourse of distant nations, and the arms and discipline of the troops. Indeed (continued Athanaric), the emperor of the Romans is a god upon earth; and the presumptuous man, who dares to lift his hand against him, is guilty of his own blood." 177 The Gothic king did not long enjoy this splendid and honourable reception; and, as temperance was not the virtue of his nation, it may justly be suspected that his mortal disease was contracted amidst the pleasures of the Imperial

Hauha-land (- Highland) ace to Zeuss. Somewhere in Siebenburgen ?]

17 The reader will not be displeased to see the original words of Jornandes or the nather whom he transcribed. Region whem ingressus est, minangue, Ru, inquit, cerno quod suppe incredidus and ritam, famini videlect tante urbs. Et his cilius coulos volvens, nunc siami urbs commentarique navium, nunc morna clara prospectans, minatur; populosque diversarium gent um quita fonte in uno e diversi partitus seaturiente urbs, ace quespe militem ordinatum isquiens. Deus, inquit, est sine dubio terrenus far sine dubi terr est jumperator et quiquis adversus eum manam movert, ipve sur sanguinsi teus coistit. Jornandes (c. XXVIII p. 650) proceeds to mention bit death and funeral.

[Jan. 11]

hanquets. But the policy of Theodosius derived more solid benefit from the death, than he could have expected from the most faithful services, of his ally. The funeral of Athanaric was performed with solemn rites in the capital of the East; a stately monument was creeted to his memory; and his whole vriny, won by the liberal courtesy and decent grief of Theojosius, enlisted under the standard of the Roman empire. 128 The submission of so great a body of the Visigoths was productive of the most salutary consequences; and the mixed influence of force, of reason, and of corruption became every day more powerful and more extensive. Each independent chieftain hastened to obtain a separate treaty, from the apprehension that an obstinate delay might expose him, alone and improtected, to the revenge, or justice, of the conqueror. The general, or ather the final, capitulation of the Goths may be dated four years, one month, and twenty-five days, after the defeat and an ...

death of the emperor Valens, 139

The provinces of the Danube had been already relieved from lavadon and the oppressive weight of the Gruthungi, or Ostrogoths, by the Gruthungi or Ostrogoths, by the Gruthungi reliuntary retreat of Alatheus and Saphrax; whose restless sparit AD Marion and Control of Alatheus and Saphrax; whose restless sparit AD Marion and Saphrax; had prompted them to seek new scenes of rapine and glory. Their destructive course was pointed towards the West; but we must be satisfied with a very obscure and imperfect knowledge of their various adventures. The Ostrogoths impelled several of the German tribes on the provinces of Gaul; concluded, and soon violated, a treaty with the emperor Gratian; advanced forming at into the unknown countries of the North; and, after an interval but. AD of more than four years, returned, with accumulated force, to the banks of the Lower Danube. Their troops were recruited with the fiercest warriors of Germany and Scythia; and the soldiers, or at least the historians, of the empire no longer recognized the name and countenances of their former enemies 100. The general, who commanded the military and naval powers of the Thracian frontier, soon perceived that his superiority would be disadvantageous to the public service; and that the Barbarians, awed by the presence of his fleet and

The Jor sandes, c. xxvia. p. 650. Even Zonimus (I iv. p. 246 [34]) is compelled to appears the generosity of Theodosius, so honourable to himself, and so benebe al to the public

¹⁵ The abort, but authentic, bints in the Fatti of Idatus (Chron, Scabger, p. 52) are stained with contemporary passion. The fourteenth oration of Theoristius a complement to Peace, and the consul Saturninus (A.D. 383). [Cp. Seeck,

128

legions, would probably defer the passage of the river till the approaching winter. The dexterity of the spies whom he sent into the Gothic camp allured the Barbarians into a fatal suare They were persuaded that, by a bold attempt, they mg't surprise, in the silence and darkness of the night, the alcount army of the Romans; and the whole multitude was hashing embarked in a fleet of three thousand canoes isi The bravest of the Ostrogoths led the van ; the main body consisted of the remainder of their subjects and soldiers; and the women and children securely followed in the rear. One of the nights without a moon had been selected for the execution of their deagn, and they had almost reached the southern bank of the Danub, in the firm confidence that they should find an easy landing and an unguarded cump. But the progress of the Barbanans was suddenly stopped by an unexpected obstacle; a triple line of vessels, strongly connected with each other, and which formed an impenetrable chain of two miles and a half along the river. While they struggled to force their way in the unequal conflict, their right rank was overwhelmed by the irresistible attack of a fleet of gallies, which were urged down the stream by the united impulse of oars and of the tide. The weight and velocity of those ships of war broke, and sank and dispersed, the rude and feeble canoes of the Barbarians. their valour was ineffectual; and Alatheus, the king, or general of the Ostrogoths, perished with his bravest troops either be the sword of the Romans or in the waves of the Danube. The last division of this unfortunate fleet might regain the opposite shore; but the distress and disorder of the multitude rendered them alike incapable either of action or counsel; and ther soon implored the elemency of the victorious enemy. On this occasion, as well as on many others, it is a difficult task to reconcile the passions and prejudices of the wnters of the age of Theodosius. The partial and malignant historian who marepresents every action of his reign affirms that the emperor did not appear in the field of battle till the Barbamans had been vanguished by the valour and conduct of his heutenant

th I am just fied, by reason and example, in applying this Indian name to the particular, the ringle town becaused into the shape of a boat, maybe morefular outsiderance. Zos must I to, p. 243-33]

Also Danuve in que indian transic (crubbing)

Ass. Danger in quandam france Coulding In a realinger remusater in an suction. Per dunium i bear contest amenandes sin

motus, 123 The flattering poet, who celebrated, in the court Ionomus, the glory of the father and of the son, ascribes the (Friends of bry to the personal prowess of Theodosius; and almost insinu-an mi, one that the King of the Ostrogoths was slain by the hand of state of the Ostrogoths. emperor, in The truth of history might perhaps be found in a medium between these extreme and contradictory assertions. he original treaty, which fixed the settlement of the Goths, rtained their privileges and stipulated their obligations, accounts of the fillustrate the history of Theodosius and his successors. Theodosius and his successors the fillustrate the history of Theodosius and his successors. series of their history has imperfectly preserved the spirit min substance of this singular agreement.134 The ravages of and tyranny had provided many large tracts of fertile but altivated land for the use of those Barbarians who might disdain the practice of agriculture. A numerous colony of Visigoths was scated in Thrace; the remains of the Ostrowere planted in Phrygia and Lydia; their immediate its were supplied by a distribution of corn and cattle; and r future industry was encouraged by an exemption from ate,133 during a certain term of years. The Barbarians ld have deserved to feel the cruel and perfidious policy of Imperial court, if they had suffered themselves to be dised through the provinces. They required, and they aned, the sole possession of the villages and districts med for their residence; they still cherished and prosted their native manners and language; asserted, in the m of despotism, the freedom of their domestic government; acknowledged the sovereignty of the emperor, without sublong to the inferior jurisdiction of the laws and magistrates Rome. The hereditary chiefs of the tribes and families were permitted to command their followers in peace and war; the royal dignity was abolished; and the generals of the

Zommus, I. ov p. 2522(C [38] He too frequently betrays his poverty of count by discretizing the most serious narratives with trilling and incredible mances. He displicates the invasion of Odothæus, op. 19, 35 with 38.]

Odothæu Regus opimo

Ver. 632 [ib.].

Ver. 6

New Thomasters, Orat. xvl. p. 211. Claudean (in Eutrop. l. n. 152) mentions Verrgian colony:

Ostrogothis colitur mistisque Gruthungis

proceeds to "ame the rivers of Lydia, the Pactolus and Hormus." So Mr. Hodgkin, who discusses the treaty at length; i. p. 312.]

Vol. 111.

Goths were appointed and removed at the pleasure of emperor. An army of forty thousand Goths was maint for the perpetual service of the empire of the East; and haughty troops, who assumed the title of Fæderati, or were distinguished by their gold collars, liberal pay licentious privileges. Their native courage was improve the use of arms and the knowledge of discipline; and, the republic was guarded, or threatened, by the doubtful of the Barbarians, the last sparks of the military flaint finally extinguished in the minds of the Romans, 126 Theor had the address to persuade his albes that the condition peace which had been extorted from him by prudence necessity were the voluntary expressions of his sincere fa ship for the Gothie nation. 137 A different mode of vinds or apology was opposed to the complaints of the people loudly censured these shameful and dangerous concession The culamities of the war were painted in the most colours; and the first symptoms of the return of ord plenty, and security, were diligently exaggerated. advocates of Theodosius could affirm, with some appear of truth and reason, that it was impossible to extirpe many warlike tribes, who were rendered desperate by the of their native country; and that the exhausted prowould be revived by a fresh supply of soldiers and husband The Barbarians still wore an angry and hostile aspect; by experience of past times might encourage the hope that would acquire the habits of industry and obedience; that manners would be polished by time, education, and the infl of threstianity; and that their prospenty would inse blend with the great body of the Roman people, 120

Of Compare localities of the 27 who retains the condition and minimal localities of the 25 years who man that he can also see that the condition of the condition of the can also see that the can als

to any an appropriate the control of the price of the the transfer and transfer and the transfer and the transfer and tran

Chinese region see the process of feetings are an authorized to

the land appropriate to propose to the same of the sam

Istanding these specious arguments and these sanguine their houses ons, it was apparent to every discerning eye that the fuld long remain the enemies, and might soon become serors, of the Roman empire. Their rude and insolent expressed their contempt of the citizens and prowhom they insulted with impunity.140 To the zeal and the Barbarians Theodosius was indebted for the sucarms; but their assistance was precarious; and they jetimes seduced by a treacherous and inconstant disto abandon his standard at the moment when their as the most essential. During the civil war against a great number of Gothic deserters retired into the of Macedonia, wasted the adjacent provinces, and he intremd monarch to expose his person, and exert to suppress the rising flame of rebellion, 14) The public ions were fortified by the strong suspicion that these ere not the effect of accidental passion, but the result and premeditated design. It was generally believed Goths had signed the treaty of peace with an hostile lous spirit; and that their chiefs had previously bound by a solemn and secret oath, never to keep faith with as; to maintain the fairest shew of loyalty and friendto watch the favourable moment of rapine, of conquest enge. But, as the minds of the Barbarians were not inthe power of gratitude, several of the Gothic leaders devoted themselves to the service of the empire, or, of the emperor; the whole nation was insensibly to two opposite factions, and much sophistry was emconversation and dispute, to compare the obligations est and second engagements. The Goths, who conemselves as the friends of peace, of justice, and of re directed by the authority of Fravitta, a valuant and e youth, distinguished above the rest of his countrythe politeness of his manners, the liberality of his , and the mild virtues of social life. But the more

the precritives of Greek rhetoric. Orpheus could auly charm the wild ace, but Theodosius enchanted the nien and women whose predecesme country had torn Orpheus in pieces, &c.

interce is was deprived half a day, of the public allowance of bread, it murder of a faother solidier, another of a leaded was the guilt of the

a l. p. 374, edit. Morel.

1 - p. 37-37 [48, 49]. Ho tel s a long and ridiculous story of the process who rosed the country with only five horsemen, of a spy whom a man old woman a cottage, &c. Guidenpenning,

numerous faction adhered to the fierce and faithless Proulf, who inflamed the passions, and asserted the independence, of his warlike followers. On one of the solemn festivals, when the chiefs of both parties were invited to the Imperial table, they were insensibly heated by wine, till they forgot the usual restraints of discretion and respect; and betrayed, in the presence of Theodosius, the fatal secret of their domestic disputes. The emperor, who had been the reluctant witness of this extraordinary controversy, dissembled his fears and resentment, and soon dismissed the tumultuous assembly. Fravitta, alarmed and exasperated by the insolence of his rival, whose departure from the palace might have been the signal of a civil war, boldly followed him; and, drawing his sword, laid Priulf dead at his feet. Their companions flew to arms; and the faithful champion of Rome would have been oppressed by superior numbers, if he had not been protected by the seasonable interposition of the Imperial guards,14 Such were the scenes of Barbaric rage which disgraced the palace and table of the Roman emperor; and, as the impatient (joths could only be restrained by the firm and temperate character of Theodosius, the public safety seemed to depend on the life and abilities of a single man, 143

10 Compare Bunapius (in Facerpt, Legat p st, sz [fr 60, f. H G. iv p. 41]) with Zosimus (l iv, p. 279 [56]). The difference of circumstances and names must undoubtedly be applied to the same story. Frivita, or Travita, was afterwards consul (A D 401), and still cortined his fastiful errice to the eldest son of Theodosius (Tillemont, Hiss des Impereurs, tom v p 467). If Prulf' is called Fridgib by hunapius. The conspilies seems to have been formed by the Arian Goths. Fravitia was a leader of pagan Goths. The dute seems to be during the preparation for the war with Eugen as. (). Gildenpenning, p. 218.)

Valens et son armée, et ne repasserent le Danube que pour abandonner l'afficusar soi tade qu'ils avoient faile (léuvres de Montesqueu, tom me 479, Conselvantions sur les Casars de la Grandeur et de la Décadence des Roma ns. c. xva.). The president Montesqueu seems ignorant that the Goths, after the diseast of Valena, accerr abandoned the Roman territory. It is now that years, says Claudian (de Bello Genco [Goth co., Birt and Koch!, 166 [169, 169], dec. A.D. 404 [rather 402]).

Ex quo jam patrios gens hare oblita Triones, Atque Istrum transvecta semel, vestigia fiait Threico funesta solo

The error is measusable; unocat deguises the principal and immediate cause of the fall of the Western Empire of Rome.

CHAPTER XXVII

Death of Grahan-Ruin of Arianism-St. Ambrose-First Civil War, against Maximus -Character, Administration, and Penance of Theodosius-Death of Valentinian II. Second Cwil War, against Eugenius-Death of Theodosius

The farme of Gratian, before he had accomplished the twentieth or year of his age, was equal to that of the most celebrated princes, one His gentle and amable disposition endeared him to his private 10 me frends, the graceful affability of his manners engaged the affection of the people; the men of letters, who enjoyed the liberality, acknowledged the taste and eloquence, of their sovereign; his valour and dextenty in arms were equally appliaded by the withers; and the clergy considered the humble piety of Gratian the first and most useful of his virtues. The victory of Colmar and delivered the West from a formidable invasion; and the enteful provinces of the East asenbed the merits of Theodosius to the author of his greatness and of the public safety. Gratian survived those memorable events only four or five years; but he survived his reputation; and, before he fell a victim to rebellion, he had lost, in a great measure, the respect and confidence of the Roman world.

The remarkable alteration of his character or conduct may not me diness be imputed to the arts of flattery which had besieged the son of Valentinian from his infancy; nor to the headstrong passions which that gentle youth appears to have escaped, attentive view of the life of Gratian may perhaps suggest the true cause of the disappointment of the public hopes. His apparent virtues, instead of being the hardy productions of expersence and adversity, were the premature and artificial fruits The anxious tenderness of his father was of a royal education. continually employed to bestow on him those advantages which he might perhaps esteem the more highly, as he himself had been deprived of them; and the most skilful masters of every science and of every art had laboured to form the mind and

body of the young prince.1 The knowledge which they pain fully communicated was displayed with ostentation and celebrated with lavish praise. His soft and tractable disposition received the fur impression of their judicious precepts, and the absence of passion might easily be mistaken for the strength of reason. His preceptors gradually rose to the rank and conse quence of ministers of state; 2 and, as they wisely dissemble their secret authority, he seemed to act with firmness, with propriety and with judgment, on the most important occasion of his life and reign. But the influence of this elaborate instruction did not penetrate beyond the surface; and the skilful preceptors, who so accurately guided the steps of their royal pupil, could not infuse into his feeble and indolent character the vigorous and independent principle of action which renders the laborious pursuit of glory essentially necessary be the happiness, and almost to the existence, of the hero. As soon as time and accident had removed those faithful counsellor from the throne, the emperor of the West insensibly descended to the level of his natural genius; abandoned the reins of government to the ambitious hands which were stretched for wards to grasp them; and amused his leisure with the most frivolous gratifications. A public sale of favour and injustice was instituted, both in the court and in the provinces, by the worthless delegates of his power, whose ment it was made sacrilege to question.³ The conscience of the credulous prince was directed by saints and bishops,⁴ who procured an Imperial edict to punish as a capital offence, the violation, the neglect, of

[A.D. 500]

Walentinian was less attent we to the religion of his son, since he entrusted for A.D. 304) the education of Gratism to Ausonius, a professed Pagan (Mem. de A Academie des Inscriptions, tom 20. p. 125-138). But in his posen the Internet Object 207 A D.; Schenkl, Frei, to his ed of Ausomus in M. H. G., he poses not only as a Christian but as an orthodox Christian. The poetics fame of Austrous condenses the taste of his age.

² Dec r us Magnus Assemus was success to 5 promoted to the Practorian practice of buly (A D 377) and of Gold (5 D 378) ep. Aux 1 2 42 practices Gallier Labyre et Labor, and was at length invested with the consulsh p (A D, 379). He

expressed his grantude in a revole and in pid prove of flattery (A.to Gestiarun, p. 659, 36, which has survived more weathy product as: [This statement as to the presidences of Amon, it is not quite as urate up. Appendix 1.]

1 Deputate de principal judeo non opposed. Sacrilega enim instar est dubtare an is digues set, que in elegant imposetor. Oders Justianus I in til. axis, leg 3 [2, ed. Kritger]. The conferent law was revived and promulgated after the death of Granus by the feeble is art of Malan.

*Ambrow composed, for his matriction, a theological treatise on the fath of the Trimis; and T llemont (Hist, des Empiorum, tom v p. 158-166) assembles to the archbishop the ment of Granan's intolerant laws.

the ignovance of the divine law. Among the various arts (a.b. m) such that exercised the youth of Gratian, he had applied himif with singular inclination and success to manage the horse, of draw the bow, and to dart the javelin; and these qualifications, which might be useful to a soldier, were prostituted to the less purposes of hunting. Large parks were enclosed for the impurial pleasures, and plentifully stocked with every species of sail beasts; and Gratian neglected the duties, and even the agrity, of his rank, to consume whole days in the vain display of this dexterity and boldness in the chase. The pride and wish of the Roman emperor to excell in an art in which he might be surpassed by the meanest of his slaves reminded the numerous spectators of the examples of Nero and Commodus; but the chaste and temperate Gratian was a stranger to their monstrous vices; and his hands were stained only with the blood of animals.

The behaviour of Gratian, which degraded his character in presented the Roman the eyes of mankind, could not have disturbed the security of the and a security of his reign, if the army had not been provoked to resent their peculiar injuries. As long as the young emperor was guided by the instructions of his masters, he professed himself the friend and pupil of the soldiers; many of his hours were spent in the imiliar conversation of the camp; and the health, the comforts, the rewards, the honours, of his faithful troops appeared to be the object of his attentive concern. But, after Gratian more feely indulged his prevading taste for hunting and shooting, he caturally connected himself with the most dexterous ministers of his favounte amusement. A body of the Alani was received ato the military and domestic service of the palace; and the admirable skill which they were accustomed to display in the enbounded plains of Scythia was exercised, on a more narrow theatre, in the parks and inclosures of Gaul. Gratian admired the talents and customs of these favourite guards, to whom stone he entrusted the defence of his person; and, as if he meant to insult the public opinion, he frequently shewed himself to the soldiers and people, with the dress and arms, the long bow, the

*Qui divinas legis sanctitatem [aut] nesciendo omittunt [4g, confundunt] aut ergagendo viocant et offendant, sacrilegiam committunt. Codex Jurtin an. 1, st. 1 222 leg s. Theodoxius indeed may claim his share in the merit of this com-

*An in this (XXX 10) and the younger Victor [Ppit 47] acknowledge the vertices of Gratism, and accuse, or rather liment, his degenerate taste. The odious smallel of Commodus is saved by "fact instantus", and perhaps Philostorgus to 10, and Godefroy, p. 423) had guarded with some smaller reserve the comparison of Nero.

sounding quiver, and the fur garments of a Scythian warrior. The unworthy spectacle of a Roman prince who had renounced the dress and manners of his country filled the minds of the legions with grief and indignation. Even the Germans, so strong and formidable in the armies of the empire, affected to disdain the strange and horrid appearance of the savages of the North, who, in the space of a few years, had wandered from the banks of the Volga to those of the Seine. A loud and licentions murmur was echoed through the camps and garrisons of the West; and, as the mild indolence of Gratian neglected to extinguish the first symptoms of discontent, the want of love and respect was not supplied by the influence of fear. But the subversion of an established government is always a work of some real, and of much apparent, difficulty; and the throne of Gratian was protected by the sanctions of custom, law, religion and the mee balance of the civil and military powers, which had been established by the policy of Constantine. It is not very important to inquire from what causes the revolt of Britain was produced. Accident is commonly the parent of disorder; the seed of rebellion happened to fall on a soil which was supposed to be more fruitful than any other in tyrants and usurpers; " the legions of that sequestered island had been long famous for . spirit of presumption and arrogance; and the name of Maximus was proclaimed by the tumultuary but unaminous voice both of the soldiers and of the provincials. The emperor, or the rebel, for his title was not yet ascertained by furture, was a native of Spain, the countryman, the fellow soldier, and the rival of Theodosius, whose elevation he had not seen without some emotions of envy and resentment. The events of his life had long since fixed him in Britain; and I should not be un willing to find some evidence for the marriage which he is said to have contracted with the daughter of a wealthy lord of Caernaryonshire. 10 But this provincial rank might justly be con

Bovelli of (Magaza) Maxazan in Ortonia

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Personnal feet is provinced transported is a memorable expression med by Jersen in the Nelsy and continuous and was made out for the despate of out trained and increase. The remainding of the sale and provinced provinced to the sale and provinced provinced to the sale and the s

* Zonamus says of the Brief endows no allow around name and and one has removed and allowed description Maximus as presigent of neutral acts, tell

series and male to gener of Postia. Her crare' read at the region, see Carr account tap a limit of large and the country of the read of of the r

aidered as a state of exile and obscurity; and, if Maximus had obtained any civil or initiary office, he was not invested with the authority either of governor or general. His abilities, and even his integrity, are acknowledged by the partial writers of the age; and the merit must indeed have been conspicuous, that could extort such a confession in favour of the vanquished enemy of Theodosius. The discontent of Maximus might inchine him to censure the conduct of his sovereign, and to encourage, perhaps without any views of ambition, the murmurs of the troops. But in the midst of the tumult he artfully, or modestly, refused to ascend the throne; and some credit appears to have been given to his own positive declaration that he was compelled to accept the dangerous present of the Imperial purple. 12

But there was a danger likewise in refusing the empire; and regarded from the moment that Maximus had violated his allegiance to distinct his lawful sovereign, he could not hope to reign, or even to live, if he confined his moderate ambition within the narrow limits of Britain. He boldly and wisely resolved to prevent the designs of Gratian; the youth of the island crowded to his standard, and he invaded Gaul with a fleet and army, which were long afterwards remembered as the emigration of a considerable part of the British nation. The emperor, in his peaceful residence of Paris, was alarmed by their hostile approach; and the darts which he idly wasted on lions and bears might have been employed more honourably against the rebels. But his feeble efforts announced his degenerate spirit

Mona Antiqua). The prudent reader may not perhaps be satisfied with such Weigh moderner

"If ambien (vol. a introduct. p. ci.) appoints him governor of Britain, and the lather of cr ant quities is followed, as usual by his blind progeny. Breatus and loss as hid taken some pains to present this error, or fable, and I shall protect by their decayer testimonics. Regul, histories assume the coules other account in Panegri Vet. at all, and the Greek histories, still less equivocally, area (Matarina) to with its paper decayer population (I. iv. p. 248 [c. 35]).

area (Matarian) is a was in experience from sporther (I. iv. p. 248 [c. 35]).

13 Sa. j. at Severus, Dusloy in 7, Oromis, I. vin. c. 34, p. 536. They both
manuscripte (Surjeans had been his subject) his innocence and ment. It is
a grant enough that Manusca should be less favourably treated by Zosimus, the

portunite between of his tiral.

The hississpirit ther (Antiquitat, Britan, Eccles, p. 207, 108) has diligently collected the legends of the school and the continent. The whole enterstation are used of to no souders, and 100,000 plets and, who settled in Breagne.

The deat well be less by trisula with 11,000 nobe, and 60 0.00 plets and, vigens, and to the rower, landed at Cologue, and with all most crushy mandered by the blane. But the pletsess sisters have been defruided at their equal hinours; and, with it is at harder, John Inthemnia previous to treation the shiften of these bests in 1220.

and desperate situation, and deprived him of the resources which he still might have found in the support of his subjects and allies. The armies of Gaul, instead of opposing the march of Maximus, received him with joyful and loyal acclamations, and the shame of the desertion was transferred from the people to the prince. The troops whose station more immediately attached them to the service of the palace abandoned the standard of Gratian the first time that it was displayed in the neighbourhood of Paris. The emperor of the West fled towards Lyons, with a train of only three hundred horse; and in the cities along the road, where he hoped to find a refuge, or at least a passage, he was taught, by cruel experience, that every gate is shut against the unfortunate. Yet he might still have reached in safety the dominions of his brother, and soon have returned with the forces of Italy and the East, if he had not suffered himself to be fatally deceived by the perfidious governor of the Lyonese province. Gratian was amused by protestations of doubtful fidelity and the hopes of a support which could not be effectual, till the arrival of Andragathus, the general of the cavalry of Maximus, put an end to his suspense. That resolute officer executed without remorse the orders, or the intentions, of the usurper. Gratian, as he rose from supper, was delivered A.D. M. Are into the hands of the assassin; and his body was denied to the pious and pressing entreaties of his brother Valentinian.14 The death of the emperor was followed by that of his powerful general Mellobaudes, the king of the Franks; who maintained, to the last moment of his life, the ambiguous reputation which is the just recompense of obscure and subtle policy. 15 These executions might be necessary to the public safety; but the successful usurper, whose power was acknowledged by all the provinces of the West, had the merit and the satisfaction of boasting that, except those who had perished by the chance of war, his triumph was not stained by the blood of the Romans.16

14 Zosemus (I ev. p. 248-249 (c. 35]) has transported the death of Gratien from Lugdanana in Gaul (Luous) to Sungalanana in Massa. Some lants may be estracted from the Chronicles; some hes may be detented in Sommen (L. su, a. a pland Sociares (L. v. c. 11). Arisbrose is our most nutberfic evidence from a librarial in Pasini las p. 961 fed. M. piec. v. p. 1171. Jun. 1. c., at ann. p. 388. d. k. 1035. dc. and de Obicu Valent, an Consolat. No. 28 p. 1182. fed. ii. 1378.

13 Phentus (hit 28) colobustes his fidenty, while his treaching is that led in Prosper's Chronicle, as the cause of the run of Gratian. Ambrose, who has occasion to exculpate himself, only condenant the death of Val. o, a faithservant of Gratian (tom in epist, xery p 561, ed.). Benedict [Migne, in p. 107.]

in Vn. B. Marian, c. ag. The orator of Theodor us become relaciant and the fore weights, print on his clemency. It is the projective accounts account to each thin said. crudels: furses detur (Panegyr Vet xt. 28).

The events of this revolution had passed in such rapid reserve succession that it would have been impossible for Theodosius to twen to march to the relief of his benefactor, before he received the intelligence of his defeat and death. During the season of wind sincere grief, or estentations mourning, the Eastern emperor was interrupted by the arrival of the principal chamberlain of Maximus; and the choice of a venerable old man, for an office which was usually exercised by cunuchs, announced to the" court of Constantinople the gravity and temperance of the British usurper. The ambassador condescended to justify, or excuse, the conduct of his master, and to protest in specious language that the murder of Gratian had been perpetrated, without his knowledge or consent, by the precipitate zeal of the soldiers. But he proceeded, in a firm and equal tone, to offer Theodosius the alternative of peace or war. The speech of the ambassador concluded with a spirited declaration that, although Maximus, as a Roman and as the father of his people, would choose rather to employ his forces in the common defence of the republic, he was armed and prepared, if his friendship should be rejected, to dispute in a field of battle the empire of the world. An immediate and peremptory answer was required; but it was extremely difficult for Theodosius to satisfy, on this important occasion, either the feelings of his own mind or the expectations of the public. The imperious voice of honour and gratitude called aloud for revenge. From the liberality of Gratian he had received the Imperial duidem: his patience would encourage the odious suspicion that he was more deeply sensible of former injuries than of recent obligations; and, if he accepted the friendship, he must seem to share the guilt, of the assassin. Even the principles of justice and the interest of society would receive a fatal blow from the impunity of Maximus; and the example of successful usurpation would tend to desolve the artificial fabric of government, and once more to replunge the empire in the crimes and calamities of the preceding age. But, as the sentiments of gratitude and honour should invariably regulate the conduct of an individual, they may be overbalanced in the mind of a sovereign by the sense of superior duties; and the maxims both of justice and humanity must permit the escape of an atrocious criminal, if an innocent people would be involved in the consequences of his punishment. The assassin of Gratian had usurped, but he actually possessed, the most warlike provinces of the empire; the East was exhausted by the misfortunes, and even by the success, of the

Gothic war; and it was seriously to be apprehended that, after the vital strength of the republic had been wasted in a doubtful and destructive contest, the feeble conqueror would remain an easy prey to the Barbarians of the North. These weighty considerations engaged Theodosius to dissemble his resentment and to accept the ulliance of the tyrant. But he stipulated that Maximus should content himself with the possession of the countries beyond the Alps. The brother of Gratian was confirmed and secured in the sovereignty of Italy, Africa, and the Western Illyricum; and some honourable conditions were inserted in the treaty, to protect the memory and the laws of the deceased emperor.17 According to the custom of the age, the images of the three Imperial colleagues were exhibited to the veneration of the people; nor should it be lightly supposed that, in the moment of a solemn reconcilation, Theodosius secretly cherished the intention of perfidy and revenge.18

The contempt of Gratian for the Roman soldiers had exposed him to the fatal effects of their resentment. His profound veneration for the Christian clergy was rewarded by the applause and gratitude of a powerful order, which has claimed, in every age, the privilege of dispensing honours both on earth and in heaven.19 The orthodox bishops bewailed his death and these own irreparable loss; but they were soon comforted by the discovery that Gratian had committed the sceptre of the East to the hands of a prince whose humble faith and fervent zeal were supported by the spirit and abilities of a more vigorous character. Among the benefactors of the church, the fame of Constantine has been rivalled by the glory of Theodosius. If Constantine had the advantage of erecting the standard of the cross, the emulation of his successor assumed the merit of subduing the Arian heresy and of abolishing the worship of idols in the Roman world. Theodosius was the first of the emperors baptised in the true faith of the Trinty. Although he was born of a Christian family, the maxims, or at least the practice, of the age encouraged him to

th Ambrose mentions the laws of Gratian, quas non abrogavit hostis (tom a

opint xv., p. 827).

14 Zozumus, L. iv. p. 211, 252 [c. 37] We may discisum has odices suspicious; but we cannot reject the treaty of prace which the friends of Throwing have absolutely forgoners, or a puly mentioned [His rame, discussed can be discovered along with Vient in and Theodow is on an inscription (III. 27].

There cause the archieshop of Miles, an gris to be spend Gratian an light and respectable place in heaven from in the Obst Val. Consol. p. 1193).

delay the ceremony of his initiation; till he was admonished of the danger of delay by the serious illness which threatened his life towards the end of the first year of his reign. Before he again took the field against the Goths, he received the sacrament of baptism 20 from Acholius, the orthodox bishop of Thessalonica; 21 and, as the emperor ascended from the holy font, still glowing with the warm feelings of regeneration, he dictated a solemn edict, which proclaimed his own faith and prescribed the religion of his subjects. "It is our pleasure (such is the Imperial style) that all the nations which are governed gree at by our elemency and moderation should steadfastly adhere to the religion which was taught by St. Peter to the Romans; which faithful tradition has preserved; and which is now professed by the pontiff Damasus, and by Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the discipline of the spostles and the doctrine of the gospel, let us believe the sole deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; under an equal majesty and a pious Trinity. authorize the followers of this doctrine to assume the title of Catholic Christians; and, as we judge that all others are extravagant madmen, we brand them with the infamous name of Hereties; and declare that their conventicles shall no longer usurp the respectable appellation of churches, Besides the condemnation of Divine justice, they must expect to suffer the severe penalties which our authority, guided by heavenly wisdom, shall think proper to inflict upon them." 22 The faith of a soldier is commonly the fruit of instruction rather than of inquiry; but, as the emperor always fixed his eyes on the visible land-marks of orthodoxy, which he had so prudently constituted, his religious opinions were never affected by the specious texts, the subtle arguments, and the ambiguous creeds of the Arian doctors. Once indeed he expressed a faint inclination to converse with the eloquent and learned Eunomius, who lived in retirement at a small distance from Constantinople 22 But the dangerous interview was prevented by the prayers of the

For the haptism of Theodosius, see Sonomen (I. vii. c. 4). Socrates (I. v. c. 6)

nderum pium et salutare -Sie itur ad astra.

180c above, p. 12, n. 37.

and I discount (Hist der Empererer, torn v. p. 738).

22 Asce us, or Acteurs [so Ambrose, Ascholus in Socr. and Sommen], was noncered by the friendship and the praises of Ambrose; who styles him, murus fide a row sanctitutes (tom. in. epist. xv. p. 820), and afterwards relebities his speed and diligence in running to Constantinople, Italy &c. (epist. xvi. p. 820); a run is which does not appertuin either to a uself, or a dishep.

— Codex Theodica 1 xi. i.i. i. leg 2, with Godefroy's Commentary, town vi. p. 6.9. Such an educt deserved the warmest praises of Baroarus, auream sanctions in

empress Flaccilla, who trembled for the salvation of her husband; and the mind of Theodosus was confirmed by a theological argument, adapted to the rudest capacity. He had lately bestowed on his eldest son Areadius the name and honours of Augustus; and the two princes were scated on a stately throne to receive the homage of their subjects. A hishop, Amphilochas of Iconium, approached the throne, and, after saluting with due reverence the person of his sovereign, he accosted the royal youth with the same familiar tenderness which he might have used towards a pleberan child, Provoked by this insolent behaviour, the monarch gave orders that the rustic priest should be instantly driven from his presence. But, while the guards were forcing him to the door, the dexterous polenic had time to execute his design, by exclaiming with a loud voice, "Such is the treatment, O emperor! which the King of heaven has prepared for those impious men who affect to worship the Father but refuse to acknowledge the equal majesty of his divine Son". Theodosius immediately embraced the bishop of leonium, and never forgot the important lesson which he had received from this dramatic parable." Constantinople was the principal seat and fortress of Aran

princes and prelates who reigned in the capital of the East was rejected in the purer schools of Rome and Alexandra The archiepiscopal throne of Macedonius, which had been polluted with so much Christian blood, was successively filled (Demophilm) by Endoxus and Damophilus. Their diocese enjoyed a free importation of vice and error from every province of the empire; the eager pursuit of religious controversy afforded a new occupation to the busy idleness of the metropolis; and we may credit the assertion of an intelligent observer, who describes, with some pleasantry, the effects of their loquations zeal. "This city," says he, "is full of mechanics and slaves, who are all of them profound theologians, and preach in the shops and in the streets. If you desire a man to change a meet

ism; and, in a long interval of forty years,24 the faith of the

Sozomen, I vi. c. 6. Theodoret I v. c. 16. Themont is displeased (Mer Ecolor, 1 on st. p. 627, 638) with the terms of "ruste bishep," (Lecture of Yet I must take leave to thick that both Amphiloch us and I commiss were object.

of silver, he informs you wherem the Son differs from the Father; if you ask the price of a loaf, you are told by way of

of n our tradic trans tude of the Roman couper.

** Society to a Society to a Market in Cheon. The account of ferty years must be direct trees the election or intersect of European about wisely exchanged the bishopric of Nicomedia for the throng of Constant in the

reply that the Son is inferior to the Father; and, if you enquire whether the bath is ready, the answer is that the Son was made out of nothing." The heretics of various denominations subsisted in peace under the protection of the Anans of Constantinople; who endeavoured to secure the attachment of those obscure sectanes; while they abused, with unrelenting severity, the victory which they had obtained over the followers of the council of Nice. During the partial reigns of Constantius and Valens, the feeble remnant of the Homoousians was deprived of the public and private exercise of their religion: and it has been observed, in pathetic language, that the scattered flock was left without a shepherd, to wander on the mountains, or to be devoured by rapacious wolves. But, as their zeal, instead of being subdued, derived strength and vigour from oppression, they seized the first moments of imperfect freedom, which they acquired by the death of Valens, to form themselves into a regular congregation under the conduct of an episcopal pastor. Two natives of Cappadocia, orange Buil and Gregory Nazianzen, were distinguished above all their contemporaries 25 by the rare union of profane eloquence and of orthodox piety. These orators, who might sometimes be compared, by themselves and by the public, to the most celebrated of the ancient Greeks, were united by the ties of the strictest friendship. They had cultivated, with equal ardour, the same liberal studies in the schools of Athens; they had retired, with equal devotion, to the same solitude in the deserts of Pontus; and every spark of emulation, or envy, spreased to be totally extinguished in the holy and ingenuous breasts of Gregory and Baul. But the exaltation of Basil, from private life to the archiepiscopal throne of Casarea, dis-

"See Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. rv. p. 71. The thirtyart such ap M gue Crat on el Cergory Namuern affords indeed some amiliar while party, which I allege on the faith of a correct and liberal scholar to the party of the I allege on the faith of a correct and liberal scholar to the party of the I allege on the faith of a correct and liberal scholar to the party of the party of the I allege on the faith of a correct and liberal scholar to the party of th

ena 1 of 1 sound life, which he has composed in 1800 in these. Yet every phy-The fear to engineer the invettrate nature of the disease which he has enough a prene to engineer the invettrate nature of the disease which he has enough for the disease which he has enough the fear minest down by indebted to the fear has of Geograpy Narrangen, with very different lynamics by Tolemont (Mem. Eccles, tom. 12, p. 305-2073) and Le Chen (Bithothèque Universelle, tom xve., p. 1-128).

The Geograph Narrangen in sink that years in his own age; he was born, and it is it and Base, about the year gap. The prepasterous chromology of the last is a list from the pear gap. The prepasterous chromology of the last is a list from the last in the year gap. The prepasterous chromology of the last is last from the last in the year gap. The prepasterous chromology of the last is last from the last in the year gap. The prepasterous chromology of the last is last from the last in the year gap. The prepasterous chromology of the last is last in the year gap. The prepasterous chromology of the last is last in the year gap. The prepasterous chromology of the last is a last in the year gap. The prepasterous chromology of the last is a last in the year gap.

Eduta toma 1x. p. 693-6971.

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character; and the first favour which he condescended to bestow on his friend was received, and perhaps was intended as a cruel insult.29 Instead of employing the superior talents of Gregory in some useful and conspicuous station, the haughty prelate selected, among the fifty bishopnes of his extensive province, the wretched village of Sasima, to without water, without verdure, without society, situate at the junction of (Bass Koun three highways, and frequented only by the incessant passage of rude and clamorous waggoners. Gregory submitted with reluctance to this humiliating exile; he was ordained bishoo of Sasima; but he solemnly protests that he never consummated his spiritual marriage with this disgusting bride. He afterwards consented to undertake the government of his native church of Nazianxus,²¹ of which his father had been bishop above five-and-forty years. But, as he was still conscious that he deserved another audience and another theatre, he accepted, with no unworthy ambition, the honourable invitation which was addressed to him from the orthodox party of Conorabor for stantinople. On his arrival in the capital, Gregory was entertained in the house of a pious and charitable kinsman; the most spacious room was consecrated to the uses of religious worship; and the name of Anastasia was chosen to express the

covered to the world, and perhaps to himself, the pride of ha

Segory's Porm on his own Life contains some beautiful boestion, i. a. &. which burst from the heart, and speak the pangs of injured and lost friendship

resurrection of the Nicene faith. This private conventicle was

BONDS BRESTS ROYME

Ομόστησε το κοι συνέστιος βίος,
Νούς ε.ε. έν Αμφούν
Διεπεβέστει τουνες Ιρμανία
Αδρει φερουσει τὰς πολειτει ελευδει [277 481]
en the Midsummer Night's Dream, Helena addresses the same pathese complaint to her friend Hermia

> Is all the coupsel that we two have shared, The sister's vowe doc.

Shakespeare had bever road the poems of Gregory Narianzen, he was ignorant of the Greek language; but his mother tongue, the language of Nature, in the same en Cappadocia and in Br tain.

in Cappadeers and in its tain.

20 I his unfavourable pertrait of Sasama is drawn by Gregory Narianarus store is de Vità sua, p. 7, 3 (Migne, 3, p. 1046). Its precises studies forty pine program Archelass [Ak Seras), and their two from Tyana, is fixed in the Himerary of Anton mis (p. 144-edit. Wesseng).

21 The name of Nasianarus has been immortalized by Gregory, but his name.

[Mondal]

town, under the Greek or Roman tale of Diocesarea (Therene Mem Face town, under the Greek or Koman title of Document [1] with a first him have from it p. 690, is mentioned by Plate (is 3, Pholemy, and Harmales laters Westeling, p. 709). It appears to have been situate on the edge of Laters (g. hassacraphics bidlyn schop, as Gregory calls Narianns is more northerly her Golden supposed lying on the scale from Komum to Tyans, about an hard due cast of Archelant; Ramsay, Asia Minor, 285.] afterwards converted into a magnificent church; and the credulity of the succeeding age was prepared to believe the miracles and visions, which attested the presence, or at least the protection, of the Mother of God. The pulpit of the Anastasia was the scene of the labours and triumphs of Gregory vazianzen; and, in the space of two years, he experienced all the appritual adventures which constitute the prosperous or silverse fortunes of a missionary.42 The Arians, who were provoked by the boldness of his enterprise, represented his doctrine as if he had preached three distinct and equal Deities; and the devout populace was excited to suppress, by violence and turnult, the irregular assemblies of the Athanasian heretics. from the cathedral of St. Sophia there issued a motley crowd of common beggars, who had forfeited their claim to pity; of monks, who had the appearance of goats or satyrs; and of women, more terrible than so many Jezebels". The doors of the Anastasia were broke open; much mischief was perpetrated, or attempted, with sticks, stones, and firebrands; and, as a man lost his life in the affray, Gregory, who was summoned the next morning before the magnitrate, had the satisfaction of supposing that he publicly confessed the name of Christ, After he was delivered from the fear and danger of a foreign enemy, his infant church was disgraced and distracted by intesune faction. A stranger who assumed the name of Maximus " and the cloak of a Cynic philosopher, insinuated himself into the confidence of Gregory; deceived and abused his favourable opinion; and, forming a secret connexion with some bishops of Egypt, attempted by a clandestine ordination to supplant his patron in the episcopal seat of Constantinople. These mortifieations might sometimes tempt the Cappadocian missionary to regret his obscure solitude. But his fatigues were rewarded by the daily increase of his fame and his congregation; and he enjoyed the pleasure of observing that the greater part of his

See Duennge, Constant. Christiana, 1. iv. p. 141, 140. The bile blowses of Souccest (2 1.16 5) is interpreted o mean the Virgin Mary. [The bile of the Church of Anastasia, S.W. of the Hippodrome, is marked now by the mosque of Mebured Patha Drenn; isse Pasparés, Beyarriese, Measres, 360.]

Interpret Men Eccles tom, ix p. 432, &c. } driggently collects, enlarges and apple as the orator call and poetical haits o Gregory himself.

³⁶ He personneed an oration (tom 1 Orit, xiiii p. 400] — xiv Migne p. 1107 1957) in his praise, but after their quaried the name of Maximus was changed into that of Heron 1501 Jerom 1001 in Catalog Scopt Eccles, p. 301). I touch alight v on these obscure and personal squarbles. [For an account of Maximus, 1001 It of the control of the control of the control of Maximus, 1001 It of the control D. 200 sqy.)

numerous audience retired from his sermons satisfied with the eloquence of the preacher 85 or dissatisfied with the manifold

imperfections of their faith and practice.36

Ruin of Ariam-am at Con stantinople, A D. 200, Nov.

(Mor. 34)

The Catholics of Constantinople were animated with joyful confidence by the baptism and edict of Theodosius; and they impatiently waited the effects of his gracious promise. Their hopes were speedily accomplished; and the emperor, as soon as he had finished the operations of the campaign, made his public entry into the capital at the head of a victorious army. The next day after his arrival, he summoned Damophilus to his presence, and offered that Arian prelate the hard alternative of subscribing the Nicene creed, or of instantly resigning, to the orthodox believers, the use and possession of the episcopal palace, the cathedral of St. Sophia, and all the churches of Constantinople. The zeal of Damophilus, which in a Catholic saint would have been justly applauded, embraced, without hemitation, a life of poverty and exile, 17 and his removal was immediately followed by the purification of the Imperial City, The Arians might complain, with some appearance of justice, that an inconsiderable congregation of sectaries should usurp the hundred churches, which they were insufficient to fill; whilst the far greater part of the people was cruelly excluded from every place of religious worship. Theodosius was still inexorable: but, as the angels who protected the Catholic cause were only visible to the eyes of futh, he prudently remforced those heavenly legions with the more effectual and of temporal and carnal weapons; and the church of St. Sophia 83 was occupied by a large body of the Impenal guards. If the mind of Gregory was susceptible of pride, he must have felt a very lively satisfaction, when the emperor conducted him through the streets in solemn trumph; and, with his own hand, respectfully placed him on the archiepiscopal throne of

* Lachrymue auditorum, haides tue sint, is the lively and judicious advice of

St. Jerom [66.] Societies (1 v c 7) and Sozomen (1 vii. c 5) relate the evangelical words and actions of Damophilis without a word of appreciation. He considered says Sociates, that it is difficult to result the power of the data was case, and would have been profitable to rabout. [Date of entry of Theodowns, 14th Nov. Invests, Fast. C; but eath Nov., soc. to Pasch. Chron. and Sociates, v. 6. which

Clinton accepts and Hodgian suspents,

**[Not by Sophia, which was not yet the chief church, but the Church of the
Twelve Apostles, see [fine in sol, n p. 192.]

in Under the modest emblem of a dream. Gregory (tom. a, carmen at p. 78 (ed. Migne, 3, p. 1254) describes his own success with some human companions. Yet it should seem, from his familiar conversation with his partiest St. Jerona (tom a Poist of Negotian, p. 13 (ep. 52), Migne, t. p. 534)), that the preacher understood the true wher of popular appla se.

Constantinople. But the saint (who had not subdued the imperfections of human virtue) was deeply affected by the portifying consideration that his entrance into the fold was that of a wolf, rather than of a shepherd; that the glittering arms, which surrounded his person, were necessary for his salety; and that he alone was the object of the imprecations of a great party, whom, as men and citizens, it was impossible for him to despise. He beheld the innumerable multitude, of either sex and of every age, who crowded the streets, the undows, and the roofs of the houses; he heard the tumultuous toure of rage, grief, astonishment, and despair; and Gregory fairly confesses that, on the memorable day of his installation, the capital of the East wore the appearance of a city taken by storm, and in the hands of a Barbarian conqueror. " About weeks afterwards, Theodosius declared his resolution of expelling, from all the churches of his dominions, the bishops and their clergy who should obstinately refuse to believe, or a mount at least to profess, the doctrine of the council of Nice. His hand in heutenant Sapor was armed with the ample powers of a general law, a special commission, and a military force; 40 and this ecclesiastical revolution was conducted with so much ductetion and vigour that the religion of the emperor was established, without tumult or bloodshed, in all the provinces of the East. The writings of the Arians, if they had been permitted to exist,41 would perhaps contain the lamentable story of the persecution which afflicted the church under the reign of the impious Theodosius; and the sufferings of their holy confessors might claim the pity of the disinterested reader. Yet there is reason to imagine that the violence of zeal and revenge was, in some measure, cluded by the want of resistance; and that, in their adversity, the Arians displayed much less firmness than had been exerted by the orthodox party under the reigns of Constantius and Valens. The moral character and conduct of the hostile sects appear to have been governed

wee Gregory Nananten, tom, n. de Vitá suá, p. 21, 22 [l. 1331 435.] For the acke of penterity, the limbop of Constant nople records a supendous prod gy, to the mouth of November, it was a cloudy morning, but the sun broke forth when the procession entered the church.

Of the three exclanatical historians, Theodoret alone (i. v. e. 2) has mentioned this important commission of Super, which I there of (Hist des l'impereurs, tom p. 228), addressaly recurrent from the reign of Graman to that of Theodorus.

v p. 728) add to ally represent from the reign of Graman to that of Theodosius.
Of the net recken Philostorgias, though he mentions (f. a. c. ra) the expulsion of Dans spl. 1 s. The Euromain historian has been carefully strained through an orthodox surve.

by the same common principles of nature and religion; but a very material circumstance may be discovered, which tended to distinguish the degrees of their theological faith. Both parties in the schools, as well as in the temples, acknowledged and worshipped the divine majesty of Christ; and, as we are always prone to impute our own sentiments and passions to the Deity, it would be deemed more prudent and respectful to exaggerate, than to circumscribe, the adorable perfections of the Son of God. The disciple of Athanasius exulted in the proud confidence that he had entitled himself to the divine favour: while the follower of Arms must have been tormental by the secret apprehension that he was guilty, perhaps, of an unpardonable offence, by the scanty praise, and parsimonious honours, which he bestowed on the Judge of the World opinions of Arianism might satisfy a cold and speculative mind: but the doctrine of the Nicene Creed, most powerfully recommended by the merits of faith and devotion, was much better adapted to become popular and successful in a believing age.

The council of Courtes of Courtes Unopie A.D. Sti. May (not till July 9)

The hope that truth and wisdom would be found in the assembles of the orthodox elergy induced the emperor to convene, at Constantinople, a synod of one hundred and fifts bishops, who proceeded, without much difficulty or delay, to complete the theological system which had been established in the council of Nice. The vehement disputes of the fourth century had been chiefly employed on the nature of the son of God; and the various opinions, which were embraced concerning the Second, were extended and transferred, by a natural analogy, to the Third, person of the Tranty. 2 Yet it was found. or it was thought, necessary, by the victorious adversaries of Arianism, to explain the ambiguous language of some respectable doctors; to confirm the faith of the Catholics; and to condemn an unpopular and inconsistent sect of Macedonians, who freely admitted that the Son was consubstantial to the Father, while they were fearful of seeming to acknowledge the existence of Three Gods. A final and unanimous sentence was pronounced to ratify the equal Deity of the Holy Ghost; the mysterious doctrine has been received by all the nations and

To best, and his monarchy of heaven recembles a well-regulated artiforms.

al the churches of the Christian world; and their grateful merence has assigned to the bishops of Theodosius the second ank among the general councils 48 Their knowledge of ragious truth may have been preserved by tradition, or it my have been communicated by inspiration; but the sober endence of history will not allow much weight to the personal stherity of the fathers of Constantinople. In an age when the ecclesinatics had scandalously degenerated from the model dapostolical punty, the most worthless and corrupt were always he most eager to frequent, and disturb, the episcopal assemblies. the conflict and fermentation of so many opposite interests and empera inflamed the passions of the hishops; and their ruling passions were the love of gold and the love of dispute. Many of the same prelates who now applauded the orthodox purty d Theodosius had repeatedly changed, with prudent flexibility, their creeds and opinions; and in the various revolutions of the church and state, the religion of their sovereign was the ale of their obsequious faith. When the emperor suspended his prevailing influence, the turbulent synod was blindly impelled by the absurd or selfish motives of pride, hatred, and resentment. The death of Meletius, which happened at the council of constantinople, presented the most favourable opportunity of terminating the schism of Antioch, by suffering his aged rival, Paulinus, peaceably to end his days in the episcopal chair. The faith and virtues of Paulinus were unblemished. But his cause was supported by the Western churches; and the hishops of the synod resolved to perpetuate the mischiefs of discord by the hasty ordination of a perjured candidate, 4 rather than to betray the imagined dignity of the East, which had been illustrated by the birth and death of the Son of God. Such unjust and disorderly proceedings forced the gravest members of the assembly to dissent and to secede; and the clamprous majority, which remained masters of the field of

If he test general council of Constantinople now triumphs in the Vatican but the pages had long heatated and their bestation perpexica and almost tragects, the humble I benont; New Eceles, tem ix p 459, 300, (It had no grand claim to be ecumenical, for the 140 bishops present were entirely from the attention provinces of the Empire It put forward no new doctrines, but simply material the Nicene Creed. See Gwatkin, Studies of Ananism, p. 202.]

** Bee so the leath of Meletra, six or eight of his most pepular exclessastics, on g when was Playtan, had object for the sake of prose the leabopts of his headen 1 v. c. 3, 11 Sociales 1 v. c. th. 1 emont thinks it his for to believe the stery, but he owns that there are many creamstances in the leaf blackin which come inconsistent with the praises of 6 brysostom and the are the star after the unit Mon Excless tom, a. p. 541). (Gregory of Nyssa pronounced the function on Meletius.)

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mattle, what is recognized that to week at manyous, to a fight of Thirty, If the 1 then if many it

I wassered but books are that so minoring the a porture of minimizations were the rest them by the method band of water and a series of the series and and a series and the series are the series and the series and the series and the series are the series and the series and the series are the series a Bud the name of the success institution who has more real like malificative lesson On the amounted it meaning much weare the connected murparts of superstition and house. He was one of the most proces and disquests heatings at the age a wint and a destry of the muren, the sessings it branism, and the prior of the orthomy factor a management of the management of Comstan Thomas a which like the death of Weighne, he energed the mintages of appendicular in a word - a propose Namenage framell The thorst and ingression treatment which he experienced." natural of decogniting from the truth is his exidence affects an philippoint proud of the spirit when artificed the decheration of the synat. Plant unantmost suffrage and countraced the preferences which the hands of Constitutions derived from the more of the people and the appropriation of the empire. But because men became the ruthin of mance and envy because of the East, his stremmus ather-ats, provoked by his materation or the affairs of Ascock, abundanced him, without support, to the adverse faction of the Egyptians; who disputed the variable of the common, and represent ascreted the obsesiete capus that producted the heretons practice of epicopal translations. The proje, or the hum, ity or threeony prompted him to decline a contest which must have been imputed to ambitum and avance; and he publication red, not without some market of magnation, to recount the government of a church which had been restored, and almost created by his labours. His rengration was accepted by the synod, and by the empray, with more reachness than he access to have expected. At the time, when he might have hoped to enjoy the trusts of his vietory, has episcopal throne was fixed in the senator Necturius;

"Toposit Geogree I connecte or I the east that the series in the great and the first Principle of the control of the cont

to all the time it a seeing by of men and ages to city and the emporer to last online West &c., where we have not not between

and the new archbishop, accidentally recommended by his easy temper and venerable aspect, was obliged to delay the ceremony of his consecration, till he had previously dispatched the rites of his baptism." After this remarkable experience of the ingratitude of princes and prelates, Gregory retired once more to his obscure solitude of Cappadocia; where he employed the remainder of his life, about eight years, in the exercises of poetry and devotion. The title of Saint has been added to his name; but the tenderness of his heart 18 and the elegance of his genus reflect a more pleasing lustre on the memory of

Gregory Nazianzen.

It was not enough that Theodosius had suppressed the successful was not enough that Theodosius had suppressed the successful was not enough that Theodosius had suppressed the successful was not enough that Theodosius had suppressed the successful was not enough that Theodosius had suppressed the successful was not enough that Theodosius had suppressed the successful was not enough that Theodosius had suppressed the successful was not enough that the successful was not enough the successful was not enough that the successful was not enough to be insolent reign of Arianism, or that he had abundantly revenged the injuries which the Catholics sustained from the seal of A.D. mount Constantius and Valens. The orthodox emperor considered every heretic as a rebel against the supreme powers of heaven, and of earth; and each of those powers might exercise their peculiar jurisdiction over the soul and body of the guilty. The decrees of the council of Constantinople had ascertained the true standard of the faith; and the ecclesiastics who toverned the conscience of Theodosius suggested the most effectual methods of persecution. In the space of fifteen years, he promulgated at least fifteen severe edicts against the heretics; 49 more especially against those who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity; and to deprive them of every hope of escape, he sternly enacted that, if any laws or rescripts should be alleged in their favour, the judges should consider them as the illegal productions either of fraud or forgery. The penal statutes were directed against the ministers, the assemblies, and the persons, of the heretics; and the passions of the legislator were expressed in the language of declamation and invective. I. The beretical teachers, who usurped the sacred titles of Bishops

The whomsteal ordination of Nectarius is attested by Sozomen (t. vii. c. 8), but I senout observes (Men. Feeles tom, ix. p. 719). Apres tout, ce narré de S. Brenne et S. benneus sour tousceux qu'l y mile et surtout pour Théodose, p. I sand meux travailer à le détruire, qu'à le soutenir, an admirable canon of

" we half end out Code, I was they leg first with Godelroy's commentary on each law, and his general summary, or Paratition, tom. vs. p. 104 110.

I can only be understood to mean that such was his natural temper; when and not het rement, or intermed by re-gious real. From his recomment (at Ar nexts a farm cone to the village of Karballa (now Karbana, Turk Gelarre) of Remark Ass Mator, 285) he exhorts Nectarius to protecute the heretics of

or Presbyters, were not only excluded from the privileges and emoluments so liberally granted to the orthodox clergy, but they were exposed to the heavy penalties of exile and confiscation, if they presumed to preach the doctrine, or to practise the rites, of their accurard sects. A fine of ten pounds of gold (above four hundred pounds sterling) was imposed on every person who should dare to confer or receive, or promote. an heretical ordination; and it was reasonably expected that, if the race of pastors could be extinguished, their helpless flocks would be compelled by ignorance and hunger to return within the pale of the Catholic church. 11. The rigorous prohibition of conventicles was carefully extended to every possible circumstance in which the heretics could assemble with the intention of worshipping God and Christ according to the dictates of their conscience. Their religious meetings, whether public or secret, by day or by night, in cities or in the country, were equally prosembed by the edicts of Theodosius; and the building or ground which had been used for that illegal purpose was forfeited to the Imperial domain. III. It was supposed that the error of the hereties could proceed only from the obstinate temper of their minds; and that such a temper was a fit object of censure and punishment. The anathemas of the church were fortified by a sort of civil excommunication, which separated them from their fellow-citizens by a peculiar brand of infamy; and this declaration of the supreme magistrate tended to justify, or at least to excuse, the insults of a familie populace. The sectaries were gradually disqualified for the possession of honourable or lucrative employments; and Theodosius was satisfied with his own justice, when he decreed that, as the Eunomians distinguished the nature of the Son from that of the Father, they should be incapable of making their wills or of receiving any advantage from testamentary donations. The guilt of the Manichaan heresy was esteemed of such magnitude that it could be expeated only by the death of the offender; and the same capital punishment was sufficted on the Audians, or Quartodecimans,50 who should dare to perpetrate the atrocious erime of celebrating, on an improper day, the festival of Faster. Every Roman might exercise the right of public accusation; but the office of Inquistors of the Faith, a name so deservedly

Law against Mantrimans and Quartodectmans, A D Bit.

¹⁶They always kept their Haster, like the Jewish Passover, on the fourteenth day of the first mean after the wrnal equinox; and thus pertunctionally appeared to the Reman church and Nicene synod which had fixed Easter to a Sunday. Bingham's Antiquities, l. sz. c. 5 vol n. p. 309, fol, edit

shorred, was first instituted under the reign of Theodosius. but we are assured that the execution of his penal edicts was slion enforced; and that the mous emperor appeared less ferrous to punish than to reclaim, or terrify, his refractory

chiects, ti

The theory of persecution was established by Theodoxius, Excusion those justice and piety have been applicated by the saints those and piety have been applicated by the saints those dates the saints at the practice of it, in the fullest extent, was reserved for his A b. 185 ral and colleague Maximus, the first, among the Christian ginees, who shed the blood of his Christian subjects on account of their religious opinions. The cause of the Priscillianists, 51 a reent seet of hereties, who disturbed the provinces of Spain, ras transferred, by appeal, from the synod of Bourdeaux to the imperial consistory of Treves; and, by the sentence of the Pretorian prefect, seven persons were tortured, condemned, and executed. The first of these was Priscillian 38 himself, bishop of Avila, " in Spain; who adorned the advantages of birth and bringe by the accomplishments of eloquence and learning. I'uo presbyters and two deacons accompanied their beloved moster in his death, which they esteemed as a glorious martyrdom; and the number of religious victims was completed by the execution of Latronom, a poet, who rivalled the fame of the merents; and of Euchrocia, a noble matron of Bourdeaux, the

11 Nosomen, I, us, C. 12.

M See the Sacred History of Sulphens Severus H. J. p. 437-452. edit, Lindg. Bat. 2647. e. 40 S. J. lacerrent and or gird writer. Dr. Lardner (field bits, die partin, in. p. 257-2501 has laboured the arricle, with pure learning good sense, and moderation. J. Liment (Mem. Excess, tom. via. p. 434-527 has haved together all the date of the attern, an useful scavenger J. H. Libbert, De harred Pracillation of the field of the feeling of the feeling the feeling of the feel us as a lawbreaker. Since then some remains of his own wriengs foleven I rectates; were discovered (1850) in a Wireburg Ms. of 8 cent, and edited (1889) by the sea. Here goods position has been investigated by F. Paret Progelian is but a sector des vactor I distandents 1891. It seems clear that Procedural's ment of a not a summer toutie, and he was certainly herrical in on far as he made on a porry hal tooks. See too Scheres, Proct an, 1886. Op Jeron es notes, do not he and Con is, to in indep an de e tree Possisanistatum of the gen starum, published by Schepse at end of his ed. of Priscillan.

tas, I, a is Severus mentions the arch heretic with excem and pity. prof. to, we in present shallo configurated optimizing ingenium, profession milita in constant of the profession of the

14 The bishopsic (in Old Castile) is now with ac,000 ducate a year (Busching's Geography were in p. 308) and is therefore much less likely to produce the author of a new heresy,

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widow of the orator Delphidius.55 Two bishops, who had embraced the sentiments of Priscillian, were condemned to a distant and dreary exile; 16 and some indulgence was shown to the meaner criminals who assumed the ment of an early repentance. If any credit could be allowed to confessions exterted by fear or pain, and to vague reports, the offspring of maker and credulty, the heresy of the Priscillanists would be found to include the various abominations of magic, of imprety, and of lewdness.57 Priscillian, who wandered about the world in the company of his apintual sisters, was accused of praying stark naked in the midst of the congregation; and it was confidently asserted that the effects of his criminal intercourse with the daughter of Euchrocia had been suppressed by means still more odious and criminal. But an accurate, or rather a candid, inquiry will discover that, if the Priscillianists violated the laws of nature, it was not by the licentiousness, but by the austerity, of their lives. They absolutely condemned the use of the marriage bed; and the peace of families was often deturbed by indiscreet separations. They enjoined, or recommended, a total abstinence from all animal food; and their continual prayers, fasts, and vigils inculcated a rule of strict and perfect devotion. The speculative tenets of the sect, concerning the person of Christ and the nature of the human soul, were derived from the Gnostic and Manichean system; and this vain philosophy, which had been transported from Egypt to Spain, was ill adapted to the grosser spirits of the West The obscure disciples of Priscillian suffered, languished, and gradually disappeared; his tenets were rejected by the clergy and people, but his death was the subject of a long and vehement controversy; while some arraigned, and others applieded, the justice of his sentence. It is with pleasure that we can observe the humane inconsistency of the most illustrious saints and bishops, Ambrose of Milan," and Martin of Tours;"

Miche of them was sent in Syllmann manlam quie ultra Britannium est. Whi must have been the ancient cond tion of the rocks of Soilly (Cambden's Benacoa

vol. i p. 1917)?
The scandalous calumnus of Augustin, Pope Leo, &c., which Tierse swill cas are a child, and Lurdner refor a like a man, may suggest some and

W. Exprobabatur muliers viding nin to religio, et d ligentous cuita dio rota e (Paratir Panegyr, Ver xit 29). Such was the idea of a housene, though ignorant.

Manhous form; of the Clis tan offer.

Manhous form; oppose as y p 893

Marin, Sulpre us Severa resource causes, but he deem of his self incer freely in the Internal time and the late of was regarded, however by his own commence, and by an angel, nor sound by alterwards perform robustics with no hence,

who, on this occasion, asserted the cause of toleration. They stied the unhappy men, who had been executed at Treves; they refused to hold communication with their episcopal murderers; and, if Martin deviated from that generous resolution, his motives were laudable, and his repentance was excuplary. The bishops of Tours and Milan pronounced, without besitation, the eternal damnation of heretics; but they were surprised, and shocked, by the bloody image of their temporal death, and the honest feelings of nature resisted the artificial prejudices of theology. The humanity of Ambrose and Martin was confirmed by the scandalous irregularity of the proceedings gainst Priscillian and his adherents. The civil and ecclesinstical amesters had transgressed the limits of their respective pronnees. The secular judge had presumed to receive an appeal, and to pronounce a definitive sentence, in a matter of faith and percepal juradiction. The bishops had disgraced themselves by exercising the function of accusers in a criminal prosecution. The cruelty of Ithacus,40 who beheld the tortures, and solicited the death, of the hereties, provoked the just indignation of mankind; and the vices of that profligate bishop were admitted as a proof that his zeal was instigated by the sordid motives of aterest. Since the death of Priscillian, the rude attempts of persecution have been refined and methodized in the holy office, which assigns their distinct parts to the ecclesiastical and weular powers. The devoted victim is regularly delivered by the priest to the magistrate, and by the magistrate to the executioner; and the inexorable sentence of the church, which declares the spiritual guilt of the offender, is expressed in the mild language of pity and intercession.

Among the ecclesiastics, who illustrated the reign of Theo-antices, domins, Gregory Nazianizon was distinguished by the talents of cannot an eloquent preacher; the reputation of miraculous gifts added weight and digitity to the monastic virtues of Martin of Tours; 61 but the palm of episcopal vigour and ability was justly claimed

The Catholic Presbyter (Sulp. Sever, I. ii p. 448 [c. to]) and the Pagan Orates (Pass) in Banegyr, Vet. xil, 29) reprodute, with equal indignation, the class ter and conduct of Ithacius.

by the intrepid Ambrose." He was descended from a noble

"The life of his Marsin and the Dialogues concerning his muscles, contains takened proof to the grossess backarism, in a style not unworshy of the Augustan age. So manufal is the all more between good taste and good sense that I am aways actor shed by the servicial.

The sheat and especie at the of St. Ambrose by his deacon furtions (Amprod via ded) Benedict p. (vv.) has the end of e.g. and eschence. To exact the letter v. p. p. (vo.) and the Benedictine editors (p. xxx-bx u.) have substread who then usual deligence.

family of Romans; his father had exercised the important office

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[born c. 300]

FA.D 9N3

of Pratorian prefect of Gaul; and the son, after passing through the studies of a liberal education, attained, in the regular gradation of civil honours, the station of consular of Liguria, a province which included the Imperial residence of Milan. age of thirty-four, and before he had received the sacrament of baptism, Ambrose, to his own surprise, and to that of the world, was suddenly transformed from a governor to an archbishoo Without the least mixture, as it is said, of art or intrigue, the whole body of the people unanimously saluted him with the episcopal title; the concord and persevenince of their acclamations were ascribed to a proternatural impulse; and the reluctant magistrate was compelled to undertake a spiritual office, for which he was not prepared by the habits and occurations of his former life. But the active force of his genius some qualified him to exercise, with zeal and prudence, the dutiet of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and, while he cheerfully renounced the vain and splendid imppings of temporal greatness, he condescended, for the good of the church, to direct the conscience of the emperors and to control the administration of the empire. Gratian loved and revered him as a father; and the elaborate treatise on the faith of the Trinity was designed for the instruction of the young prince. After his tragge death, at a time when the empress Justina trembled for her own safety and for that of her son I alentinian, the archbishop of Milan was dispatched, on two different embassies, to the court of Treves He exercised, with equal firmness and dexterity, the powers of his spiritual and political characters; and perhaps contributed, by his authority and eloquence, to check the ambition of Manmus and to protect the peace of Italy. Ambrose had devoted his life and his abilities to the service of the church. Wealth was the object of his contempt; he had renounced his private patrimony; and he sold, without hesitation, the consecrated

y p 220]

Pyretias to

The government of Italy, and of the young emperor, naturally devolved to his mother Justina, a woman of beauty and spinibut who, in the midst of an orthodox people, had the misfortum

plate for the redemption of captives. The clergy and people of Milan were attached to their archbishop; and he deserved the esteem, without soliciting the favour or apprehending the dis-

pleasure, of his feeble sovereigns.

[&]quot;I lenbeur her. I have each ax v p. 688-891) gives the emperor a PT spented accour, it is own emb av

of professing the Arian heresy, which she endeavoured to instil ato the mind of her son. Justina was persuaded that a Roman emperor might claim, in his own dominions, the public exercise of his religion; and she proposed to the archbishop, as a moderate and reasonable concession, that he should resign the we of a single church, either in the city or suburbs of Milan, But the conduct of Ambrose was governed by very different penerples. of The palaces of the earth might indeed belong to lasar; but the churches were the houses of God; and, within the limits of his diocese, he himself, as the lawful successor of the apostles, was the only minister of God. The privileges of thristianity, temporal as well as spiritual, were confined to the true believers; and the mind of Ambrose was satisfied that his own theological opinions were the standard of truth and orthodoxy. The archbishop, who refused to hold any conference or negotiation with the instruments of Satan, declared, with modest firmness, his resolution to die a martyr rather than to rield to the impious sacrilege; and Justina, who resented the refusal as an act of insolence and rebellion, hastily determined to exert the Imperial prerogative of her son. As she desired to perform her public devotions on the approaching festival of taster, Ambrose was ordered to appear before the council. He obeyed the summons with the respect of a faithful subject, but he was followed, without his consent, by an innumerable people: they pressed, with impetuous zeal, against the gates of the palace; and the affinghted ministers of Valentinian, instead of pronouncing a sentence of exile on the archbishop of Milan, humbly requested that he would interpose his authority, to protect the person of the emperor and to restore the tranquility of the capital. But the promises which Ambrose received and communicated were soon violated by a perfidious court, and during six of the most solemn days which Christian picty has set apart for the exercise of religion the city was agitated by the pregular convulsions of tungit and fanaticism. The officers of the household were directed to prepare, first the Porcian, and afterwards, the new Bankea, for the immediate reception of the emperor and his mother. The splendid canopy and hangings of the royal seat were arranged in the customary manner; but it was found necessary to defend them, by a strong guard, from

¹⁴ His own representation of his principles and conduct itom a epist XX. XXI. IX : p. 852 250) is one of the curious monuments of reclematical antiquity. It is contained to be existed Marcellina, with a petition of Valentinian, and the extreme de Bandesia was residently.

THE DECLINE AND FALL

the insults of the populace. The Arian ecclesiastics who ventured to shew themselves in the streets were exposed to the most imminent danger of their lives; and Ambrose enjoyed the merit and reputation of rescuing his personal enemies from the

hands of the enraged multitude.

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But, while he laboured to restrain the effects of their real, the pathetic vehemence of his sermons continually inflamed the angry and seditious temper of the people of Milan, The characters of Eve, of the wife of Joh, of Jezebel, of Herodas, were indecently applied to the mother of the emperor; and her desire to obtain a church for the Arians was compared to the most cruel persecutions which Christianity had endured under the reign of Paganism. The measures of the court served only to expose the magnitude of the evil. A fine of two hundred pounds of gold was imposed on the corporate body of merchants and manufacturers; an order was signified, in the name of the emperor, to all the officers, and inferior servants, of the courts of justice, that, during the continuance of the public disorders, they should strictly confine themselves to their houses; and the ministers of Valentinian imprudently confessed that the most respectable part of the citizens of Milan was attached to the cause of their archbishop. He was again solicited to restore peace to his country, by a timely compliance with the will of his sovereign. The reply of Ambrose was couched in the most humble and respectful terms, which might, however, be interpreted as a senious declaration of civil war. "His life and fortune were in the hands of the emperor; but he would never betray the church of Christ or degrade the dignity of the episcopal character. In such a cause, he was prepared to suffer whatever the makee of the diemon could inflict; and he only wished to die in the presence of his faithful flock, and at the foot of the alter; he had not contributed to excite, but it was in the power of God alone to appease, the rage of the people; he deprecated the scenes of blood and confusion which were likely to ensue; and it was his fervent prayer that he might not survive to behold the run of a flourishing city and perhaps the desolation of all Italy." The obstinate bigotry of Justina would have endangered the

So Retz had a similar message from the queen, to request that he would appear the small of Puris. It was no longer in his power, its. A quot playestar that ee has pouvez your imaginar de tespect, de disalant, de regist, et de scannassa l'amores, timi a piage (eminh) I do est compare either the en asser his yet the conductor himself had some idea (p. 84) of amating by Ambrose

empire of her son, if, in this contest with the church and people of Milan, she could have depended on the active obedience of the troops of the palace. A large body of Goths had marched to occupy the Basilica which was the object of the dospute: and it might be expected from the Anan principles and harbarous manners of these foreign mercenaries that they would not entertain any scruples in the execution of the most sangumary orders. They were encountered, on the sacred threshold, by the archbishop, who, thundering against them a sentence of excommunication, asked them, in the tone of a father and a master, Whether it was to invade the house of God that they had implored the hospitable protection of the republic? The suspense of the Barbarians allowed some hours for a more effectual negotiation; and the ringress was persuaded, by the advice of her wisest counsellors, to leave the Catholics in possession of all the churches of Milan; and to dissemble, till a more convenient season, her intentions of revenge. The mother of Valentinian could never forgive the triumph of Ambrose; and the royal youth uttered a passionate exclamation that his own servants were ready to betray him into the hands of an insolent priest.

The laws of the empire, some of which were inscribed with A p. as the name of Valentinian, still condemned the Arian heresy, and seemed to excuse the resistance of the Catholics. By the influence of Justina an edict of toleration was promulgated in all the provinces which were subject to the court of Milan; the free exercise of their religion was granted to those who professed the faith of Rimini; and the emperor declared that all persons who should infringe this sacred and salutary constitution should be capitally punished as the enemies of the public peace. The character and language of the archbishop of Malan may justify the suspicion that his conduct soon afforded a reasonable ground, or at least a specious pretence, to the Arian numesters, who watched the opportunity of surprising him in some act of disobedience to a law which he strangely represents as a law of blood and tyranny. A sentence of easy and honourable banishment was pronounced, which enjoined Ambrose to depart from Milan without delay; whilst it permitted him to choose the place of his exile and the number of his companions. But the authority of the saints who have

second name of the c. 131 throws the luminous fact into a dark and permitted nametics.

preached and practised the maxims of passive loyalty appeared to Ambrose of less moment than the extreme and pressing danger of the church. He boldly refused to obey, and his refusal was supported by the unanimous consent of his faithful people,67 They guarded by turns the person of their arch bishop; the gates of the cathedral and the episcopal palace were strongly secured; and the Imperial troops, who had formed the blockade, were unwilling to risk the attack, of that impregnable fortress. The numerous poor, who had been relieved by the liberality of Ambrose, embraced the fact occasion of signalizing their zeal and gratitude; and, as the patience of the multitude might have been exhausted by the length and uniformity of noctornal vigils, he prudently ustroduced into the church of Milan the useful institution of a loud and regular psalmody. While he maintained this arison contest, he was instructed by a dream to open the earth in a place where the remains of two martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius, " had been deposited above three hundred years. Immediately under the pavement of the church two perfect skeletons were found,09 with the heads separated from their bodies, and a plentiful effusion of blood. The holy relies were presented in solemn pomp, to the veneration of the people; and ever circumstance of this fortunate discovery was admirably adapted to promote the designs of Ambrose. The bones of the martyrs, their blood, their garments, were supposed to contain a healing power; and their praternatural influence was communicated to the most distant objects, without losing any part of its original virtue. The extraordinary cure of a blind man," and the

t. ix. c. 2.

Tillemont Mem. Eccles tom, ii. p 78 408. Many churches in Italy Gen. dec, were dedicated to these anknown martym, of whom M. Gervase seems to hor

been more fortunate than have a co-

TExcubaliat pia plebs in occlesia mori parata cum episcopo suo. . . Nos altre frigid excitabatuur tamen custate attonith aique turbath, Angustin Confession

or loven may more magnificant a sour duos, ut present arias fereigns. Tom a epist, xxii, p. 875. [Mr Hodykin, who domines the discovery been a discoved to extert in the alisa that Xiii rose may have practiced a point found, i tay. The one of these skeletons was focus atter on an fully stated to the purpoper, and eco of the speaked a increase of the human stature, which has prevailed a every age amor the time of Homer Grandulque effessis in rabitur ossa sepulchris.

^{**} Ambient tom r. episc xx p 87c. Augustin Coules 1 ix. c 7 de Cintat. 180, 1 xvi. c 8. Paslin in Vitt St. Arbros. c 14, in Append Benedict, p. 4. The blind many came was 5c was, be touched the bely go expected his split and denoted the rest of no de at least twenty two visits. the service of the thir h. I should recommend this in racle to our distingt fill did not prove the worsh p of relies, as wed as the Nigene creed.

reluctant confessions of several demoniacs, appeared to justify the faith and sanctity of Ambrose; and the truth of those miracles is attested by Ambrose himself, by his secretary Paulinus, and by his proselyte, the celebrated Augustin, who, at that time, professed the art of rhetoric in Milan. reason of the present age may possibly approve the incredulity of Justina and her Arian court; who derided the theatrical representations which were exhibited by the contrivance, and at the expense, of the archbishop." Their effect, however, on the minds of the people was rapid and irresistible; and the feeble sovereign of Italy found himself unable to contend with the favourite of heaven. The powers likewise of the earth interposed in the defence of Ambrose; the disinterested advice of Theodosius was the general result of piety and friendship; and the mask of religious real concealed the hostile and ambitious designs of the tyrant of Gaul.72

The reign of Maximus might have ended in peace and matter prosperity, could be have contented himself with the possession of three ample countries, which now constitute the three most fourthing kingdoms of modern Europe. But the aspiring usurper, whose sordid ambition was not dignified by the love of glory and of arms, considered his actual forces as the instruments only of his future greatness, and his success was the immediate cause of his destruction. The wealth which he extorted 72 from the oppressed provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain was employed in levying and maintaining a formidable army of Barbarians, collected, for the most part, from the fiercest nations of Germany. The conquest of Italy was the object of his hopes and preparations; and he secretly meditated the ruin of an innocent youth, whose government was abhorred and despised by his Catholic subjects. But, as Maximus wished to occupy, without resistance, the passes of the Alps, he received, with perfidious smiles, Domninus of Syria, the ambassador of Valentinian, and pressed him to accept the aid of a considerable body of troops for the service of a Pannonian

war. The penetration of Ambrose had discovered the snares

Paul n. in Vit. St. Ambros. c. 5 [15], in Append Benedict, p. 6.

71 Lacemont, Mem. Eccles. tom x. p. 160, 750. He partially allows the mediction of Theodosius, and capticiously rejects that of Max mus, though it is attested by Prosper (not the true Prosper; but Chron. Gall. ap. Mommisca, Chron. M. n. c. p. 648, op. Rufm, 11. 16]. Somemen, and Theodosius and Observation of The modest consume of Sulpicius (Dailog ... 15) inflicts a much deeper wound than the feeble declamation of Pacatus (ni. 25, 26).

of an enemy under the professions of friendship; 74 but the Syrian Domninus was corrupted, or deceived, by the liberal favour of the court of Treves; and the council of Muan obstinately rejected the suspicion of danger, with a blind confidence which was the effect, not of courage, but of fear. The march of the auxiliaries was guided by the ambassador; and they were admitted, without distrust, into the fortresses of the Alps. But the crafty tyrant followed, with hasty and alent footsteps, in the rear; and, as he diligently intercepted all intelligence of his motions, the gleam of armour and the dust excited by the troops of cavalry first announced the hostile approach of a stranger to the gates of Milan. In this extremity, Justina and her son might accuse their own imprudence and the perfidious arts of Maximus; but they wanted time, and force and resolution to stand against the Gauls and Germans, either in the field or within the walls of a large and disaffected city. Flight was their only hope, Aquileia their only refuge; and, as Maximus now displayed his genuine character, the brother of Gratian might expect the same fate from the hands of the same assassin. Maximus entered Milan in triumph; and, if the wise archbishop refused a dangerous and criminal connexion with the usurper, he might indirectly contribute to the success of his arms by inculcating, from the pulpit, the duty of resignation rather than that of resistance. 75 The up fortunate Justina reached Aquileis in safety; but she distrusted the strength of the fortifications; she dreaded the event of s siege; and she resolved to implore the protection of the great Theodosius, whose power and virtue were celebrated in all the countries of the West. A vessel was secretly provided to transport the Imperial family; they embarked with precipita-tion in one of the obscure harbours of Venetia or Istna; traversed the whole extent of the Hadriatic and Ionian seas: turned the extreme promontory of Peloponnesus; and, after a long but successful navigation, reposed themselves in the port of Thessalonica. All the subjects of Valentinian deserted the cause of a prince who, by his abdication, had absolved them from the duty of allegiance; and, if the little city of Amora, on the verge of Italy, had not presumed to stop the career of

Tapat of

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¹⁴ Esto tutior adverses hominem, pacis involucro regentem, was the wise cautite of Ambrone (form in p. 891) after his return from his second embrany [A in 367].

²⁸ Baronus (A. D. 487, No. 63) applies to this season of public distress some of the penatential sermons of the archbishop.

his inglerious victory, Maximus would have obtained, without

a struggle, the sole possession of the western empire.

Instead of inviting his royal guests to the palace of Constantinople, Theodosius had some unknown reasons to fix their theorem residence at Thessalonica; but these reasons did not proceed the from contempt or indifference, as he speedily made a visit to Ah that city, accompanied by the greatest part of his court and After the first tender expressions of friendship and sympathy, the pious emperor of the East gently admonished Justina that the guilt of heresy was sometimes punished in this world as well as in the next; and that the public profession of the Nicene faith would be the most efficacious step to promote the restoration of her son, by the satisfaction which it must occasion both on earth and in heaven. The momentous question of peace or war was referred, by Theodosius, to the deliberation of his council; and the arguments which might be alleged on the side of honour and justice had acquired, since the death of Gratian, a considerable degree of additional weight. The persecution of the Imperial family, to which Theodosius himself had been indebted for his fortune, was now aggravated by recent and repeated injuries. Neither oaths nor treaties could restrain the boundless ambition of Maximus; and the delay of vigorous and decisive measures, instead of prolonging the blessings of peace, would expose the eastern empire to the danger of an hostile invasion. The Barbarians, who had passed the Danube, had lately assumed the character of soldiers and subjects, but their native hereeness was yet untamed; and the operations of a war which would exercise their valour and diminish their numbers might tend to relieve the provinces from an intolerable oppression. Notwithstanding these specious and solid reasons, which were approved by a majority of the council, Theodosius still hesitated whether he should draw the sword in a contest which could no longer admit any terms of reconciliation; and his magnanimous character was not disgraced by the apprehensions which he felt for the safety of his infant sons and the welfare of his exhausted people. this moment of anxious doubt, while the fate of the Roman world depended on the resolution of a single man, the charms of the princess Galla most powerfully pleaded the cause of her brother Valentinian. 16 The heart of Theodosius was softened

¹⁹The flight of Valentanian and the love of Theodosics for his sister are related by Zossenis (t. iv. p. 263, 264 [c. 43]). Tillement produces some weak and

by the tears of beauty; his affections were insensibly engaged by the graces of youth and innocence; the art of Justina managed and directed the impulse of passion; and the celebration of the royal nuptials was the assurance and signal of the envil war. The unfeeling critics, who consider every amorous weakness as an indelable stain on the memory of a great and orthodox emperor, are inclined, on this occasion, to dispute the suspicious evidence of the historian Zosimus. For my own part, I shall frankly confess that I am willing to find, or even to seek, in the revolutions of the world some traces of the mild and tender sentiments of domestic life; and, aundst the crowd of fierce and ambitious conquerors, I can distinguish, with peculiar complacency, a gentle hero, who may be supposed to receive his armour from the hands of love. The alliance of the Persian king was secured by the faith of treaties; the martial Barbarians were persuaded to follow the standard, or to respect the frontiers, of an active and liberal monarch; and the dominions of Theodosius, from the Euphrates to the Hadratic, resounded with the preparations of war both by land and sea The skilful disposition of the forces of the East seemed to multiply their numbers, and distracted the attention of Maximum He had reason to fear that a chosen body of troops, under the command of the intrepad Arbogastes, would direct their march along the banks of the Danube and boldly penetrate through the Rhietian provinces into the centre of Gaul. A powerful fleet was equipped in the harbours of Greece and Epirus, with an apparent design that, as soon as a passage had been opened by a naval victory, Valentinian and his mother should land in Italy, proceed, without delay, to Rome, and occupy the mujestic seat of religion and empire. In the meanwhile, Theodosius himself advanced at the head of a brave and disciplined army. to encounter his unworthy rival, who, after the mege of .h.mons. had fixed his camp in the neighbourhood of Siscia, a city of Pannonia, strongly fortified by the broad and rapid stream of the Save.

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The veterans, who still remembered the long resistance and successive resources of the tyrant Magnentius, might prepare themselves for the labours of three bloody campaigns. But the contest with his successor, who, like him, had usurped the throne of the West, was easily decided in the term of two

antiquous endence to intellate the second marriage of Theodosius offist des Impareurs time to proposed descriptivity to refute ces contes de Josine qui seroient trop contraces à la piété do Theodosia. months " and within the space of two hundred miles. The superior genius of the emperor of the East might prevail over the feeble Maximus; who, in this important crisis, shewed himself destitute of military skill or personal courage; but the abilities of Theodosius were seconded by the advantage which he possessed of a numerous and active cavalry. The Huns, the Alani, and, after their example, the Goths themselves, were formed into squadrons of archers; who fought on horseback and confounded the steady valour of the Gauls and Germans by the rapid motions of a Tartar war. After the fatigue of a long march, in the heat of summer, they spurred their foaming horses into the waters of the Save, swam the river in the presence of the enemy, and instantly charged and routed the troops who guarded the high ground on the opposite side. Marcellinus, the tyrant's brother, advanced to support them with the select cohorts which were considered as the hope and strength of the army. The action, which had been interrupted by the approach of night, was renewed in the morning; and, after a sharp conflict, the surviving remnant of the bravest soldiers of Maximus threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror. Without suspending his march to receive the loyal acclamations of the citizens of Emona, Theodosius pressed forwards, to terminate the war by the death or captivity of his rival, who fied before him with the diligence of fear. From the summit of the Julian Alps, he descended with such incredible speed into the plain of Italy that he reached Aquileia on the evening of the first day; and Maximus, who found himself encompassed on all sides, had scarcely time to shut the gates of the city. But the gates could not long resist the effort of a victorious enemy; and the despair, the disaffection, the indifference of the soldiers and people, hastened the downfull of the wretched Maximus. He was dragged from his throne, rudely stripped of the Imperial ornaments, the robe, the disdem, and the purple slippers; and conducted, like a malefactor, to the camp and presence of Theodosius, at a place about three miles from Aquileia. The behaviour of the emperor was not intended to insult, and he shewed some disposition to pity and forgive, the tyrant of the West, who had never been his personal enemy and was now become the object of his contempt. Our sympathy is the most forcibly excited by the misfortunes to which we are exposed; and the spectacle of a proud competitor, now prostrate

at his feet, could not fail of producing very serious and solemn thoughts in the mind of the victorious emperor. But the feeble emotion of involuntary pity was checked by his regard for public justice and the memory of Gratian; and he aliandoned the victim to the pious real of the soldiers, who drew him out of the Imperial presence and instantly separated his head from his body. The intelligence of his defeat and death was received with sincere, or well-dissembled, joy: his son Victor, on whom he had conferred the title of Augustus, died by the order. perhaps by the hand, of the bold Arbogastes; and all the military plans of Theodosius were successfully executed. When he had thus terminated the civil war with less difficulty and bloodshed than he might naturally expect, he employed the winter months of his residence at Milan to restore the state of the afflicted provinces; and early in the spring he made, after the example of Constantine and Constantius, his triumphal entry into the ancient capital of the Roman empire."

The orator, who may be silent without danger, may praise without difficulty and without reluctance; " and posterity will confess that the character of Theodosius to might furnish the subject of a sincere and ample panegyne. The wisdom of his laws, and the success of his arms, rendered his administration respectable in the eyes both of his subjects and of his enemies. He loved and practised the virtues of domestic life, which seldom hold their residence in the palaces of kings. Theodosius was chaste and temperate; he enjoyed, without excess, the sensual and social pleasures of the table; and the warmth of his amorous passions was never diverted from their lawful objects. The proud titles of Imperial greatness were adorned by the tender names of a faithful husband, an indulgent father; he

Thesales the bints which may be gathered from chronicles and reclasiastical Therefore the bints which may be gathered from chronicles and receivaisted batters. The party of a start of the control of the

the state of a second person has as a part, second or to large for the man and the second of the large for the second or to large for the man and an Empire time of the second or to large for the second or the second or to large for the second or the second or to large for the second or the secon

[&]quot; See the taid position of Throughout be the sources Value, the similars are bus sarger oos a control to se ext, will been to review out total torus because

mele was raised, by his affectionate esteem, to the rank of a second parent; Theodosius embraced, as his own, the children of his brother and sister; and the expressions of his regard were extended to the most distant and obscure branches of his numerous kindred. His familiar friends were judiciously relected from among those persons who, in the equal intercourse of private life, had appeared before his eyes without a mask; the consciousness of personal and superior merit enabled him to despise the accidental distinction of the purple; and he proved by his conduct that he had forgotten all the injuries, while he most gratefully remembered all the favours and services, which he had received before he ascended the throne of the Roman empire. The serious, or lively, tone of his conversation was adapted to the age, the rank, or the character, of his subects whom he admitted into his society; and the affability of his manners displayed the image of his mind. Theodosius respected the simplicity of the good and virtuous; every art, every talent, of an useful, or even of an innocent, nature was ewarded by his judicious liberality; and, except the heretics shom he persecuted with implacable hatred, the diffusive circle of his benevolence was circumscribed only by the limits of the tuman race. The government of a mighty empire may assuredly suffice to occupy the time and the abilities of a mortal; jet the diligent prince, without aspiring to the unsuitable eputation of profound learning, always reserved some moments of his lessure for the instructive amusement of reading. Hisory, which enlarged his experience, was his favourite study. The annals of Rome, in the long period of eleven hundred cars, presented him with a various and splendid picture of human life; and it has been particularly observed that, whenever he perused the cruel acts of Cinna, of Marius, or of Sylla, e warmly expressed his generous detestation of those enemies of humanity and freedom. His disinterested opinion of past events was usefully applied as the rule of his own actions; and Theodonus has deserved the singular commendation that his virtues always seemed to expand with his fortune; the season of his prosperity was that of his moderation; and his elemency of the civil war. The Moorish guards of the tyrant had been massacred in the first heat of the victory; and a small number of the most obnoxious criminals suffered the punishment of the aw. But the emperor shewed himself much more attentive to relieve the innocent than to chastise the guilty. The oppressed subjects of the West, who would have deemed themselves happy in the restoration of their lands, were automaked to receive a sum of money equivalent to their losses; and the liberality of the conqueror supported the aged mother, and educated the orphan daughters, of Maximux. A character thus accomplished might almost excuse the extravagint supposition of the orator Pacatus, that, if the elder Brutus could be permitted to revisit the earth, the stern republican would abjure, at the feet of Theodosius, his hatred of kings; and ingeniously confess that such a monarch was the most faithful guardian of the happiness and dignity of the Roman people.

to settle of

Yet the piercing eye of the founder of the republic must have discerned two essential imperfections, which might, perhaps, have abated his recent love of despotism. The virtuous mind of Theodosius was often relaxed by indolence, sa and it was sometimes inflamed by passion. 4 In the pursuit of an important object, his active courage was capable of the most vigorous exertions; but, as soon as the design was accomplished or the danger was surmounted, the hero sunk into inglorious repose; and, forgetful that the time of a prince is the property of his people, resigned himself to the enjoyment of the innocent, but triting, pleasures of a luxunous court. The natural disposition of Theodosius was hasty and cholene; and, in a station where none could resist and few would dissuade the fatal consequence of his resentment, the humane monarch was justly slarined by the consesousness of his infirmity, and of his power. It was the constant study of his life to suppress or regulate the intemperate tallies of passion; and the success of his efforts enhanced the ment of his elemency. But the painful virtue which claims the ment of victory is exposed to the danger of defeat; and the reach of a ware and mercaful prince was polluted by an act of cramits which would stam the annals of Nero or Domitan. If then the space of three years, the movement historian of Threshold that relate the generous pursus of the citizens of

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Antioch and the inhuman massacre of the people of Thesandonies.

The lively impatience of the inhabitants of Antioch was never the salues satisfied with their own situation, or with the character or con- ab an duct of their successive sovereigns. The Arian subjects of Theodosius deplored the loss of their churches; and, as three rival bishops disputed the throne of Antioch, the sentence which decided their pretensions excited the murmurs of the two unsuccessful congregations. The exigencies of the Gothle war, and the inevitable expense that accompanied the conclusion of the peace, had constrained the emperor to aggravate the weight of the public impositions; and the provinces of Asia, as they had not been involved in the distress, were the less inclined to contribute to the relief, of Europe. The auspicious period now approached of the tenth year of his reign; a festival more grateful to the soldiers, who received a liberal donative, than to the subjects, whose voluntary offerings had been long since converted into an extraordinary and oppressive burthen. The edicts of taxation interrupted the repose and pleasures of Antioch; and the tribunal of the magistrate was besieged by a suppliant crowd; who, in pathetic, but, at first, in respectful language, solicited the redress of their grievances. They were gradually incensed by the pride of their haughty rulers, who treated their complaints as a criminal resistance; their satirical wit degenerated into sharp and angry invectives; and, from the subordinate powers of government, the invectives of the people insensibly rose to attack the sacred character of the emperor himself. Their fury, provoked by a feeble opposition, discharged rot a itself on the images of the Imperial family, which were creeted so objects of public veneration in the most conspicuous places of the city. The statues of Theodosius, of his father, of his wife Flaccilla, of his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, were insolently thrown down from their pedestals, broken in pieces, or dragged with contempt through the streets; and the indignities which were offered to the representations of Imperial majesty, sufficiently declared the impious and treasonable wishes of the populace. The tumult was almost immediately suppressed by the arrival of a body of archers; and Antioch had leisure to redect on the nature and consequences of her enme. 45 According

The Christians and Pagans agreed in believing that the sedition of Antioch was excited by the Aximous. A gigative woman (sais becomes I, w. c. 23) puraded the steeres with a savinge in her hand. An old man (says Labamus, Orat, x) p. po [x xxx. m Renke's ed., vol. 7, p. 626 seq.]] transformed himself into a youth,

to the duty of his office, the governor of the province dispatched

a faithful narrative of the whole transaction; while the trembling citizens intrusted the confession of their crime, and the assurance of their repentance, to the zeal of Flavian their bishop and to the eloquence of the senator Hilarius, the friend, and most probably the disciple, of Libanius, whose genius, on this melancholy occasion, was not useless to his country.25 But the two capitals, Antioch and Constantinople, were separated by the distance of eight hundred miles; and, not withstanding the diligence of the Imperial posts, the guilty city was severely punished by a long and dreadful interval of suspense. Every rumour agitated the hopes and fears of the Antiochians, and they heard with terror that their sovereign, exasperated by the insult which had been offered to his own statues, and, more especially, to those of his beloved wife, had resolved to level with the ground the offending city; and to massacre, without distinction of age or sex, the criminal inhabitants; " many of whom were actually driven by their apprehensions to seek a refuge in the mountains of Syria and the adjacent desert. At length, twenty-four days after the sedition, the general Hellebicus and Cusarius, master of the offices, declared the will of the emperor and the sentence of Antioch. That proud capital was degraded from the rank of a city; and the metropolis of the East, stripped of its lands, its privileges, and its revenues, was subjected, under the humiliating denomination of a village, to the jurisdiction of Landicea.35 The baths, the circus, and the theatres were shut; and, that every source of plenty and pleasure might at the same time be intercepted, the distribution of corn was abolished by the severe instructions of Theodosius. His commissioners then proceeded to inquire into the guilt of individuals; of those who had perpetrated, and of those who had not prevented, the destruction of the sacred statues. The tribunal of Hellebicus and Casarius, encompassed with armed poldiers, was erected in the midst of the Forum. The noblest and most wealthy of the citizens of Antioch appeared before

* Formus, in his short and disappressions account (L by p. 258, 259 fc. 41) is certainly matches in sending Liberius hanself to Constantinople. His own or mark the most Actuach.

* I have a chair in p. 6, edit. Venet.) declares that, under such a reign for leaf of invessors was grounded and about expectally at the emperors above for the presence according to the exequent slave, might have given a paintion to the executionals at a.

Symble on the sea coast, stry-five miles from Antoch (see Norse, Epoch Symble of Desert, in p. 22%. The Armschaus were offended that its dependent city of Schrucks should present to intercede for them.

them in chains; the examination was assisted by the use of torture, and their sentence was pronounced or suspended, secording to the judgment of these extmordinary magistrates. The houses of the criminals were exposed to sale, their wives and children were suddenly reduced, from affluence and luxury, to the most abject distress; and a bloody execution was expected to conclude the horrors of a day 30 which the preacher Antioch, the eloquent Chrysostom, has represented as a lively image of the last and universal judgment of the world. But the ministers of Theodosius performed, with reluctance, the cruel task which had been assigned them; they dropped gentle tear over the calamities of the people; and they stened with reverence to the pressing solicitations of the sonks and hermits, who descended in swarms from the mountains.90 Hellebicus and Cæsanus were persuaded to uspend the execution of their sentence; and it was agreed (Mara 11) that the former should remain at Antioch, while the latter returned, with all possible speed, to Constantinople; and a server presumed once more to consult the will of his sovereign. The resentment of Theodosius had already subsided; the deputies of Theodosius of the people, both the bishop and the orator, had obtained a favourable audience; and the represents of the emperor were to arrive at the complaints of injured friendship rather than the stern in menaces of pride and power. A free and general pardon was granted to the city and citizens of Antioch; the prison-doors (a april 17) were thrown open; the senators who despaired of their lives recovered the possession of their houses and estates; and the capital of the East was restored to the enjoyment of her ancient dignity and aplendour. Theodosius condescended to praise the senate of Constantinople, who had generously interceded for their distressed brethren; he rewarded the eloquence of Hilarius with the government of Palestine; and dismissed the bishop of Antioch with the warmest expressions of his respect and gratitude. A thousand new statues arose to April the elemency of Theodosius; the applause of his subjects was being ratified by the approbation of his own heart; and the emperor

to the cowardly thight of the Cynics,

As the days of the fumult depend on the mercenile festival of Ruster, they can only be determ sed by the previous determ nation of the year. The year 387 has been prefetted after a labor oas inquiry by T lemont 1H at des hup, tone v to 741 744 and Montfaucon (Chrysostem, tom. xm. p. 105-270). (So Goldenpenning and Itland but l'aronnes and Canton give 388. Cp. Arnold Hug. Studien aus dom classichen Alterthum, p. 54.)

** Chrysostem opposes there courage, which was not attended with much risk,

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confessed that, if the exercise of justice is the most important duty, the indulgence of mercy is the most exquisite pleasure, of a sovereign.01

The secution of Thesaalonica is ascribed to a more shameful cause, 91* and was productive of much more dreadful consequences. That great city, the metropolis of all the Illynan provinces. had been protected from the dangers of the Gothic war by strong fortifications and a numerous garrison. Botherie, the general of those troops, and, as it should seem from his name, a Barbarian, had among his slaves a beautiful boy, who excited the impure desires of one of the charioteers of the Circus. The insolent and brutal lover was thrown into preson by the order of Botherie; and he sternly rejected the importunate clamours of the multitude, who, on the day of the public games, lamented the absence of their favourite, and considered the skill of a charioteer as an object of more importance than his virtue. The resentment of the people was embittered by some previous disputes; and, as the strength of the garrison had been drawn away for the service of the Italian war, the feeble remnant, whose numbers were reduced by desertion, could not save the unhappy general from their heentions fury. Bothere, and several of his principal officers, were inhumanly murdered; their mangled bodies were dragged about the streets; and the emperor, who then resided at Milan, was surprised by the intelligence of the audacious and wanton crucky of the people of Thessalonica. The sentence of a dispassionate judge would have indicted a severe punishment on the authors of the come. and the ment of Bothene might contribute to exasperate the grief and indignation of his master. The fiery and cholers temper of Theodosus was impatient of the dilatory forms of a judicial enquiry; and he hastily resolved that the blow of his heutenant should be expeated by the blood of the quit people. Let his mind still fluctuated between the counseised elemency and of revenge; the seal of the hishops had alread extorted from the reinctant emperor the promise of a general

The extract or Arthody's represented to a very land almost district. where he are not a payed for make my party were theme and that i with the to the term of term of the term of term of term of term of term of term of the term of term the state of the s A the diet a part the continue and in a thing to be a few or the train The property of the transfer of the total destroy the becomes to the before it is to the test of the many of the transfer on the sales of the transfer to be the best of the best o

pardon; his passion was again inflamed by the flattering suggestions of his minister Rufinus; and, after Theodosius had despatched the messengers of death, he attempted, when it was ment of a Roman city was blindly committed to the undistinguishing sword of the Barbarians; and the hostile preparations were concerted with the dark and perfidious artifice of an illegal The people of Thessalomea were treacherously invited, in the name of their sovereign, to the games of the Circus; and such was their insatiate avidity for those amusements that every consideration of fear, or suspicion, was duregarded by the numerous spectators. As soon as the assembly was complete, the soldiers, who had secretly been (April) posted round the Circus, received the signal, not of the races, but of a general massacre. The promiscuous carnage continued three hours, without discrimination of strangers or natives, of we or sex, of innocence or guilt; the most moderate accounts tate the number of the slain at seven thousand; " and it is ultimed by some writers, that more than lifteen thousand victims vere sacrificed to the manes of Botheric. A foreign merchant, sho had probably no concern in his murder, offered his own life and all his wealth, to supply the place of one of his two sons; but, while the father hesitated with equal tenderness, while he was doubtful to choose and unwilling to condemn, the soldiers determined his suspense by plunging their daggers at the same moment into the breasts of the defenceless youths. The apology of the assessins that they were obliged to produce the prescribed number of heads serves only to increase, by an appearance of order and design, the horrors of the massacre which was executed by the commands of Theodosius. The guilt of the emperor is aggravated by his long and frequent residence at Thessalonica. The situation of the unfortunate city, the aspect of the streets and buildings, the dress and faces of the inhabitants, were familiar and even present to his imagination; and Theodosius possessed a quick and lively sense of the existence of the people whom he destroyed.30

"Theodoret, v. 17; on the authority of Philostorgius?]

The or g not evidence of Ambrose (tom. n. epist. li p. 908). Augustin (de

This or g not evidence of Ambrose (tom. n. epist. li p. 908). Augustin (de

This or g not evidence of Ambrose (tom. n. epist. li p. 1008). Augustin (de

This or g not possible of the same partial by the subsequent and unequal

solutions of horizontal (l vii. c. 25). Theodoret (l. v. c. 17). Theophanes

(f. Tanggaph p. 62). Collegns (p. 317, p. 5th, ed. Bounil), and Zonarus (tom. n.

Li p. 34 [c. 18]. Zonama abuse, the partial enemy of Theodorus, most un
accountably passes ever to silence the worst of his actions. [Further, Rufinus, n.

Li Masse Choren, at 37, and Malalas, p. 347-]

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infrance and confinct of Ambrook

The respectful attachment of the emperor for the 6 clergy had disposed him to love and admire the char Ambrose; who united all the episcopal virtues in the eminent degree. The friends and ministers of Th imitated the example of their sovereign; and he observe more surprise than displeasure, that all his secret count immediately communicated to the archbishop; who ac the laudable persuasion that every measure of civil gove may have some connexion with the glory of God interest of the true religion. The monks and pop-Callinicum, an obscure town on the frontier of Perma by their own fanaticism and by that of their bishop, had nously burnt a conventicle of the Valentinians and a sy of the Jews. The seditious prelate was condemned magistrate of the province either to rebuild the synap to repay the damage, and this moderate sentence was co by the emperor. But it was not confirmed by the ar of Milan. 16 He dictated an epistle of censure and r more suitable, perhaps, if the emperor had received the circumcision and renounced the faith of his haptism. considers the toleration of the Jewish, as the persecution Christian, religion; boldly declares that he himself an true believer would eagerly dispute with the bishop of cum the merit of the deed and the crown of martyrde laments, in the most pathetic terms, that the execution sentence would be fatal to the fame and salvation of sius. As this private admonition did not produce an in effect, the archbishop, from his pulpit, publicly address emperor on his throne; 98 nor would he consent to e oblation of the altar, till he had obtained from Theory solemn and positive declaration, which secured the imp the bishop and monks of Callinicum. The recantation of dosius was sincere; or and, during the term of his re

M See the whole transaction in Ambrose (tom. ii. epist. xl. xlt p. of his biographer Paulinus (c. 23). Bayle and Barteyrae (Morales des Pèr p. 32), Rc.) have justly condemned the archivology. [The sentence whoshed behald rebuild the synagogore and pay the value of the destroyed.]

M His sermon is a strange allingary of Jeremiah's rod, of an almood in

³⁶ His sermon is a strange allegory of Jeremiah's rod, of an almond is woman who washed and anomied the feet of Christ. But the peroration and personal.

M Hodie, Episcope, de me proposuisti. Ambrese modestly confessed sternly reprimanded Timasus, general of the horse and foot, who had to say that the monks of Callingum deserved punishment.

Fivet, five years afterwards, when Theodos us was absent from h

FYet, five years afterwards, when Theodos us was absent from higorie, be tolerated the Jews and condemned the destriction of their Lod. Theodos, I. xw. tit. viii, log. 9, with Godefrey's commentary, tom.

(Ant. L

at Milan, his affection for Ambrose was continually increased

by the habits of pious and familiar conversation.

When Ambrose was informed of the massacre of Thessa-tess lonica, 974 his mind was filled with horror and anguish. He retired ARR into the country to indulge his grief, and to avoid the presence of Theodosius. But, as the archbishop was satisfied that a timid silence would render him the accomplice of his guilt, he represented, in a private letter, the enormity of the crime; which could only be effaced by the tears of penitence. The episcopal vigour of Ambrose was tempered by prudence; and he contented himself with signifying 98 an indirect sort of excommunication, by the assurance that he had been warned in a vision not to offer the oblation in the name or in the presence of Theodosius; and by the advice that he would confine himself to the use of prayer, without presuming to approach the altar of Christ or to receive the holy eucharist with those hands that were still polluted with the blood of an innocent people. The emperor was deeply affected by his own reproaches and by those of his spiritual father; and, after he had bewailed the mischievous and irreparable consequences of his rash fury, he proceeded, in the accustomed manner, to perform his devotions in the great church of Milan. He was stopped in the porch by the archbishop; who, in the tone and language of an ambassador of Heaven, declared to his sovereign that private contrition was not sufficient to atone for a public fault or to appeare the justice of the offended Deity. Theodosius humbly represented that, if he had contracted the guilt of homicide, David, the man after God's own heart, had been guilty, not only of murder, but of adultery. "You have imitated David in his crime, imitate then his repentance," was the reply of the undaunted Ambrose. The rigorous conditions of peace and pardon were accepted; and the public penance of the emperor Theodosius has been recorded as one of the most honourable events in the annals of the church. According to the mildest rules of ecclesiastical discipline which were established in the fourth century the crime of homicide was expirated by the penitence of twenty years; 99 and, as it was

A letter from the Bishop of Thesialonica, informing Ambrose, was published

According to the discipline of St. Basil (Canon Ivi.) the voluntary homicide was four years a mourner, Ave an hearer; seven in a prostrate state, and four in

⁽from a Bodl cod.) by Gaisford in Theodoret, v. 18, genuineness uncertain.]

—Ambros, tom, il. epist. la p. 907-1001. His Epistle is a miserable rhapaody
on a noble subject. Ambrose could act better than be could write. It's compositions are destitute of taste, or genus, without the sprit of Tertulian, the copress elegance of Lactantius, the lively wit of Jerom, or the grave energy of

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impossible, in the period of human life, to purge the accumulated guilt of the massacre of Thessalonica, the murderer should have been excluded from the holy communion till the hour of his death. But the archbishop, consulting the maxims of religious policy, granted some indulgence to the rank of his illustrious penitent, who humbled in the dust the pride of the diadem; and the public edification might be admitted as a weighty reason to abridge the duration of his punishment. was sufficient that the emperor of the Romans, stripped of the ensigns of royalty, should appear in a mournful and suppliant posture; and that, in the midst of the church of Milan, he should humbly solicit, with sighs and tears, the pardon of he sins 100 In this spiritual cure, Ambrose employed the various methods of mildness and severity. After a delay of about eight months. Theodosius was restored to the communion of the faithful; and the edict, which interposes a salutary interval of thirty days between the sentence and the execution, may be accepted as the worthy fruits of his repentance. 101 Posterity has applauded the virtuous firmness of the archbishop; and the example of Theodosius may prove the beneficial influence of those principles which could force a monarch, exalted above the apprehension of human punishment, to respect the laws, and ministers, of an invisible Judge. "The prince," says Montesquieu, "who is actuated by the hopes and fears of religion, may be compared to a lion, docile only to the voice, and tractable to the hand, of his keeper," 102 The motions of the royal animal will therefore depend on the inclination and interest of the man who has acquired such dangerous authority over him; and the priest who holds in his hand the conscience of a king may inflame or moderate his sangunary passions. The cause of humanity, and that of persecution, have been asserted by the same Ambrose, with equal energy and with equal success.

a standing posture. I have the original Boweridge, Pandeca tom, it. p. 47751 and a translation (Chardon, Hist, des Sacremens, tom, iv. p. 219-277) of the Canonical Equation of St. Baul.

100 The penance of Theodosius is authenticated by Ambrose (tom, vi. de Cos.

The penance of Theodosius is authenticated by Ambrose (tom, vi. de Cost Theodos, c. 34, p. 1307), Augustin (de Civitat, Dei, v. 26), and Paul num in Va Ambros, c. 24). Societies is guorant, Sommen (l. vii. c. 20) concise (but places & after terrolt of Fugen us); and the copious narrative of Theodoret (l. v. c. 18 miss be used with presention.

be used with precaution.

101 Codes Theodos L is, it, xl log 12. The data and curcumstances of that hav are people set but it feel myself inched to favour the boost of Talemont (Hast, des Emp. tom. v. p. 721) and Page (Crinca, tom. s. p. ers).

100 Un prince qui aime la religion, et qui la cravit est un Bon qui orde à la main qui le flatte, ou à la voix qui l'appaise. Esprit des Lois, I. xxiv, c. a.

After the defeat and death of the tyrant of Gaul, the Roman world was in the possession of Theodosius. He derived from And the choice of Gratian his honourable title to the provinces of the East; he had acquired the West by the right of conquest; and the three years which he spent in Italy were usefully employed to restore the authority of the laws, and to correct the abuses, which had prevailed with impunity under the usurpation of Maximus and the minority of Valentinian. The name of Valentinian was regularly inserted in the public acts; but the tender age, and doubtful faith, of the son of Justina appeared to require the prudent care of an orthodox guardian; and his specious ambition might have excluded the unfortunate youth, without a struggle and almost without a murmur, from the administration, and even from the inheritance, of the empire. If Theodosus had consulted the rigid maxims of interest and policy, his conduct would have been justified by his friends; but the generosity of his behaviour on this memorable occasion has extorted the applause of his most inveterate enemies. He scated Valentinian on the throne of Milan; and, without stipulating any present or future advantages, restored him to the absolute dominion of all the provinces from which he had been driven by the arms of Maximus. To the restitution of his ample patrimony, Theodosius added the free and generous gift of the countries beyond the Alps, which his successful valour had recovered from the assassin of Gratian, 108 Satisfied with the glory which he had acquired, by revenging the death of his benefactor and delivering the West from the yoke of tyranny, the emperor returned from Milan to Constantinople; and, in the peaceful possession of the East, insensibly relapsed into his former habits of luxury and indolence. Theodosius discharged his obligation to the brother, he indulged his conjugal tenderness to the sister, of Valentinian; and posterity, which admires the pure and singular glory of his elevation, must applaud his unrivalled generosity in the use of victory.

The empress Justina did not long survive her return to Italy ; g and, though she beheld the triumph of Theodosius, she was ab not allowed to influence the government of her son.104 The

100 Tolero week ratio chapters and not follow that, is the niggard praise of Zosimus humself (l. iv. p. 267 [c. 48]). Augustin says, with some happiness of expression, Valentinanum . . . miscrecordistina venerations restaut.

VOL. III.

Valentinanum . . . miscrecordistina veneratione restitut.

Mas Sozoenen, L vii. c. 14. His chronology is very irregular. (She seems to have died just before the defeat of Maximus, Rufinus, Hist. Ecc., ii. 17. Cp. Chron. Gall. (Pseudo-Prosper) 45a, ap. Mommson, Chr. Min. i. p. 648. Otherwise. Zosimus, Iv. 47.

pernicious attachment to the Arian spet, which Valentiniae had imbibed from her example and instructions, was soon erased by the lessons of a more orthodox education. His growing seal for the faith of Nice and his filtal reverence for the character and authority of Ambrose disposed the Catholics to entertain the most favourable opinion of the virtues of the young emperor of the West 160 They applauded his chastity and temperance, his contempt of pleasure, his application to business, and his tender affection for his two sisters; which could not, however, seduce his impartial equity to pronounce an unjust sentence against the meanest of his subjects. But this amiable youth, before he had accomplished the twentieth year of his age, was oppressed by domestic treason; and the empire was again involved in the horrors of a civil was Arbogastes,100 a gallant soldier of the nation of the Franks, held the second rank in the service of Gratian. On the death of his master, he joined the standard of Theodosius; contributed. by his valour and military conduct, to the destruction of the tyrant; and was appointed, after the victory, master-generaof the armies of Gaul. His real merit and apparent fidelity had gained the confidence both of the prince and people; les boundless liberality corrupted the allegiance of the troops and, whilst he was universally esteemed as the pillar of the state, the bold and crafty Barbarian was secretly determined either to rule or to ruin the empire of the West. The important commands of the army were distributed among the Franks the creatures of Arbogastes were promoted to all the honous and offices of the civil government; the progress of the cospiracy removed every faithful servant from the presence of Valentinian; and the emperor, without power and without istelligence, meensibly sunk into the precarious and dependent condition of a captive.107 The indignation which he expressed though it might arise only from the rash and impatient temper of youth, may be candidly ascribed to the generous spint of a

les See Ambrose from, it de Obit. Valentinism c. 15, &c. p. 1178, c. 36 &c. p. 1184). When the young emperor gave in entertainment, be lasted his w. a refused to see an handsone accress, &c. hince he ordered his wild brasts it by lated, it is ingenerous in Philostorgius (l. xi. c. 1) to reproach him with the off-that accomment.

100 Zosemus (I iv. p. 275 [c. 53]) presses the enemy of Theodosous. But its deterted by Socrates 1 v. c. 35) and Orionis (I, vi., c. 35) [Acc. to] = -2 An each (Marker, F. H. G. tv. ir. 187), Arbeignst was son of Bauto and nearest

of Kichomer]

107 (Gregory of Tours (L. i. c. o. p. 165, in the second volume of the Hutoras of Prance) has preserved a cursous fragment of Su jacus Alexander, an Language far more visitable than his zelf.

more who felt that he was not unworthy to reign. He ecretly invited the archbishop of Milan to undertake the fice of a mediator, as the pledge of his sincerity and the rurdian of his safety. He contrived to apprise the emperor of the Fast of his helpless situation; and he declared that, mices Theodosius could speedily march to his assistance, he must attempt to escape from the palace, or rather prison, of senna in Gaul, where he had imprudently fixed his residence a the midst of the hostile faction. But the hopes of relief were distant and doubtful; and, as every day furnished some arm provocation, the emperor, without strength or counsel, hastily resolved to risk an immediate contest with his powerful general. He received Arbogastes on the throne; and, a the count approached with some appearance of respect, delivered to him a paper, which dismissed him from all his caplinyments. "My authority," replied Arbogastes with inulting coolness, "does not depend on the smile, or the frown, of a monarch"; and he contemptuously threw the paper on the ground.168 The indignant monarch snatched at the sword of one of the guards, which he struggled to draw from its scabbard; and it was not without some degree of violence that he was prevented from using the deadly weapon against his enemy, or against himself. A few days after this extraordinary made guarrel, in which he had exposed his resentment and his key is weakness, the unfortunate Valentinian was found strangled in his apartment; and some pains were employed to disguise the manifest guilt of Arbogastes, and to persuade the world that the death of the young emperor had been the voluntary effect of his own despair,100 His body was conducted with decent pomp to the sepulchre of Milan; and the archbishop pronounced a funeral oration, to commemorate his virtue and his misfortunes.119 On this occasion, the humanity of Ambrose tempted him to make a singular breach in his theological system, and to comfort the weeping sisters of Valentinian, by

Me He tore it in bits with his pails, according to John of Antioch, loc. cit] Godefroy (Dissertat ad. Philostorg p 430-434) has diligently collected all ance of contemporary writers prove that it was secret. [Mr. Hodgen discusses the evidence (Italy and her Invaders, i. p. 500, note P), which he thinks does not exclude the hypothesis of smoote, though he agrees that there will probably foul play. The passage in hypothesis, De Meur. 20 (which goes the date) is the

must imperfait superest dess or en eathering recomputers, or larger.)

120 De Obitu Valentinum tom. it. p. 1173 regó. Hels forced to speak a discreet and obscure language, yet be is much bolder than any layman, or perhaps any other occlesiostic, would have derect to be.

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the firm assurance that their pious brother, though he had not received the sacrament of baptism, was introduced, without difficulty, into the mansions of eternal bliss. 111

The prudence of Arbogastes had prepared the success of his ambitious designs; and the provincials, in whose breasts every sentiment of patriotism or loyalty was extinguished, expected, with tame resignation, the unknown master, whom the choice of a Frank might place on the Imperial throne. But some remains of pride and prejudice still opposed the elevation of Arbogastes hunself; and the judicious Barbarian thought it more advisable to reign under the name of some dependent Roman. He bestowed the purple on the rhetorician Eugenius; 112 whom he had already raised from the place of his domestic secretary to the rank of master of the offices. 1120 In the course both of his private and public service, the count had always approved the attachment and abilities of Eugenius; his learning and elequence, supported by the gravity of his manners, recommended him to the esteem of the people; and the reluctance with which he seemed to ascend the throne may inspire a favourable prejudice of his virtue and moderation. The ambassadors of the new emperor were immediately despatched to the court of Theodosius, to communicate, with affected grief, the unfortunate accident of the death of Valentinian; and, without mentioning the name of Arbogastes, to request that the monarch of the Fast would embrace, as his lawful colleague, the respectable eitizen who had obtained the unanimous suffrage of the armies and provinces of the West. 118 Theodosius was justly provoked that the perfidy of a Barbarian should have destroyed, in a moment, the labours and the fruit of his former victory; and he was excited by the tears of his beloved wife 114 to revene the fate of her unhappy brother and once more to assert by

10 See a st p. 1188 (a. 75, p. 1193 Dom-Chardon (Hist, des Sacrement tom L. p. 86), who owns that St. Ambrose in statements maintains the unit from all a necessary of his stary labours to reconcile the contradiction.

the secret are him at to Peganian (Second Let. c. 22. Photograph of the secret are him at to Peganian (Second Let. c. 22. Photograph Constants) or leng the party of the production of the bear of the bear

the first of the form of the strong of the 2 more read to the content of the first of the strong of and intunates that the effection of her nindamid was extreme, but short.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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violated majesty of the throne. But, as the second of the West was a task of difficulty and danger, he with splendid presents and an ambiguous answer, asadors of Eugenius; and almost two years were conthe preparations of the civil war. Before he formed the ive resolution, the pious emperor was anxious to diswill of Heaven; and, as the progress of Christianity eed the oracles of Delphi and Dodona, he consulted tian monk, who possessed, in the opinion of the age, miracles and the knowledge of futurity. Eutropius, a favourite eunuchs of the palace of Constantinople, for Alexandria, from whence he sailed up the Nile as e city of Lycopolis, or of Wolves, in the remote pro-Thebais,115 In the neighbourhood of that city, and on git of a lofty mountain, the holy John 116 had conwith his own hands, an humble cell, in which he had ove fifty years, without opening his door, without a face of a woman, and without tasting any food that prepared by fire or any human art. Five days of the spent in prayer and meditation; but on Saturdays lays he regularly opened a small window, and gave to the crowd of suppliants who successively flowed ry part of the Christian world. The cunuch of Theoproached the window with respectful steps, proposed ions concerning the event of the civil war, and soon with a favourable oracle, which animated the courage mperor by the assurance of a bloody but infallible The accomplishment of the prediction was forby all the means that human prudence could supply. stry of the two master-generals, Stilicho and Timasius, ked to recruit the numbers, and to revive the discipline, oman legions. The formidable troops of Barbarians (ourte May under the ensigns of their national chieftains. The

pais is the modern Sint, or Oxiot, a town of Said, about the size of St. a dr.ves a profitable trade with the kingdom of Sennaar, and his a very

is driver a problable trade with the kingdom of Sennaar, and his a very fromtum, "cujus potu signa virginitatis eripuntar". See D Anville, de I Egypte, p. 181. Abuileda, Descript, Ægypt. p. 14, and the stations, p. 25, 93, of his editor Michaelis, and fishin of I virginitatis described by his two friends, Rufinus (L. 11, c. d. Irabadus (Hist Laus ac. c. 43, p. 735) in Rosweyde's great Collection Patrian, See Acta Sctorum, 27 Mart. 11, 653 494. Tillemont a. tom. x. p. 718, 720 has settled the Chronology.

20, L. vii, c. 22. Chaudian (in Eutrop. L. 1, 312) mentions the cunnels's be most contemptuously derides the Egyptian dreams and the oracles

Iberian, the Arab, and the Goth, who gazed on each other with mutual astonishment, were enlisted in the service of the same prince; and the renowned Alane acquired, in the school of Theodosius, the knowledge of the art of war which he afterwards so fatally exerted for the destruction of Rome, 115

The emperor of the West, or, to speak more properly, his general Arbogastes, was instructed by the misconduct and misfortune of Maximus, how dangerous it might prove to extend the line of defence against a skilful antagonist, who was free to press or to suspend, to contract or to multiply, his various methods of attack. 119 Arbogastes fixed his station on the confines of Italy: the troops of Theodosius were permitted to occupy without resistance the provinces of Pannonia as far as the foot of the Julian Alps; and even the passages of the mountains were negligently, or perhaps artfully, abandoned to the bold invader. He descended from the hills, and beheld, with some astonishment, the formidable camp of the Gauls and Germans that covered with arms and tents the open country which extends to the walls of Aquileia and the banks of the Frigidus, 120 or Cold River, 131 This narrow theatre of the war, circumscribed by the Alps and the Hudriatic, did not allow much room for the operations of military skill; the spirit of Arbogastes would have disdained a pardon; his guilt extinguished the hope of a negotiation; and Theodosius was imputient to satisfy his glory and revenge by the chastisement of the assassins of Valentinian. Without weighing the

[Wipbach]

112 Zostmus, l. iv. p. 280 [c. 57]. Socrates, l. vii. 10. Alane himself (de Beil, Get to. 524) dwells with more complacency on his early exploits against the Romana.

Vet his vanity could scarcely have proved this placethy of flying emperors.

110 (Tudian (in iv. Cons. Honor 77 &c.) contrasts the nultury plans of the two unurpers :

. . Novitas audere priorem Suadebat, cautumque dabant exempla sequentem. His a wa mol is proceeps the quarrere tutus Providus, The fiss; collectis various ille

sturnl and artificial obstacles that opposed his efforts, the operor of the East immediately uttacked the fortifications (2001, 5) this rivals, assigned the post of honourable danger to the raths, and cherished a secret wish that the bloody conflict aight dominish the pride and numbers of the conquerors, en thousand of those auxiliaries, and Bacurius, general of the beruns, died bravely on the field of battle. But the victory ma not purchased by their blood; the Gauls maintained their distribute; and the approach of night protected the disorderly aght, or retreat, of the troops of Theodosum. The emperor rured to the adjacent hills; where he passed a disconsolate aght, without sleep, without provisions, and without hopes; 122 meent that strong assurance which, under the most desperate arcumstances, the independent mind may derive from the containing of fortune and of life. The triumph of Rugenius ves celebrated by the insolent and dissolute joy of his camp; whilst the active and vigilant Arbogastes secretly detached s considerable body of troops, to occupy the passes of the mountuns, and to encompass the rear of the Eastern army. The dawn of day discovered to the eyes of Theodosius the ex-thest ti tent and the extremity of his danger; but his apprehensions were soon dispelled by a friendly message from the leaders of those troops, who expressed their inclination to desert the stanslard of the tyrant. The honourable and lucrative rewards, which they supulated as the price of their perfidy, were granted without hesitation; and, as ink and paper could not casely be procured, the emperor subscribed, on his own tablets, the ratification of the treaty. The spirit of his soldiers was revived by this seasonable reinforcement; and they again marched with confidence, to surprise the camp of a tyrant whose principal officers appeared to distrust either the justice or the success of hus arms. In the heat of the battle, a violent tempest, 130

122 Theodoret afterns that St. John and St. Philip appeared to the waking, or sierce 2 en erre, on his school, Sc. The is the free in encorphysical chivalry, which afterwards became so popular in Spain and in the Crusadex.

18 Le proper, gradis Aquilo de monte procellas (Ara t a trees va us., revolutique te a Vert tin auctores, et turbine reppul t hastas. O amunin d'ecte Deo, cui fand i ab actro Æmis armatas bycmes; cui militas Æther,

Lt con, nat. ven ant delisance vent.

These famous lines of Chadren (in i. Cons. Honor. 93, &c. A is 395) are alleged by I a contemporants. Augustic and Orosius, who suppress the Pagan deris of Acolas, and and a me accumistances from the information of operationses. Within for meet, a siture the nectory, it was compared by Ambrose to the miniculous victories of Moses and Joshua.

such as is often felt among the Alps, suddenly arose from the East. The army of Theodosius was sheltered by their position from the impetuosity of the wind, which blew a cloud of dust in the faces of the enemy, disordered their ranks, wrested their weapons from their hands, and diverted or repelled their ineffectual javelins. This accidental advantage was skilfully improved; the violence of the storm was magnified by the superstitious terrors of the Gauls; and they yielded without shame to the invisible powers of heaven, who seemed to militate on the side of the pious emperor. His victory was decisive; and the deaths of his two rivals were distinguished only by the difference of their characters. The rhetorician Eugenius, who had almost acquired the dominuon of the world, was reduced to implore the mercy of the conqueror; and the unrelenting soldiers separated his head from his body, as he lay prostrate at the feet of Theodosius. Arbogastes, after the loss of a battle in which he had discharged the duties of a soldier and a general, wandered several days among the mountains. But, when he was convinced that his cause was desperate, and his escape impracticable, the in-trepid Barbarian imitated the example of the ancient Romans, and turned his sword against his own breast. The fate of the empire was determined in a narrow corner of Italy, and the legitimate successor of the house of Valentinian embraced the archbishop of Milan, and graciously received the submission of the provinces of the West. Those provinces were involved in the guilt of rebellion; while the inflexible courage of Ambruse alone had resisted the claims of successful usurpation. With a manly freedom, which might have been fatal to any other subject, the archbishop rejected the gifts of Rugenius, declined his correspondence, and withdrew himself from Milan, to avoid the odious presence of a tyrant, whose downfall he predicted in discreet and ambiguous language. The merit of Ambrose was applauded by the conqueror, who secured the attachment of the people by his alliance with the church; and the elemency of Theodosius is ascribed to the humane intercession of the archbishop of Milan. 184

discree

The events of this civil was are gathered from Ambrose (tom. ii. ecfet, left p tons [cp. Ep. 57], Paulinus (in Vit. Ambros. c. 26-34). Augustan ide Civital Des. v. 26), Orossos (l. vii. c. 35), Sosomen (l. vii. c. 24). Theodoret (l. v. c. 24). Zosamus (l. v. p. 26x, 26a [c. 57]). Chaudian (in tii. Com. Hon. 63-105, in v. Cons. Hon. 70-117), and the Chroneles published by Scaliger. [See also Philostory, x. 2; Sociates, v. 25; Victor, Epst., and cp. Seevers, Studens, p. 266 Apr. Cp. Appendix 20.3

After the defeat of Engenius, the merit, as well as the authority, page of of Theodosius was cheerfully acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the Roman world. The experience of his past conduct encouraged the most pleasing expectations of his future reign; and the age of the emperor, which did not exceed lifty years, seemed to extend the prospect of the public felicity. His death, only four months after his victory, was considered by the people as an unforescen and fatal event, which destroyed in a moment the hopes of the rising generation. But the indulgence of ease and luxury had secretly nourished the principles of discase. 139 The strength of Theodosius was unable to support the sudden and violent transition from the palace to the camp: and the increasing symptoms of a dropsy announced the speedy desolution of the emperor. The opinion, and perhaps the interest, of the public had confirmed the division of the Eastern and Western empires; and the two royal youths, Arcadius and [4 Honorius, who had already obtained, from the tenderness of their father, the title of Augustus, were destined to fill the thrones of Constantinople and of Rome. Those princes were not permitted to share the danger and glory of the civil war; 136 but, as soon as Theodosius had tnumphed over his unworthy avals, he called his younger son Honorius to enjoy the fruits of the victory and to receive the sceptre of the West from the hands of his dying father. The arrival of Honorius at Milan vas welcomed by a splendid exhibition of the games of the Circus; and the emperor, though he was oppressed by the weight of his disorder, contributed by his presence to the public joy. But the remains of his strength were exhausted by the painful effort which he made to assist at the spectacles of the morning. Hononas supplied, during the rest of the day, the place of his father; and the great Theodosius expired in the ensuing night, Notwithstanding the recent animosities of a civil war, his death was universally lamented. The Barbanans, whom he had vanquished, and the churchmen, by whom he had been subdued, celebrated with loud and sincere applause, the qualities of the deceased emperor which appeared the most valuable in their eyes. The Romans were terrified by the impending dangers of a

This disease, ascribed by Socrates (t. v. c. s6) to the fatigues of war, is represented by Philosotorguss (t. zi. c. z. as the effect of sloth and intemperance; for
which Photous calls but an impodent har (Gordefrov, Drewn, p. 438)

"Zeamss supposes that the boy Honorius accompanied his father (t. lv. p.
"Described by Yet the quanto flagradant perform voto, is all that flattery would

sllow to a contemporary poet; who clearly describes the emperor's refusal and the current of Honorus, after the victory (Chaptian in a). Cons. 78-125).

feeble and divided administration; and every disgraceful moment of the unfortunate reigns of Arcadus and Honorus revived the

memory of their irreparable loss.

Correption o

In the faithful picture of the virtues of Theodosius, his imperfections have not been desembled; the act of crucity, and the habits of indolence, which tarnished the glory of one of the greatest of the Roman princes. An historian, perpetually solverse to the fame of Theodosius, has exaggerated his vices and their pernicious effects; he boldly asserts that every rank of subjects imitated the effeminate manners of their sovereign; that every species of corruption polluted the course of public and private life; and that the feeble restraints of order and decency were insufficient to resist the progress of that degenerate spirit which eachfices, without a blush, the consideration of duty and interest to the base indulgence of sloth and appetite.157 The complaints of contemporary writers, who deplore the increase of luxury and depravation of manners, are commonly expressive of their peculiar temper and situation. There are few observers who possess a clear and comprehensive view of the revolutions of society; and who are capable of discovering the nice and secret springs of action which impel, in the same uniform direction, the blind and capricious passions of a multitude of individuals. If it can be affirmed, with any degree of truth, that the luxury of the Romans was more shameless and dissolute in the reign of Theodosius than in the age of Constantine, perhaps, or of Augustus, the alteration cannot be ascribed to any beneficial improvements, which had gradually increased the stock of national riches. A long period of calamity or decay must have checked the industry, and diminished the wealth, of the people; and their profuse luxury must have been the result of that indolent despair which enjoys the present hour and declines the thoughts of futurity. The uncertain condition of their property discouraged the subjects of Theodosius from engaging in those useful and laborious undertakings which require an immediate expense and promise a slow and distant advantage. The frequent examples of run and desolution tempted them not to spare the remains of a patrimony which might, every hour, become the prey of the rapacious Goth. And the mad prodigality which prevails in the confusion of a shipwreck or a siege may serve to explain the progress of luxury amidst the misfortunes and terrors of a sinking nation.

The effeminate luxury which infected the manners of courts to late and cities had instilled a secret and destructive poison into the camps of the legions; and their degeneracy has been marked by the pen of a military writer who had accurately studied the genuine and ancient principles of Roman discipline. It is the just and important observation of Vegetius that the infantry was invariably covered with defensive armour, from the foundation of the city to the reign of the emperor Gratian. The relaxation of discipline and the disuse of exercise rendered the soldiers less able, and less willing, to support the fatigues of the service; they complained of the weight of the armour, which they seldom wore; and they successfully obtained the permission of laying aside both their cuirusses and their belinets. The heavy weapons of their ancestors, the short sword and the formidable pilum, which had subdued the world, insensibly dropped from their feeble hands. As the use of the shield is incompatible with that of the bow, they reluctantly marched into the field; condemned to suffer either the pain of wounds or the ignominy of flight, and always disposed to prefer the The cavalry of the Goths, the more shameful alternative. Huns and the Alani had felt the benefits, and adopted the use, of defensive armour; and, as they excelled in the management of missile weapons, they easily overwhelmed the naked and trembling legions, whose heads and breasts were exposed, without defence, to the arrows of the Barbarians. The loss of armies, the destruction of cities, and the dishonour of the Roman name ineffectually solicited the successors of Gratian to restore the helmets and cuirasses of the infantry. The enervated soldiers abandoned their own and the public defence; and their pusillammous indolence may be considered as the immediate cause of the downfall of the empire.128

Vegetius, de Re Militari, i. 1. 9 ro. The series of calumities which he marks compel at to believe that the Hero to whom he dedicates his book is the List and most inglorious of the Valentinans. [This view is maintained by O. Seeck (Bernes, 11, 61 199), who contests the usual identification with Theodosius I. Theodosius I. Theodosius I. has also bren conjectured. The minor limit for the date of the Fricane res Militarii is A.D. 450 (determined by the entry in some Mss.; Fl. Futropaus emendars sinc exemplatio Constantinopolim Valentiniano Aug vii et Al can). The work is by no means critical or trustworthy. Cp. Forster, de fide Vegetis, 1879.]

CHAPTER XXVIII

Final Destruction of Paganism-Introduction of the Worship of Saints, and Relics, among the Christians.

THE ruin of Paganism,1 in the age of Theodosius, is perhaps the only example of the total extirpation of any ancient and popular superstition; and may therefore deserve to be considered as a singular event in the history of the human mind. Christians, more especially the clergy, had impatiently supported the prudent delays of Constantine and the equal toleration of the elder Valentinian; nor could they deem their conquest perfect or secure, as long as their adversaries were permitted to exist. The influence which Ambrose and his brethren had acquired over the youth of Gratian and the piety of Theodosius was employed to infuse the maxims of persecution into the breasts of their Imperial proselytes. Two specious principles of religious jurisprudence were established, from whence they deduced a direct and rigorous conclusion against the subjects of the empire who still adhered to the ceremonics of their ancestors: that the magistrate is, in some measure, guilty of the crimes which he neglects to prohibit or to punish; and, that the idolatrous worship of fabulous deities and real damons is the most abominable crime against the supreme majesty of the Creator. The laws of Moses and the examples of Jewish history 2 were hastily, perhaps erroneously, applied by the clergy to the mild and universal reign of Christianity.8 The seal of the emperors was excited to

¹ [Beugnot, Histoire de la déstruction du paganisme, 1835 ; Chassel, Hast de la déstr. du pag. dans l'empire d'orient, 1850 ; Lisaulz, Der Untergang des Hellens-

destr. du pag. dans l'empire d'orient, 1850; Lissulis, Der Untergang des Hellensmus, 1854; G. Boissier, La fin du paganisme (2 vols.), 1801

St. Ambrose (tom. a. de Obd. Theodos, p. 1208) expressly praises and iscommends the real of Josiah in the destruction of idolatry. The language of lulius Firmicus Materius on the same subject (de France Profan, Reig p. 467, edit. Geonov.) is piously mhuman. Nee filio jubet (the Mosaic Law) parci, nee frath, et per amaiam conjugem gladium vindicem ducit, &c.

Shayle (tom. u. p. 406, in his Commentaire Philosophaque) justifies and limits these intolerant laws by the temporal reign of Jehovah over the Jows. The attempt

is laudable.

vindicate their own honour, and that of the Deity; and the temples of the Roman world were subverted, about sixty years after the conversion of Constantine.

From the age of Numa to the reign of Gratian the Romans at preserved the regular succession of the several colleges of the sacerdotal order. Fifteen Powriers exercised their supreme jurisdiction over all things and persons that were consecrated to the service of the gods; and the various questions which perpetually arose in a loose and traditionary system were submitted to the judgment of their boly tribunal. Fifteen grave and learned Acoust observed the face of the heavens, and prescribed the actions of heroes, according to the flight of birds. Fifteen keepers of the Sybilline books (their name of Quindecravirs was derived from their number) occasionally consulted the history of future, and as it should seem, of contingent, events. Six VESTALS devoted their virginity to the guard of the sacred fire and of the unknown pledges of the duration of Rome; which no mortal had been suffered to behold with impunity.3 Seven Erusos of prepared the table of the gods, conducted the solemn procession, and regulated the ceremonies of the annual festival. The three FLAMENS of Jupiter, of Mars, and of Quirinus, were considered as the peculiar ministers of the three most powerful deities who watched over the fate of Rome and of the universe. The Kino of the Sacrifices represented the person of Numa, and of his successors, in the religious functions which could be performed only by royal hands. The confraternities of the Sallans, the Luvencais, &c., practised such rites as might extort a smile of contempt from every reasonable man, with a lively confidence of recommending themselves to the favour of the immortal gods. The authority

4 See the outlines of the Roman hierarchy in (Sorro (de Legibus, ii. 7, 8), Livy (L. 30), Dicorsius Halicarnassensis (l. u. p. 119-120, edit Hudson), Beaufort (République Romane, tom. 1, p. 1-90), and Moyle (vol. 1, p. 10-55). The last is the week of an English Whig, as well as of a Roman antiquity. [The number of Peetiffs and August first reached fifteen in the time of Sulla. A sixteenth Augus was added by Julius Cassar. The emperor (after A. D. 29) had power to create additional Angus.

additional Angura.]

These mystic and perhaps imaginary symbols have given birth to various fables and conjectures. It were probable that the Palladium was a small status (three cubits and a half high) of Minerva, with a lance and distaff, that it was usually an analysis and a half high) of Minerva, with a lance larged law stages the utassed to disincluded in a series, or burrel, and that a similar burrel was placed by its side to disconsert curiosity or secreticge. See Mezeriae (Comment, sur les Epitres d'Orde, tom , p. 60-66 and Lipsius (tom , ii. p. 610, de Vestà, &c. c. 10).

[Cp. Lucan, i. 602. The Epulo was called September epulomen]

[In the later Republic there were also a number of minor Flamens; in all

Efforn For some of the names, see Varro, L. L. vii. 44.

which the Roman priests had formerly obtained in the counsels of the republic was gradually abolished by the establishment of monarchy and the removal of the seat of empire. But the dignity of their sacred character was still protected by the laws and manners of their country; and they still continued, more especially the college of pontiffs, to exercise in the capital, and sometimes in the provinces, the rights of their ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction. Their robes of purple, chariots of state, and sumptuous entertainments attracted the admiration of the people; and they received, from the consecrated lands and the public revenue, an ample stipend, which liberally supported the splendour of the priesthood and all the expenses of the religious worship of the state. As the service of the altar was not incompatible with the command of armies, the Romans, after their consulships and triumphs, aspired to the place of pontiff or of augur; the scats of Ciceros and Pompey were filled, in the fourth century, by the most illustrious members of the senate; and the dignity of their birth reflected additional aplendour on their sacerdotal character. The fifteen priests who composed the college of pontiffs enjoyed a more distinguished rank as the companions of their sovereign; and the Christian emperors condescended to accept the robe and ensigns which were appropriated to the office of supreme poutiff. But, when Gratian ascended the throne, more scrupulous, or more enlightened, he sternly rejected those profane symbols; (s. a.n. ron applied to the service of the state, or of the church, the revenues of the priests and vestals; abolished their honours and immunities; and dissolved the ancient fabric of Roman superstition, which was supported by the opinions and habits of eleven hundred years. 10 Paganism was still the constitutional religion of the senate. The hall, or temple, in which they assembled, was adorned by the statue and altar of Victory; in a majestic female standing on a globe, with flowing garments, expanded wings, and a crown of laurel in her outstretched

is proud to trend in the locasteps of Coero (I. iv. epist. 6), and the chain of trad uca might be continued from history and mattles.

Aminus. I. iv. p. 249, 250 iv. 30]. I have suppressed the foolish pun about a Postafor and Masseure (p. Hedgain, t. 200. For postable date (275 a B.) ***

**Meaninsen, Statistecht, of p. 1106. In an inser of 370 a D. Gratism is Post. **

**Meaninsen, Statistecht, of p. 1106. In an inser of 370 a D. Gratism is Post. **

**L. iv. 1175.]

**Compute C. I. L. 0, 749, natra facit sumprusque twos nec Rossa required in This static was transported from Tarrature to Rossa required in the facility of the continue to Rossa required in the facility of the continue to Rossa required from Tarrature to Rossa required in the facility of the continue to Rossa required from Tarrature to Rossa required in the facility of the continue to Rossa required from Tarrature to Rossa required in the facility of the continue to the facility of the continue to the cont

[&]quot;Cicero frankly (ad Atticum, I. ii. epist. 5) or indirectly (ad Familiar, I. iv. epot. 4 confesses, that the Augurate is the supreme object of his wishes. Plan is proud to trend in the feetsteps of Coero il. iv. epist. 8), and the chain of

¹³ This statue was transported from Tarentian to Reene placed in the Curac-/w/ss by Career, and decorated by Augustus with the spoils of hgipt.

hand.12 The senators were sworn on the altar of the goddens to observe the laws of the emperor and of the empire; and a solemn offenng of wine and meense was the ordinary prelude of their public deliberations.15 The removal of this ancient monument was the only injury which Constantius had offered (A.B. an) to the superstition of the Romans. The altar of Victory was again restored by Julian, tolerated by Valentinian, and once [A.D. 2004] more banished from the senate by the zeal of Gratian.14 But (a.p. an) the emperor yet spared the statues of the gods, which were exposed to the public veneration; four hundred and twenty-four temples, or chapels, still remained to satisfy the devotion of the people; and in every quarter of Rome the delicacy of the Christians was offended by the fumes of idolatrous sacrifice.15

But the Christians formed the least numerous party in the Petition of the senate for senate of Rome; 16 and it was only by their absence that they the alar of Titlery could express their dissent from the legal, though profane, AD in acts of a Pagan majority. In that assembly, the dying embers of freedom were, for a moment, revived and inflamed by the breath of fanaticism. Four respectable deputations were succeasively voted to the Imperial court 17 to represent the grievances of the priesthood and the senate; and to solicit the restoration of the altar of Victory. The conduct of this important business was entrusted to the eloquent Symmachus,15 a wealthy and noble scuator, who united the sacred characters of pontiff and augur with the civil dignities of proconsul of Africa and prefect of the city. The breast of Symmachus was annuated

13 Priadentius (fin Symm.) l. ii, in initio) has drawn a very awkward poetrast of Victory; but the curious reader will obtain more satisfaction from Montfiguon's

Armuster from 1 p. 341).

2 x Sections in August, c, 33 and the Exerdium of Pliny's Panegyric. 14 These facts are mutually abowed by the two advocates, Symmachus and

Azolin, at 15 The Novicia Urbas, more recent than Constantine, does not find one Christian 15 The Novicia Urbas, more recent than Constantine, does not find one Christian church worthy to be named among the editions of the gits. Ambrose (* on it gast xw. p. 825) deplaces the public mainfuls of Rome, which continually offended the even the cars and the nostrus of the fact fol.

**Manhane repeatedly affirms, in contradiction to common sense (Moyle's Works, vol. 1). 1421 that the Christians had a majority in the wenate.

If the dest (A D. 352) to Gratian, who refused them andience. The second is P. 381 to Valentinan, when the field was disjusted by Symmuchus and Anterose. The taxed (A.D. 388 iso Guldenpenumg, p. 172 (A.D. 388-9); but being it in m. 397, Changed Symmuch in M. G. H. Auct. Art. vi. p. 1921 (A.D. 398) to Theodosyna, and the fairth (A.D. 392) (Anterose, ep. 37) to Valentinan. Lardner (Heathen Testamonies, vol. iv. p. 200 of the art of the received in the fairth (A.D. 392).

We re, fairly represents the whole transmission. if you muchus, who was avested with all the civil and sacerdotal bonours, represented the emperor under the two characters of Panisfex Maximas and Permets Seaster. See the proud inscription at the head of his works.

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by the warmest real for the cause of expiring Paganism; and his religious antagonists lamented the abuse of his genius, and the inefficacy of his moral virtues. 19 The orator, whose petition is extant to the emperor Valentinian, was consecus of the difficulty and danger of the office which he had assumed. He cautiously avoids every topic which might appear to reflect on the religion of his sovereign; humbly declares that prayers and entreaties are his only arms; and artfully draws his arguments from the schools of rhetoric rather than from those of philosophy. Symmachus endeavours to seduce the imagination of a young prince, by displaying the attributes of the goddess of victory; he insinuates that the confiscation of the revenues. which were consecrated to the service of the gods, was a measure unworthy of his liberal and disinterested character; and he maintains that the Roman sacrifices would be deprived of their force and energy, if they were no longer celebrated at the expense, as well as in the name, of the republic. Even scepticism is made to supply an apology for superstition. The great and incomprehensible secret of the universe eludes the enquiry of man. Where reason cannot instruct, custom may be permitted to guide; and every nation seems to consult the dictates of prudence by a faithful attachment to those rites and opinions which have received the sanction of ages. If those ages have been crowned with glory and prospenty. if the devout people has frequently obtained the blessings which they have solicited at the altars of the gods, it must appear still more advisable to persust in the same salutary practice; and not to risk the unknown perils that may attend any rash innovations. The test of antiquity and success was applied with angular advantage to the religion of Numa; and Ross herself, the celestial genius that presided over the fates of the city, is introduced by the orator to plead her own cause before the tribunal of the emperors. "Most excellent princes," says the venerable matron, "fathers of your country! pity and respect my age, which has hitherto flowed in an uninterrupted course of picty. Since I do not repent, permit me to continue in the practice of my ancient rites. Since I am born free, allow me to enjoy my domestic institutions. This religion

¹⁹ As if any one, says Prudentius (in Symmach i 650), should dig in the mudwith an instrument of gold and ivory. Even saints, and poleniar saints, treat this adversary with respect and civility. One of the chief piges Senators was Flavance. Prest, Freel. of Italy. There is extant a virulent attack on him of unknown authorship printed in the Revue Archéologique, 1868, June. Cp. Monamen, in Hermen, vol. 4, 1870, p. 350 app.]

has reduced the world under my laws. These rites have repelled Hannibal from the city, and the Gaula from the capitol. Were my grey hairs reserved for such intolerable disgrace? I un ignorant to of the new system that I am required to adopt; but am well assured that the correction of old age is always an ingrateful and ignominious office." 21 The fears of the people supplied what the discretion of the orator had suppressed; and the calamities which afflicted, or threatened, the declining empire were unanimously imputed, by the Pagans, to the new

religion of Christ and of Constantine.

But the hopes of Symmachus were repeatedly baffled by the firm and dexterous opposition of the archbishop of Milan; who fortified the emperors against the fallacious eloquence of the convenien of selvocate of Rome. In this controversy, Ambrose condescends An in ac. to speak the language of a philosopher, and to ask, with some contempt, why it should be thought necessary to introduce an maginary and invisible power, as the cause of those victories which were sufficiently explained by the valour and discipline of the legions? He justly dendes the absurd reverence for intiquity which could only tend to discourage the improvements of art and to replunge the human race into their jonginal bartmrism. From thence gradually rising to a more lofty and theological tone, he pronounces that Christianity alone is the doctrine of truth and salvation, and that every mode of Polytheism conducts its deluded votames, through the paths of error, to the abyss of eternal perdition.21 Arguments like these, when they were suggested by a favourite bishop, had cower to prevent the restoration of the altar of Victory; but the same arguments fell, with much more energy and effect, from the mouth of a conqueror; and the gods of antiquity

[&]quot; [Vistero.]

See the fifty-fourth epistle of the tenth book of Symmachus [= x iii. ed. Seeck]. the form and disposition of his ten books of epistles, he instated the younger First, whose nets and florid style he was supposed by his friends, to equal or the Macrob. Saturnal, I s. c. 11. But the luxurancy of Symmachus consists of the Macrob. Saturnal, I should be supposed the second style of the second style of the second seco caments, can be extracted from his verbose correspondence.

The former of these series is a short caution; the latter is a formal reply to the petition or libel of the series is a short caution; the latter is a formal reply to the petition or libel of the same ideas are more copiously expressed in the poetry, if it thus the same losts are more copiously expressed in the pocker, a it is thus (A.D. 404) while that Senator was still alive. It is whirasked enough the biotectomen (consolerations, &c. c. are torn in p. 487) should overlook the information of antagor sis of Symmathias, and amuse limited with descenting on their terre tensore and addrect confutations of Orosius, St. Augustin, and Salvan.

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[A.D. 200]

were dragged in triumph at the chariot-wheels of Theodosius.22 in a full meeting of the senate, the emperor proposed, according to the forms of the republic, the important question. Whether the worship of Jupiter or that of Christ should be the religion of the Romans? 26 The liberty of suffrages, which he affected to allow, was destroyed by the hopes and fears that his presence inspired; and the arbitrary exile of Symmachus was a recent admonition that it might be dangerous to oppose the wishes of the monarch On a regular division of the senate, Juniter was condemned and degraded by the sense of a very large majority; and it is rather surprising that any members should be found bold enough to declare by their speeches and votes that they were still attached to the interest of an abdicated deity.25 The hasty conversion of the senate must be attributed either to supernatural or to sordid motives; and many of these reluctant proselytes betrayed, on every favourable occasion, their secret disposition to throw aside the mask of odious dissimulation. But they were gradually fixed in the new religion, as the cause of the ancient became more hopeless. they yielded to the authority of the emperor, to the fashion of the times, and to the entreaties of their wives and children." who were instigated and governed by the clergy of Rome and the monks of the East. The edifying example of the Anician family was soon imitated by the rest of the nobility the Bass. the Paulini, the Gracchi, embraced the Christian religion; and "the luminanes of the world, the venerable assembly of Cates (such are the high-flown expressions of Prudentius), were impatient to strip themselves of their pontifical garment; to cast

³⁶ [This can hard y be inferred from the lines of Prodeoton.]
³⁶ Prodeotous after peoring that the sense of the sensee is dockared by a logic majority, proceeds to say thou, &c. 1

Adspice quam p'eno subsella nostra benasu Decemant méame Jons polymar et como Idebum longe purgati en urbe fuganetum. Qua vocat egrege sententa Principa. Inc.

Libera cum ped bus turn corde, frequentia transu. Zonnus ascribes to the conscript fathers an heatherish courage, which less b

them are found to possess.

Peron specifies the postiff Albians who was surrounded with such a behind family of children and grand children as would have been sufficient to operation. Jupiter himself; an extraordinary prosetyte from and Lettum, p. C. service? the reading of the Mes.; and the correction forces a unwarranted. En 185 Magne, Hieron, p. 2008[h.

The Production (in Symenach, i. e. 545, Sec.). The Christian agrees with the Pagan Zosamas (i. iv. p. 263 (c. 50)) in placing this risk of Theories, is after the second civil war, germin his sector corde Tyranni (i. i. 410). But the time and carcinistances are better suited to his best triumph.

the skin of the old serpent; to assume the snowy robes of haptismal innocence; and to humble the pride of the consular fasces before the tombs of the martyrs". The citizens, who subsisted by their own industry, and the populace, who were supported by the public liberality, filled the churches of the Lateran and Vatican with an incessant throng of devout proselytes. The decrees of the senate, which prescribed the worship of idols, were ratified by the general consent of the Romans;25 the splendour of the capitol was defaced, and the solitary temples were abandoned to ruin and contempt.29 Rome submitted to the yoke of the Gospel; and the vanquished provinces had not yet lost their reverence for the name and authority of Rome.

The filial picty of the emperors themselves engaged them to purposed, with some caution and tenderness, in the reformation is a of the eternal city. Those absolute monarchs acted with less 20 m, 40 regard to the prejudices of the provincials. The pious labour, which had been suspended near twenty years since the death of Constantius, 30 was vigorously resumed, and finally accomplished, by the zeal of Theodosius. Whilst that warlike prince yet struggled with the Goths, not for the glory, but for the safety, of the republic, he ventured to offend a considerable party of his subjects, by some acts which might perhaps secure the protection of Heaven, but which must seem rash and unseasonable in the eye of human prudence. The success of his first experiments against the Pagans encouraged the pious emperor to resterate and enforce his edicts of proscription; the same laws which had been originally published in the provinces of the fast were applied, after the defeat of Maximus, to the whole extent of the Western empire; and every victory of the

> 77 Exsultare Patres videas, pulcherrinia mundi Lumina; concilamque senum gestire Catonum Candidiore togs a veum pietat annictum

Sumere, et exuvus depenere pout findes.

The large of Prudentius is warmed and elevated by victory.

Prudent us after he has described the conversion of the senate and people, Wes with some truth and confidence,

Et deb tamus adhuc Romam, tibi, Christe, dicatam In leges transisse tuns?

* from exults in the desolution of the capitol, and the other temples of Rome

** In St [ep. 107], tom a p. 95]

**I. hazara Orat pro Templia, p. 10, Genev. 1634, published by James Gode
**Total new catternely scarce) accuses Valentia an and Valens of prohibiting

**Some partial order may have been usued by the Eastern emperor; but water of any general law is contradicted by the silence of the Code and the

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orthodox Theodosius contributed to the triumph of the Christian and Catholic faith. He attacked superstition in her most vital part by prohibiting the use of sacrifices, which he declared to be criminal as well as infamous; and, if the terms of his edicts more strictly condemned the improus curiosity which examined the entruls of the victims, at every subsequent explanation tended to involve, in the same guilt, the general practice of immolation, which essentially constituted the religion of the Pagans. As the temples had been erected for the nurnose of sacrifice, it was the duty of a benevolent prince to remove from his subjects the dangerous temptation of offending against the laws which he had enacted. A special commission was granted to Cynegius, the Pretorian prefect of the East, and afterwards to the counts Jovius and Gaudentius, two officers of distinguished rank in the West; by which they were directed to shut the temples, to seize or destroy the instruments of idolatry, to abolish the privileges of the priests, and to confiscate the consecrated property for the benefit of the emperor, of the church, or of the army.10 Here the desolation might have stopped, and the naked edifices, which were no longer employed in the service of idolatry, might have been protected from the destructive rage of fanaticism. Many of those temples were the most splendid and beautiful monuments of Greena architecture; and the emperor himself was interested not to deface the splendour of his own cities or to diminish the value of his own possessions. Those stately edifices might be suffered to remain as so many lasting trophies of the victory of Christ. In the decline of the arts, they might be usefully converted into magazines, manufactures, or places of public assembly; and perhaps, when the walls of the temple had been sufficiently purified by holy rites, the worship of the true Deity might be allowed to explate the ancient guilt of idolatry. But, as long as they subsisted, the Pagans fondly cherished the secret hope that an auspicious revolution, a second Julian, might again restore the alters of the gods; and the earnestness with which

41 See his laws in the Theodonian Code, I. xvu tit, x leg: 7-rs

M Homer's sarrifees are not accompanied with any oquistion of entrails yet. Forthus, Antiquital Homer I. i. c. 10, 16). The Fuscans, who produced the left Harmpices, subdued both the Greeks and the Romans (Cioero de Divinations, it, 22).

it. 231

2 Zonnius, I. iv. p. 245, 249 [c. 37]. Theodoret, i. v. c. 21. Idithus in Care.

Prosper Aquitan [De promission bus et peredictionalus Des] I. a. c. 36 a.sef.

Bar our Annal, Eccles A.D. 489, No. 42. Librarius (pro Temples p. 10)

labours to prove that the commands of Theodosius were not direct and positive.

they addressed their unavailing prayers to the throne 34 increased the seal of the Christian reformers to extirpate, without mercy, the root of superstition. The laws of the emperors exhibit some symptoms of a milder disposition; 35 but their cold and languid efforts were insufficient to stem the torrent of enthusiasin and rapme, which was conducted, or rather impelled, by the spiritual rulers of the church. In Gaul, the holy Martin, bishop of Tours, to marched at the head of his faithful monks, to destroy the idols, the temples, and the consecrated trees of his extensive diocese; and in the execution of this arduous task, the prudent reader will judge whether Martin was supported by the aid of miraculous powers or of carnal weapons. In Syria, the divine and excellent Marcellus, " as he is styled by Theodoret, a bishop animated with apostolic fervour, resolved to level with the ground the stately temples within the diocese of Apames. His attack was resisted by the skill and solidity with which the temple of Jupiter had been constructed. The building was seated on an eminence; on each of the four sides, the lofty roof was supported by fifteen massy columns, sixteen feet in escumference; and the large stones, of which they were composed, were firmly cemented with lead and iron. force of the strongest and sharpest tools had been tried without effect. It was found necessary to undermine the foundations of the columns, which fell down as soon as the temporary wooden props had been consumed with fire; and the difficulties of the enterprise are described under the allegory of a black demon, who retarded, though he could not defeat, the operations of the Christian engineers. Elated with victory, Marcellus work the field in person against the powers of darkness; a numerous troop of soldiers and gladiators marched under the emscopal hanner, and the successively attacked the villages and

MCod. Theodos, l. xvi. tit. x. leg 8, z8. There is room to believe that this temper of lidesca, which Theodosius wished to save for civil uses, was soon afterstrik a brap of rums (Letannas pro Templas, p. 26, 27, and Godefroy's notes, p.

See this curious oration of Libanius pro Templis, pronounced, or rather emposed about the year 350. I have consulted, with advantage, Dr Lardner's reservant res, who is the test monies, vol iv p. 135 163). [ever ris states or xxv. Rinske, it is, 45, composed between 38s (Cod. Th. xvi. 10, 9, ep. 163, &c. 1 and 391 (Cod. Th. xvi. 10, 10, ep. 14h. 180, 183). But 388 may be be reflired up. Secreta, Das Leben des Labanius, p. 192.]

See the life of Mirrin Lev Suprana Servina, c. 9 14. The sunt once mistook is Quarante in glit have done an harmless functal for an idoastrous procession, and the communitied a juriable.

¹³¹ market ty committed a muracle

service Sozomen (I v c 15) with Theodoret (l. v. c. 21). Between them, bey seming the crutade and death of blarcellus,

the diocese of Apamea, Whenever any a manger was apprehended, the champion of the atu, where moreness would not allow him either to fight or hanger hanger at a convenient distance, beyond the reach sees. But the prudence was the occasion of his death; be and slain by a body of exasperated rustics; and the province pronounced, without hesitation, that to but Marcellus had sacrificed his life in the cause of God. In in apport of this cause, the monks, who rushed with tumult was any from the desert, distinguished themselves by their tour and diligence. They deserved the enmity of the Pagans; and water of them might deserve the represents of avance and discusperance; of avance, which they gratified with holy plunder, and of intemperance, which they indulged at the expense of the people, who foolishly admired their tattered garments, load psalanody, and artificial paleness. 35 A small number of temples was protected by the fears, the venality, the taste, or the prudence, of the civil and ecclesiastical governors. The temple of the celestial Venus at Carthage, whose sacred precincts formed a circumference of two miles, was judiciously converted into a Christian church; 39 and a similar consecration has preserved inviolate the majestic dome of the Pantheon at Rome." But, in almost every province of the Roman world, an army of fanatics, without authority and without discipline, invaded the peaceful inhabitants; and the run of the fairest structures of antiquity still displays the ravages of those Barbarians, who alone had time and inclination to execute such laborious destruction.

In this wide and various prospect of devastation, the spectator may distinguish the runs of the temple of Serapis, at Alex andria. 4 Serapis does not appear to have been one of the native gods, or monsters, who sprung from the fruitful soil of super-

"I haven pro Templis, p. 10-13. He mils at these black garbed mez the Chestian membs, who est more than elephants. Pour elephants' they are

temperate an malk

Thosper Apartan I in c. 38 apod Baronium, Annal Eccles A. D. 389 Na

55, Xc. The temple had been shin some time, and the access to 4 was overgrown

with becombined.

**Homeout Review Antique et Nove, Living 4, p. 468. This consequences and perfect of the favourable consequences. which had preserved the Pantheon above two hundred years after the regard Thomas

" Sout rounts composed a recent and separate history Herom, in Script Rocktom p. 200 which had furnished neutrials to Sociates (i. v. c. 16). Therefore a c. 21 and Red Social a c. 200. Yet the last who had been in Accounting furn and after the event, may describe credit of an original matter. statious Egypt.42 The first of the Ptolemies had been commanded, by a dream, to import the mysterious stranger from the coast of Pontus, where he had been long adored by the inhabitants of Smope; but his attributes and his reign were so unperfectly understood that it became a subject of dispute. whether he represented the bright orb of day or the gloomy monarch of the subterraneous regions. 43 The Egyptums, who were obstinately devoted to the religion of their fathers, refused to admit this foreign derty within the walls of their cities.44 But the obsequious priests, who were seduced by the liberality of the Ptolemics, submitted, without resistance, to the power of the god of Pontus; an honourable and domestic genealogy was provided; and this fortunate usurper was introduced into the throne and bed of Osiris,45 the husband of Isis, and the celestial monarch of Egypt. Alexandria, which claimed his peculiar protection, gloried in the name of the city of Scrapis. His temple,46 which rivalled the pride and magnificence of the capitol, was creeted on the spacious summit of an artificial mount, raised one hundred steps above the level of the adjacent parts of the city; and the interior cavity was strongly supported by arches, and distributed into vaults and subterrancous apartments. The consecrated buildings were surrounded by a quadrangular portico; the stately halls, and exquisite statues, displayed the triumph of the arts; and the treasures of ancient learning were preserved in the famous Alexandrian library, which had ansen with new splendour from its sabes.47

Gerard Vossius (Opera, tom. v. p. 80, and de Idololatria, l. l. c. 20) stores to support the strange notion of the Fathers, that the patriarch Joseph was adored in harpt as the bull Apis and the god Serapis

a O go de nondum nostris celebrata. Agyptiorum antistites me memorant, ac. Tacit. Hist iv. 33. The Greeks, who bud travelled into Egypt, were alike ignorant of this new deity. [Cp. Mahaffy Empire of the Ptolemes, p. 72-74.]

Macrobius, Saturnal. L. c. 7. Such a living fact decisively proves his

foreign extraction.

At Rome Isis and Scrapis were united in the same temple. The precedency **At Rome is and Serapis were united in the same temple. The precedency which the quien assumed may seem to betray her unequal alliance with the stranger of Fontus. But the superiority of the female sex was established in larger as a civil and religious institution (Dodor Sieul, tom i. l. r., p. 3r, edit. Wesseling) and the same order is observed in Plutarch's Treasse of law and Oliver, whom he identifies with Serapis.

**Ammanias (xxii, r6). The Expositio totius Mundi (p. 8, in Hodson's Geograph Minor tom in) and Ruffinus (l. u. c. 22) celebrate the Serapism, as one of the wonders of the world.

**Sev Mémories de l'Acad des Inscriptions, iom, ix. p. 397-416. The old thraity of the Prolemies was Avoilly consumed in Creass's Alexandrian war. Marc Ant ony wave the whole collection of Personnus (200-000 volumes) to Cleopatra, as

Antony gave the whole collection of Pergunus (200,000 volumes) to Cleopatra, as the foundation of the new library of Alexandria. See Appendix 12.1

After the edicts of Theodosius had severely prohibited the sacrifices of the Pagans, they were still tolerated in the city and temple of Seraps; and this singular indulgence was imprudently ascribed to the superstitious terrors of the Christians themselves; as if they had feared to aboush those ancient rites which could alone secure the inundations of the Nile, the harvests of Egypt, and the subsistence of Constantinople 40

At that time of the archiephropai the perpetual enemy of peace and a mean filled by Theophilus, the perpetual enemy of peace and virtue; a bold, bad man, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold and with blood. His pions indignation was excited by the honours of Serapis; and the insults which he offered to an ancient chapel of Bacchus 51 convinced the Pagans that he meditated a more important and dangerous enterprise. In the tumultuous capital of Egypt, the slightest provocation was sufficient to inflame a civil war. The votaries of Scraps, whose strength and numbers were much inferior to those of their antagonists, rose in arms at the instigation of the philosopher Olympius, 51 who exhorted them to die in the defence of the altars of the gods. These Pagan fanatics fortified themselves in the temple, or rather fortress, of Sempis; repelled the besiegers by daring sallies and a resolute defence; and, by the inhuman cruelties which they exercised on their Christian prisoners, obtained the last consolation of despair. The efforts of the prudent magistrate were usefully exerted for the establishment of a truce till the unswer of Theodosius should determine the fate of Scrapis. The two parties assembled, without arms, in the principal square; and the Imperial rescript was publicly read. But, when a sentence of destruction against the idols of Alexandria was pronounced, the Christians set up a shout of joy and exultation, whilst the unfortunate Pagans, whose fury had given way to consternation, retired with hasty

4 Labanius (pro Templis, p. 21) indiscreetly provokes his Christian masters by

thus moult ng remark

inclined against him,

^{*}We may choose between the date of Marcellana (A.D. 389) or that of Prosper (A.D. 391). Themont (Hist, des Emp. tom s.p. 310-748) prefers the former and Pagi the latter (which is probably right; so Gotboferdus and Cod. Th. avi. to, st. (Gildenpenning p. 189. Clinton decides for end of 390 A.D.).

**O' Themont, Mem. Earles, toin as p. 441-900. The ambiguous situation of Theophilus, —a saint, as the friend of Jerom; a devil, as the enemy of Chriscotom—produces a sort of impartiality; yet, upon the whole, the balance is justly included to more the more of the produces.

⁵¹ [A Mathreum: cp. Socrates, h.c.]

⁵² [Lardner (Heathen Test-mones, vol. rv. p. 411) has alleged a beautiful passage from Suidas, or rather from Damascus, which shows the devout and virtuous Olympius, not in the light of a warrior, tait of a prophet.

and silent steps, and eluded, by their flight or obscurity, the resentment of their enemies. Theophilus proceeded to demolish the temple of Serapis, without any other difficulties than those which he found in the weight and solidity of the materials; but these obstacles proved so insuperable that he was obliged to leave the foundations and to content himself with reducing the edifice itself to a beap of rubbish; a part of which was soon afterwards cleared away, to make room for a church crected in honour of the Christian martyrs. The valuable library of Alexandria was pillaged or destroyed; and, near twenty years afterwards, the appearance of the empty shelves excited the regret and indignation of every spectator whose mind was not totally darkened by religious prejudice.68 The compositions of ancient genius, so many of which have irretrievably perished, might surely have been excepted from the wreck of idolatry, for the amusement and instruction of succeeding ages; and either the zeal or the avarice of the archbeshop is might have been satuated with the rich spoils which were the reward of his victory. While the images and vases of gold and silver were carefully melted, and those of a less valuable metal were contemptuously broken and cast into the streets, Theophilus laboured to expose the frauds and vices of the ministers of the idols; their dexterity in the management of the loadstone; their secret methods of introducing an human actor into a hollow statue; and their scandalous abuse of the confidence of devout husbands and unsuspecting females.46 Charges like these may seem to deserve some degree of credit, as they are not repugnant to the crafty and interested spirit of superstition. But the same spirit is equally prone to the base practice of insulting and calumniating a fallen enemy; and our belief is

[Unde quant bet hodieque in templis extent, quae et] nos vidanus, armana hibrorum quibra direptis ex.namita ca a nostris hom nibus nostris temporibus memorant memorani. Orosus, l. vi. c. 15, p. 421, edit Havercamp [p. 216, ed. Zangemesser]. Though a bigot, and a controversial writer, Orosius seems to blash. See Appendia 11.

⁵⁶ Euraphus in the lives of Antonius [leg Antonius] and Ædesius, executes the aterder cars rapine of Theophilus Tillemont (Mem. Eccles tom xiii. p 453)

quotes an ejaste of Indore of Pensain, which reproaches the primate with the industrial worth p of gold, the nun area fames.

** Reduce names the press of Sature who, in the character of the god, familiarly conversed with many point lades of quality, till be bettieved himself, in a moment of transport when he could not disguise the tone of his voice. The ambent cand imparted narrative of Aschines (see Bayle Dictionnaire Centique, in amanual) and the adventure of Mundus (Joseph Antiquitat Judak 1 and c. 3. p. 877, edit Havereamp) may prove that such amorous frauds have been practised with success.

naturally checked by the reflection that it is much less difficult to invent a fictitious story than to support a practical fraud. The colossal statue of Serapia 50 was involved in the ruin of his temple and religion. A great number of plates of different metals, artificially joined together, composed the majestic figure of the Deity, who touched on either side the walls of the sanctuary. The aspect of Sempis, his sitting posture, and the sceptre which he bore in his left hand, were extremely similar to the ordinary representations of Jupiter. He was distinguished from Jupiter by the basket, or bushel, which was placed on his head; and by the emblematic monster, which he held in his right hand: the head and body of a serpent branching into three tails, which were again terminated by the triple heads of a dog, a lion, and a wolf It was confidently affirmed that, if any impious hand should daze to violate the majesty of the god, the heavens and the earth would instantly return to their original chaos. An intrepid soldier, animated by zeal and armed with a weighty battle-axe, ascended the ladder; and even the Christian multitude expected, with some anxiety, the event of the combat.33 He aimed a vigorous stroke against the cheek of Seraps; the cheek fell to the ground; the thunder was still silent, and both the heavens and the earth continued to preserve their accustomed order and tranquillity. The victorious soldier repeated his blows; the huge idol was overthrown, and broken in pieces; and the limbs of Serapis were ignominiously dragged through the streets of Alexandria. His mangled carcase was burnt in the Amphitheatre, amidst the shouts of the populace; and many persons attributed their conversion to this discovery of the impotence of their tutelar deity. The popular modes of religion that propose any visible and material objects of worship have the advantage of adapting and familiarising themselves to the senses of mankind; but this advantage is counterbalanced by the various and mevitable accidents to which the faith of the idolater is exposed. It is searcely possible that, in every dis-

27 Sed fortes tremuere manus, motique verendà Majestate loci, si robora sacra ferirent

See the images of Serapis, in Montfaucon (tom. ii. p. 297), but the description of Macrobius (Saturnal, i. i. c. 20) is much more picturesque and satisfactory.

In sua credebant redituras membra vecures.

(Lucan, m. 490.) "Is it true (said Angustus to a veteran of Italy, at whose house he supped) that the man who gave the first blow to the golden statue of Anadia was assamtly deprived of his eyes, and of his life? " "I was that man (replied the alear sighted veteran), and you now sup on one of the legs of the goddess." (Pina Hist, Natur xxxiii, 44.)

position of mind, he should preserve his implicit reverence for the idols or the relies which the naked eye and the profane hand are unable to distinguish from the most common productions of art or nature; and, if, in the hour of danger, their secret and mimeulous virtue does not operate for their own perservation, he scorns the vain apologies of his priest, and justly dendes the object, and the folly, of his superstitious attachment. After the fall of Scrapis, some hopes were still entertained by the Pagans that the Nile would refuse his annual supply to the impious masters of Egypt; and the extraordinary delay of the mundation seemed to announce the displeasure of the river-god. But this delay was soon commee to such an unusual height as to comfort the discontented party with the pleasing expectation of a deluge; till the peaceful river again subsided to the well-known and fertilising level of sixteen cubits, or about thirty English feet."

The temples of the Roman empire were deserted, or destroyed; To P but the ingenious superstition of the Pagans still attempted to go clude the laws of Theodosius, by which all sacrifices had been severely prohibited. The inhabitants of the country, whose conduct was less exposed to the eye of maheious curiosity, disguised their religious, under the appearance of commind, meetings. On the days of solemn festivals, they assembled in great numbers under the spreading shade of some consecrated trees; sheep and oxen were slaughtered and roasted; and this rural entertainment was sanctified by the use of incense, and by the hymns which were sung in honour of the gods. But it was alleged that, as no part of the animal was made a burnt-offenny, as no altar was provided to receive the blood, and as the previous oblation of salt cakes and the concluding ceremony of libations were carefully omitted, these festal meetings did not involve the guests in the guilt, or penalty, of an illegal sacrifice.00 Whatever might be the truth of the facts or the merit of the dis-

26 The history of the Reformation affords frequent examples of the sudden change from superstition to contempt.

the number of the supplied the measure. The same standard of the number of and consequently of the cultistant informly subsisted since the time of Herodotus. See Freret, in the Mein, de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tem xv. p. 344-343. Grenves's Macellaneous Works, vol. 1. p. 233. The Egyptian coloi is about twenty two inches of the English measure.

of changes (pro Tempos p 15, 16, 17) pleads their cause with gentle and insulang thet are. From the carl estage such feasts had en vened the country; and those of Bacchus (Georgie, 350) had produced the theatre of Athena. See

Godefroy, ad low Liban, and Codea Threedest tom, va p. 984.

tinction,61 these vain pretences were swept away by the last edict of Theodosius; which inflicted a deadly wound on the superstition of the Pagans,62 This prohibitory law is expressed in the most absolute and comprehensive terms. "It is our will and pleasure," says the emperor, "that none of our subjects, whether magistrates or private citizens, however exalted or however humble may be their rank and condition, shall presume. in any city or in any place, to worship an manimate idol by the sacrifice of a guiltless victim," The act of sacrificing and the practice of divination by the entrails of the victim are declared (without any regard to the object of the enquiry) a crime of high-treason against the state; which can be exputed only by the death of the guilty. The rites of Pagan superstition, which might seem less bloody and atrocious, are abolished, as highly injurious to the truth and honour of religion; luminanes, garlands, frankincense, and libations of wine, are specially enumerated and condemned; and the harmless claims of the domestic genius, of the household gods, are included in this rigorous proscription. The use of any of these profane and illegal ceremonies subjects the offender to the forfeiture of the house or estate where they have been performed; and, if he has artfully chosen the property of another for the scene of his implety, he is compelled to discharge, without delay, a heavy fine of twenty-five pounds of gold, or more than one thousand pounds sterling. A fine, not less considerable, is imposed on the connivance of the secret enemies of religion, who shall neglect the duty of their respective stations, either to reveal or to punish the guilt of idolatry. Such was the persecuting spint of the laws of Theodosius, which were repeatedly enforced by his sons and grandsons, with the loud and unanimous appliance of the Christian world."

vol iv p 134) censures, with becoming asperity, the style and sentiments of this

intolerant law

^{**} Honorius tolerated these rustic festivals (A D 399). "Alreque allo sacrifice at the sacrifical at the sacrification at the sacri sary to reservate and enforce the same proviso prodex Theodox L xvx tit a eg 17. (a) [The ord names of certain heather leasts a Causpania published in Imperial sanction in 387 % D., is very instructive, proving that Paganism of a Loc was tolerated by Theodosius. See Schiller, is p. 435.]

**Cod. Theodos: 1 as it if x by 22. John Remarks on Eccles. History

Such a charge should not be lightly made; but it may surely be pastified to the nathority of ht Augustin, who thus ad reases the Donatists. "They note in qua vestelian too brestat leges at Imperator but datas adversus sacrets a Paget count? Ft certe longe abi piena severior constituta est: It in quippe supretal capitale supplicium est." Epist xem. No 10, quoted la Let erc (firth others) Cheuse, tom. viu p. 277), who adds some judicious reflections on the intolinate of the victorious Christians.

In the cruel reigns of Decias and Diocletian, Christianity had appeared been proscribed, as a revolt from the ancient and bereditary religion of the empire; and the unjust suspicious which were entertuned of a dark and dangerous faction were, in some measure, countenanced by the inseparable umon and rapid conquests of the Catholic church. But the same excuses of tear and ignorance cannot be applied to the Christian emperors, who violated the precepts of humanity and of the guspel. The expenence of ages had betrayed the weakness, as well as folly, of Pagamam; the light of reason and of faith had already exposed, to the greatest part of mankind, the vanity of idols; and the declining sect, which still adhered to their worship, might have been permitted to enjoy, in peace and obscurity, the religious customs of their ancestors. Had the Pagans been animated by the undaunted seal which possessed the minds of the primitive believers, the triumph of the church must have been stained with blood; and the martyrs of Jupiter and Apollo might have embraced the glorious opportunity of devoting their lives and fortunes at the foot of their altars. But such obstinate zeal was not congenial to the loose and careless temper of polythesan. The violent and repeated strokes of the orthodox princes were broken by the soft and yielding substance against which they were directed; and the ready obedience of the Pagans protected them from the pams and penalties of the Theodosian Code.64 Instead of asserting that the authority of the gods was superior to that of the emperor, they desisted, with a plaintive murmur, from the use of those sacred rites which their sovereign had condemned. If they were sometimes tempted, by a sally of passion or by the hopes of concealment, to indulge their favourite superstition, their humble repentance disarmed the severity of the Christian magistrate; and they seldom refused to atone for their rashness by submitting, with some secret reluctance, to the voke of the Gospel. The churches were filled with the increasing multitude of these unworthy proselvtes, who had conformed, from temporal motives, to the reigning religion; and, whilst they devoutly imitated the postures, and recited the prayers, of the faithful, they satisfied their conscience by the silent and sincere invocation of the gods of antiquity.65 If the Pagans wanted patience to suffer, they

4 Orosrus, I. via. c. a8, p. 537. Augustin (Esarrai, in Paul cell apud Lardner, Heather Testimonies vol. iv. p. 458) unults their cowardice. "Quis excus comprehensias est in sacrifice (cum his legibus sza prohiberentur) et non megavit ?"

L'vianus (pro Templia, p. 17–18) mentona, without censure, the occasional

conformity and as it were theatrical play, of these hypocritos.

wanted spirit to resist; and the scattered myriads, who deplored the run of the temples, yielded, without a contest, to the fortune of their adversaries. The disorderly opposition 69 of the peasants of Syna, and the populace of Alexandria, to the rage of private fanaticism was silenced by the name and authority of the emperor. The Pagans of the West, without contributing to the elevation of Eugenius, disgraced, by their partial attachment, the cause and character of the usurper. The clergy vehemently exclaimed that he aggravated the crime of rebellion by the guilt of apostacy; that, by his permission, the altar of Victory was again restored; and that the idolatrous symbols of Jupiter and Hercules were displayed in the field against the invincible standard of the cross. But the vain hopes of the Pagans were soon annihilated by the defeat of Eugenius; and they were left exposed to the resentment of the conqueror, who laboured to deserve the favour of heaven by the externation of idolatry.67

and braily scriberished A D bo-est

A nation of slaves is always prepared to applaud the elemency of their master, who, in the abuse of absolute power, does not proceed to the last extremes of injustice and oppression. Theodosins might undoubtedly have proposed to his Pagan subjects the alternative of baptism or of death; and the eloquent Libanius has praised the moderation of a prince, who never enacted. by any positive law, that all his subjects should immediately embrace and practise the religion of their sovereign 65 The profession of Christianity was not made an essential qualification for the enjoyment of the civil rights of society, nor were any peculiar hardships imposed on the sectaries who credulously received the fables of Oval and obstinately rejected the miracles of the Gospel. The palace, the schools, the army, and the senate were filled with declared and devout Pagans; they obtained, without distinction, the civil and military honours of the empire. Theodosius distinguished his liberal regard for virtue and genus, by the consular dignity which he bestowed on Sym-

^{**}Inhanius concludes his applicity (p. 32) by declaring to the emperor that, unless he expressly warrants the destruction of the temples, less core clar against derivate, and increase, and the laws.

Theodorei, l. v. c. 24.

^{**} Librarius suggests the form of a persecuting edict which Theoriosus night enact (pro Templis, p. 33) a rash joke, and a dangerous experiment. Some penness would have taken his advoca.

machus,40 and by the personal friendship which he expressed to Libanus; 70 and the two eloquent apologists of Paganism were never required either to change or to dissemble their religious opinions. The Pagans were indulged in the most beentious freedom of speech and writing; the historical and philosophical remains of Eunapius, Zosimus, 71 and the fanatic teachers of the school of Plato, betray the most furious animosity, and contain the sharpest invectives, against the sentiments and conduct of their victorious adversaries. If these audacious libels were publicly known, we must applaud the good sense of the Christian princes who viewed, with a smile of contempt, the last struggles of superatition and despair. But the Imperial laws which prohibited the sacrifices and ceremonies of Paganism were rigidly executed; and every hour contributed to destroy the influence of a religion which was supported by custom rather than by argument. The devotion of the poet or the philosopher may be secretly nourished by prayer, meditation, and study; but the exercise of public worship appears to be the only solid foundation of the religious sentiments of the people, which derive their force from imitation and habit. The interruption of that public exercise may consummate, in the period of a few years, the important work of a national revolution. The memory of theological opinions cannot long be preserved without the artificial helps of priests, of temples, and of books."2 The ignorant vulgar, whose minds are still agitated by the blind hopes and terrors of superstition, will be soon per-

> Desigue pro mentis terrestribus acqua rependens Munera, sucricolis summos imperial honores.

Ipse magistratum tibi consula, ipse tribunal Contul t. Prudeni in Symmeti i 617, &c.

76 Libanus (pro Templis, p. 32) is praid that Theodosius should thus distinguish man, who even in his presence would swear by Jupiter. Yet this presence seems to be no more than a figure of rhetoric.

71 Zeomus, who styles himself if ount and Ex-advocate of the Tressury, reviles, with partial and indecent bigotry, the Christian princes and even the father of his sovereign. His work must have been privately circulated since it escaped the invectives of the ecclesiastical historians prior to Evagrius (1 ii. c. 40-43), who lived towards the end of the sixth century. [For date of Zosimus, see above, vol. ii. App. 1

App 1]
19 Yet the Pagans of Africa complained that the times would not allow them to answer with freedom the City of God, nor does St. Augustin (v. 26) deny the

thange.

The Moors of Spain, who secretly preserved the Mahometan religion above a century, under the tyranny of the Inquation, possessed the Koran, with the peculiar use of the Arabie tongue. See the curious and bound story of their expulsion in Goddes (Miscellanies, vol. 1, p. 1-198).

suaded by their superiors to direct their vows to the reigning derties of the age; and will insensibly imbibe an ardent zeal for the support and propagation of the new doctrine, which spiritual hunger at first compelled them to accept. The generation that arose in the world after the promulgation of the imperial laws was attracted within the pale of the Catholic church; and so rapid, yet so gentle, was the fall of Pagamism that only twenty-eight years after the death of Theodosius the faint and minute vestiges were no longer visible to the eye of the legislator. The superior of the legislator.

the sweller

The run of the Pagan religion is described by the sophists as a dreadful and amazing prodigy which covered the earth with darkness and restored the ancient dominion of chaos and of night. They relate, in solemn and pathetic strains, that the temples were converted into sepulchres, and that the holy places, which had been adorned by the statues of the gods, were basely polluted by the relics of Christian martyrs, "The monks" (a race of filthy animals, to whom Eunapius is tempted to refuse the name of men) " are the authors of the new worship. which, in the place of one of those decties, who are conceived by the understanding, has substituted the meanest and most contemptible slaves. The heads, salted and pickled, of those infamous malefactors, who for the multitude of their crimes have suffered a just and ignominious death; their bodies, still marked by the unpression of the lash, and the scars of those tortures which were inflicted by the sentence of the magistrate; such" (continues Eunapius) "are the gods which the earth produces in our days; such are the martyrs, the supreme arbitrators of our prayers and petitions to the Deity, whose tombs are now conse-crated as the objects of the veneration of the people." 75 Without approving the malice, it is natural enough to share the surprise, of the Sophist, the spectator of a revolution which raised those obscure victims of the laws of Rome to the rank of celestial and invisible protectors of the Roman empire. The grateful respect of the Christians for the martyrs of the faith was exalted, by time and victory, into religious adoration; and the most illustrious of the saints and prophets were deservedly associated to the honours of the martyrs. One hundred and fifty years after the glorious deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul,

It was I make in the rise of the soph at A desire p. 65, od. Commelini ; in that of Pentathen between the ruin of Pagangen, we is associate, see senter many represented by a pagentage.

They are the supermit, quanquam jam nullus ease credamus, &c. Cod. They are the segment as the supermitted that his judgment had been somewhat premiume.

the Vatican and the Ostian road were distinguished by the tombs, or rather by the trophies, of those spiritual heroes, 76 In the age which followed the conversion of Constantine, the emperors, the consuls, and the generals of armies devoutly visited the sepulchres of a tent-maker and a fisherman; " and their venerable bones were deposited under the ultars of Christ, on which the bishops of the royal city continually offered the unbloody sacrifice. 18 The new capital of the eastern world, unable to produce any ancient and domestic trophics, was enriched by the spoils of dependent provinces. The bodies of St. Andrew, St. Luke, and St. Timothy, had reposed, near three hundred years, in the obscure graves from whence they were sent, in solemn pomp, to the church of the Apostles, which the magnifi cence of Constantine had founded on the banks of the Thracian Bosphorus. 79 About fifty years afterwards, the same banks were honoured by the presence of Samuel, the judge and prophet of the people of Israel. His ashes, deposited in a golden wase and covered with a silken veil, were delivered by the hishops into each other's hands. The relics of Samuel were received by the people with the same joy and reverence which they would have shown to the living prophet; the highways, from Palestine to the gates of Constantinople, were filled with an uninterrupted procession; and the emperor Arcadius himself, at the head of the most illustrious members of the clergy and senate, advanced to meet his extraordinary guest, who had always deserved and claimed the homage of kings.50 The example of Rome and Constantinople confirmed the faith and discipline of the Catholic world. The honours of the saints and martyrs, after a feeble and meffectual murmur of profane

**Caus (apud Eusela Hist. Eccles L in c. 25), a Roman presbyter, who fived in the time of Zephyrinua (A.D. 202-219), is an early written of this superstitions

practice, practice of the production of the peak of the quotation to benedict the XIV this pastoral letter on the jubilee of the year 1740. See the curious and entertaining letters of M. Chais, tore 16.

the year 1750. See the currous and entertaining letters of M. Chais, for 16.

Male facit ergo Romanus episcopos c qui, super mortuorum hominum, Petri et Paul, secundum nos, ossa veneranda offert Domino sverificia, et tumolos corum Christi arbitratur altaria. Jerom, tom. 11. advers. Vigilant. p. 153 (c. 8.

ed Mgre n p. 346]

"itemen (tom u.p. 122 [c. Vigil, c. 5]) hears witness to these translations, which are implicated by the ecclesiastical histocians. The pussion of St. Andrew at Patrietis described in an epistle from the clergy of Achaia, which Baronius (Annal. Eccus. A.D. 60, No. 35) wishest to believe and T llemont is forced to reject. St. Andrew was adopted as the appritual founder of Constantinople (Mem. Eccles. 1001.). 117-22. 188-804.

tom t p 317 225 588 5341.

** ferom (tom ti p 122) possipously describes the translation of Samuel, which is noticed in the chronicles of the times.

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reason, 81 were universally established; and in the age of Ambrose and Jerom, something was still deemed wanting to the sanctity of a Christian church, till it had been consecrated by some portion of boly relies, which fixed and inflamed the devotion of the faithful.

meral re

In the long period of twelve hundred years which clapsed between the reign of Constantine and the reformation of Luther the worship of saints and relics corrupted the pure and perfect simplicity of the Christian model; and some symptoms of degeneracy may be observed even in the first generations which adopted and cherished this pernicious innovation.

I. The satisfactory experience that the relies of saints were more valuable than gold or precious stones at stimulated the elergy to multiply the treasures of the church. Without much regard for truth or probability, they invented names for skeletons and actions for names. The fame of the apostles, and of the holy men who had imitated their virtues, was darkened by religious fetion. To the invincible band of genuine and pennitive martyrs, they added myriads of imaginary heroes, who had never existed except in the fancy of crafty or credulous legendaries; and there is reason to suspect that Tours might not be the only diocese in which the bones of a maleinctor were adored instead of those of a saint.33 A superstitious practice, which tended to increase the temptations of fraud and credulity, insensibly extinguished the light of history and of reason in the Christian world.

II. But the progress of superstition would have been much less rapid and victorious, if the faith of the people had not been assisted by the seasonable aid of visions and miracles, to ascertain the authenticity and virtue of the most suspicious relies. In the reign of the younger Theodosius, Lucian,34 a presbyter of

St. Stephen, may specify gain amore guess of the parts of the Fathers. [Cp. Ago. 12]

M. de Benasobre [Hist du Manché sme, tom n. p. 6a/b has appeal a worldly sense to the pious observation of the clergy of Smyrna who carefully preserved the reless of St. Polycas, the marter.

Mortan of Tours (see ha l. le. c. 8, by Sulpseus Severus) exterted the confection from the mouth of the dead man. The error is allowed to be maramatical discovery is supposed to be maramous. Which of the two was likely to happen most frequents. most frequentay

*Hacian composed in Greek his original narrative, which has been translated by Avitus, and published by Baronius (Annal. Ecoles. A.D. 415, No. 7-16). The

⁴⁰ The preshyter Vigilantius, the protestant of lunage, firmly, though meffectually, withstood the superstition of monks, reacs, saids, tasts, &c., i.e. what Jacob compared him to the Hydra, Cerberus, the Centairs, &c., and considers to make the organ of the dremen (tom, ii. p. 120-120). Whoever will peruse the controversy of St. Jerom and Vignantins, and St. Augustus account of the manner of

Jerusalem, and the ecclesiastical minister of the village of Caphargamala, about twenty miles from the city, related a very singular dream, which, to remove his doubts, had been repeated on three successive Saturdays. A venerable figure stood before hun, in the silence of the night, with a long beard, a white robe, and a gold rod; announced himself by the name of Gamahel, and revealed to the astonished presbyter that his own corpse, with the bodies of his son Abibas, his friend Nicodemus, and the illustrous Stephen, the first martyr of the Christian faith, were secretly buried in the adjacent field. He added, with some impatience, that it was time to release himself and his companions from their obscure prison; that their appearance would be salutary to a distressed world; and that they had made choice of Lucian to inform the bishop of Jerusalem of their situation and their wishes. The doubts and difficulties which still retarded this important discovery were successively removed by new visions; and the ground was opened by the bishop, in the presence of an innumerable multitude. The cotfins of Gamaliel, of his son, and of his friend were found in regular order; but when the fourth coffin, which contained the remains of Stephen, was shown to the light, the earth trembled, and an odour, such as that of paradise, was smelt, which instantly curred the various diseases of seventy-three of the assistants, The companions of Stephen were left in their peaceful residence of Caphargamala; but the relies of the first martyr were transported in solemn procession to a church constructed in their honour on Mount Sion; and the minute particles of those relies, a drop of blood, 55 or the scrapings of a bone, were acknowledged in almost every province of the Roman world to possess a divine and miniculous virtue. The grave and learned Augustin,# whose understanding scarcely admits the excuse of credulity, has attested the innumerable produgies which were performed in Africa by the relies of St Stephen; and this marvellous parrative as inserted in the elaborate work of the City of God, which the

Benedictine ed tors of St. Augustin have given (at the end of the work de Civitate The two several experts, with many various readings. It as the character of fatherbood to be been and an onsistent. The most recredible parts of the legend are smoothed and sub-med by I llessout (Mera. Eccles. tom, n. p. q., &c.).

**(*), and of \$1, Samber's bleed was annually beginned at Naples, till be was superseded by \$1, landarius (Ru nart. Hist. Persecut. Vandal. p. 529).

A special in componed the two and twenty books de Castate Design the space of thirteen years, A D 413 436 (Tulersont Mem Eccles tors are p 608, &c). His learning is too often borrowed and his arguments are too often his own, but the whole work claum the ment of a magnificent design, vigorously, and not unstalfully executed,

bishop of Hippo designed as a solid and immortal proof of the trath of Christianity. Augustin solemnly declares that he has selected those miracles only which were publicly certified by the persons who were either the objects, or the spectators, of the power of the martyr. Many produces were omitted or forgotten; and Hippo had been less favourably treated than the other cities of the province. And yet the bishop enumerates above seventy miracles, of which three were resurrections from the dead, in the space of two years and within the limits of his own diocese. 87 If we enlarge our view to all the dioceses and all the saints of the Christian world, it will not be easy to calculate the fables and the errors which issued from this inexhaustible source. But we may surely be allowed to observe that a miracle, in that age of superstition and credulity, lost its name and its ment, since it could sourcely be considered as a deviation from the ordinary and established laws of nature.

III. Bertral

111. The innumerable muracles of which the tombs of the martyrs were the perpetual theatre revealed to the pious believer the actual state and constitution of the invisible world; and his religious speculations appeared to be founded on the firm base of fact and experience. Whatever might be the condition of vulgar souls, in the long interval between the dissolution and the resurrection of their bodies, it was evident that the superior spirits of the saints and martyrs did not consume that portion of their existence in silent and inglorious sleep. 38 It was evident (without presuming to determine the place of their haintation or the nature of their feherty) that they enjoyed the hvely and active consciousness of their happiness, their virtue, and their powers; and that they had already secured the possession of their eternal reward. The enlargement of their intellectual faculties surpassed the measure of the human imagination; since it was proved by experience that they were capable of hearing and understanding the various petitions of their numerous voturies; who, in the same moment of time, but in the most distant parts of the world, invoked the name and assistance of

two Locas of St. Stephen's miracles, by Evode is technique of Units. Freen this (apid Basinge, Host der Jufs, tom win p. 243) has preserved a Gallie or Spanish preserved. Whoever pretends to have read all the miracles of St. Stephen, he less.

Burnet (de Statu Mortuorum, p. 56-84) collects the opinions of the fathers, as far as they assert the sleep, or repine of human scale till the day of perguent. He afterwards exposed (p. 91, 8c.) the incommences which must arise I thes possessed a more active and sensible existence.

Stephen or of Martin * The confidence of their petitioners was founded on the persussion that the sunts, who reigned with Christ, cast an eye of pity upon earth; that they were warmly interested in the prosperity of the Catholic church; and that the individuals, who imitated the example of their faith and piety, were the peculiar and favounte objects of their most tender regard. Sometimes, indeed, their friendship might be influenced by considerations of a less exalted kind; they viewed, with partial affection, the places which had been consecrated by their birth, their residence, their death, their burial, or the possession of their relics. The meaner passions of pride, avarice, and revenge may be deemed unworthy of a celestial breast; yet the saints themselves condescended to testify their grateful approbation of the liberality of their votaries; and the sharpest holts of punishment were hurled against those impious wretches who violated their magnificent shrines or disbelieved their supernatural power.40 Atrocious, indeed, must have been the guilt, and strange would have been the scepticism, of those men, if they had obstinately resisted the proofs of a divine agency which the elements, the whole range of the animal creation, and even the subtle and invisible operations of the human mind were compelled to obey." The immediate, and almost instantaneous, effects, that were supposed to follow the peryer or the offence, satisfied the Christians of the ample measure of favour and authority which the saints enjoyed in the presence of the Supreme God; and it seemed almost superfluous to inquire whether they were continually obliged to intercede before the throne of grace, or whether they might not be permitted to exercise, according to the dictates of their benevolence and justice, the delegated powers of their subordinate ministry. The imagination, which had been raised by a painful effort to the contemplation and worship of the Universal Cause, eagerly

Verlantus placed the souls of the prophets and marryrs either in the bosons of Almshar, in consenses for the affect the diar of tool. Nec possesses turnals of the volument adecs persones. But Jerom from a p. 1224 steerly refuses this Marghara. To the loos pones? In aposition whereas in usque ad diem pale e tenesistar enviscal, nec sant cum Dom so suo; de quibus ser plant and some Agreem appropriate of Agrees, Inque regards to a com Agus sunt abique esse condess' sant. Et com diabolus et dæ nones toto value for the fire for the Property of the Pro

HAT Marina the relies of St. Stocks accounted in eight days say Jews with the bear artered of some accounts with an large of the san gagan, daying the that are indicated state using the rock At See the or goal letter of Severing, better of Mover and calcum St. A goaling de Cir. Del) and the judanous tensarius of liasnage (tom, van D. 245-251).

embraced such inferior objects of adoration as were more proportioned to its gross conceptions and imperfect faculties. The sublime and simple theology of the primitive Christians was gradually corrupted; and the MONARCHY of heaven, already clouded by metaphysical subtleties, was degraded by the introduction of a popular mythology, which tended to restore the

reign of polytheism.02

IV. As the objects of religion were gradually reduced to the standard of the imagination, the rites and ceremonies were introduced that seemed most powerfully to affect the senses of the vulgar. If, in the beginning of the fifth century, " Tertullian or Lactantius 94 had been suddenly raised from the dead, to assist at the festival of some popular saint or martyr, 45 they would have gazed with astonishment and indignation on the profane spectacle, which had succeeded to the pure and spiritual worship of a Christian congregation. As soon as the doors of the church were thrown open, they must have been offended by the smoke of incense, the perfume of flowers, and the glare of lamps and tapers, which diffused, at noon day, a gandy, superfluous, and, in their opinion, a sacrilegious light. approached the balustrade of the altar, they made their way through the prostrate crowd, consisting, for the most part, of strangers and pilgrims, who resorted to the city on the vigil of the feast; and who already felt the strong intoxication of fanaticism, and, perhaps, of wine. Their devout kisses were imprinted on the walls and pavement of the sacred edifice; and their fervent prayers were directed, whatever might be the language of their church, to the bones, the blood, or the ashes of the saints, which were usually concealed by a linen or silken veil from the eyes of the vulgar. The Christians frequented the tombs of the martyrs, in the hope of obtaining, from their powerful intercession, every sort of spiritual, but more especially

Mr Hume (Essays, vol. ii. p. 434) observes, like a philosopher, the natural flux and reflux of polytheism and theism.

thus and reflex of polythesism and tension.

The Dischington fees his own Mcmoures, p. 195-160) frankly offered, with the consent of the Huguenot mensions, to about the first 400 years as the rule of faith. The Cardinal du Perron haggled for forty years more, which were indiscretly given by the other party would have found their account in the fourth large in.

The worship practised and invicated by Tentalian, I securities Arnobius, etc., is 90 refressely pure and spiritual that their declamations against the Pagan,

nometimes glance against the Jewish, ceremonies.

Definition of idolatry martyres . . . quos votis s in libus colitis. M de Penniebre (Hist (. . que du Manichésime, tom. u. p. 620-701) a prefestant, but a ph. osophe , has represented, with candous and learning, the introduction of Christian idulatry in the fourth and fifth conturios.

of temporal, blessings. They implored the preservation of their health or the cure of their infirmities; the fruitfulness of their barren wives or the safety and happiness of their children. Whenever they undertook any distant or dangerous journey, they requested that the holy martyrs would be their guides and protectors on the road; and, if they returned without having experienced any misfortune, they again hastened to the tombs of the martyrs, to celebrate, with grateful thanksgivings, their obligations to the memory and relies of those heavenly patrons. The walls were hung round with symbols of the favours which they had received; eyes, and hands, and feet, of gold and silver; and edifying pictures, which could not long escape the abuse of indiscreet or idolatrous devotion, represented the image, the attributes, and the miracles of the tutelar saint. The same uniform original spirit of superstition might suggest, in the most distant ages and countries, the same methods of deceiving the eredulity, and of affecting the senses, of mankind; 96 but it must ingenuously be confessed that the ministers of the Catholic church imitated the profane model which they were impatient to destroy. The most respectable bishops had persuaded themselves that the ignorant rustics would more cheerfully renounce the superstitions of Paganism, if they found some resemblance, some compensation, in the bosom of Christianity. The religion of Constantine achieved, in less than a century, the final conquest of the Roman empire: but the victors themselves were insensibly subdued by the arts of their vanquished rivals.97

The resemblance of superstition which could not be imitated, mighs be traced from Japan to Mexico. Washinton had seared this afra, which be distorts, by tender in it to general and absolute (Divine Legation, vol. iv. p. 120, &c.).

The motion of Pagan in a the subject of Dr. Middleton's agreeable letter from Rome. Washinton's animadversions obliged him to connect (vol. is, p. 120-132) the history of the two religions, and to prove the antiquity of the Christian copy. To compare transformation of birthday of Mishra into that of Christ. Mommaen, C. I. L. i. p. 409.)

CHAPTER XXIX

Final Division of the Roman Empire between the Sons of Theodosius Reign of Arcadius and Honorius -Administration of Rutinus and Stelicho-Revolt and Defeat of Gildo in Africa

THE genus of Rome expired with Theodosius; the last of the successors of Augustus and Constantine, who appeared in the field at the head of their armies, and whose authority was universally acknowledged throughout the whole extent of the The memory of his virtues still continued, however, empire. to protect the feeble and mexpenenced youth of his two sons. After the death of their father, Areadius and Honorius were saluted, by the unanimous consent of mankind, as the lawful emperors of the East, and of the West; and the oath of fidelity was eagerly taken by every order of the state; the senates of old and new Rome, the clergy, the magistrates, the soldiers, and the people. Arcadius, who then was about eighteen years of age, was born in Spain, in the humble habitation of a private But he received a princely education in the palace of Constantinople; and his inglorious life was spent in that peaceful and splendid seat of royalty, from whence he appeared to reign over the provinces of Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persis and Tom AD M. Æthiopia. His younger brother, Honorius, assumed, in the eleventh year of his age, the nominal government of Italy, Africa, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; and the troops which guarded the frontiers of his kingdom were opposed, on one side, to the Caledonians, and on the other, to the Moors. The great and martial prefecture of Illyricum was divided between the two princes; the defence and possession of the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, still belonged to the western empire; but the two large dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia, which Gratian had intrusted to the valour of Theodosius, were for ever united to the empire of the East. The houndary in Europe was not very different from the line which now separates the Germans and the Turks; and the respective

advantages of territory, riches, populousness, and military strength, were fairly balanced and compensated in this final and permanent division of the Roman empire. The hereditary sceptre of the sons of Theodosius appeared to be the gift of nature, and of their father; the generals and ministers had been accustomed to adore the majesty of the royal infants; and the army and people were not admonished of their rights and of their power by the dangerous example of a recent election. The gradual discovery of the weakness of Areadius and Honorius, and the repeated calamities of their reign, were not sufficient to oblitemate the deep and early impressions of loyalty. The subjects of Rome, who still reverenced the persons or rather the names of their sovereigns, beheld, with equal abhorrence, the rebels who opposed, and the ministers who abused, the authority of the throne.

Theodosius had tarnished the glory of his reign by the carried elevation of Rufinus: an odious favourite, who, in an age of white civil and religious faction, has deserved, from every party, the ab min imputation of every crime. The strong impulse of ambition and avance 1 had urged Rufinus to abandon his native country, an obscure corner of Gaul,2 to advance his fortune in the capital of the East; the talent of bold and ready elecution's qualified him to succeed in the lucrative profession of the law; and his success in that profession was a regular step to the most honourable and important employments of the state. He was raised, by just degrees, to the station of master of the offices. In the exercise of his various functions, so essentially connected with the whole system of civil government, he acquired the confidence of a monarch, who soon discovered his diligence and capacity in business, and who long remained ignorant of the pride, the malice, and the covetousness of his disposition. These vices were concealed beneath the mask of profound dissimulation; 4 his passions were subservient only to the passions of his master; yet, in the bornd massacre of Thes-

¹ Alexto ensous of the public fercity, convenes an internal synod. Megara-recommends her pupil Ruhnus, and executes him to deeds of muchief. &c. But there is as much. I therence between Claud an's fury and that of Virgil, as hetween the characters of Lymns and Ruhnus.

² It revident (Tillement, Bist des Emp tom, v.p. 270), though de Marca is ashumed of be countreman that Rufanis was born at Elisa, the metropol's of Novem popularia, now a small village of Gascony (d'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 255).

¹ Philost argum, I vi c. 3, with Godefroy's Devert p. 440.

A passage of Suidas is expressive of his profound dissimulation: sed-symbol dissimulation: sed-symbol dissimulation:

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calonica, the cruel Rufmus inflamed the fury, without imitating the repentance, of Theodosius. The minister, who viewed with proud undifference the rest of mankind, never forgave the appearance of an injury; and his personal enemies had forfeited in his opinion the ment of all public services. Promotus, the master-general of the infantry, had saved the empire from the invasion of the Ostrogoths; but he indignantly supported the pre-emmence of a rival whose character and profession he despised; and, in the midst of a public council, the impatient soldier was provoked to chastise with a blow the indecent ande of the favourite. This act of violence was represented to the emperor as an insult which it was incumbent on an dignity to resent. The disgrace and exile of Promotos were signified by a peremptory order to repair, without delay, to a military station on the banks of the Danube; and the death of that general (though he was slain in a skirmish with the Barbarians) was imputed to the perfidious arts of Rufinus.5 The sacrifice of an hero gratified his revenge; the honours of the consulship elated his vanity; but his power was still imperfect and precarious, as long as the important posts of profect of the East and of profect of Constantinople were filled by Tatian and his son Proculus; whose united authority balanced, for some time, the ambition and favour of the master of the offices. The two prefects were accused of rapine and corruption in the administration of the laws and finances. For the trial of these illustrious offenders, the emperor constituted a special commission; several judges were named to share the guilt and reproach of injustice; but the right of pronouncing sentence was reserved to the president alone, and that president was Rufinus himself. The father, stripped of the prefecture of the East, was thrown into a dungeon; but the son, conscious that few ministers can be found Innocent where an enemy is their judge, had secretly escaped; and Rufinus must have been satisfied with the least obnoxious victim, if despotism had not condescended to employ the basest and most ungenerous artifice. The prosecution was conducted with an appearance of equity and moderation, which dattered

Zosimus, I iv, p. 1972, 273 [c. 51].

Zon us who deser has the fall of Tahan and his son (i. tv. p. 273-274 [c. 52]).

Start the randomner, and even his testimony may patweigh the charges of their enemies (f. od. Thorstos, tom iv. p. 439) who accuse them of oppersong the forms. The compension of Lahan with the Arians, while he was profited of Figure (s. f. 372) and not for Tallemont to believe that he was guilty of every connectified des. Emption. v. p. 250. Mem. Excles tom. vi. p. 580). Ruthnas was probably and graft of the death of Promotus. The silence of Charden outweighs the charge of Vermas.

Tatian with the hope of a favourable event; his confidence was fortified by the solemn assurances and perfidious oaths of the president, who presumed to interpose the sacred name of Theodosius himself; and the unhappy father was at last persunded to recall, by a private letter, the fugitive Proculus was instantly seized, examined, condemned, and beheaded, in one of the suburbs of Constantinople, with a precipitation which disappointed the elemency of the emperor. Without respecting the misfortunes of a consular senator, the greet judges of Tation compelled him to behold the execution of his son; the fatal cord was fastened round his own neek; but, in the moment when he expected, and perhaps desired, the relief of a speedy death, he was permitted to consume the miserable remnant of his old age in poverty and exile 7. The punishment of the two priefects might perhaps be excused by the exceptionable parts of their own conduct; the cannity of Rufinus might be palliated by the jealous and unsociable nature of ambition. But he indulged a sparit of revenge, equally repugnant to prudence and to justice, when he degraded their native country of Lycia from the rank of Roman provinces; stigmatized a guiltless people with a mark of ignominy; and declared that the countrymen of Tatian and Proculus should ever remain incapable of holding any employment of honour or advantage under the Imperial government, The new prefect of the East (for Rufinus instantly succeeded to the vacant honours of his adversary) was not diverted, however, by the most criminal pursuits, from the performance of the religious duties which in that age were considered as the most essential to salvation. In the suburb of Chalcedon, surnamed the Oak, he had built a magnificent villa; to which he devoutly added a stately church, consecrated to the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and continually sanctified by the prayers and

> Juvenim romatia colla Ante patrun val. in stricti vecidere securi, Hait grandevus nato morsente apperstes. Post trabeus exul.

The facts of Learnus explain the affairment of Claudium; has his clause interpreters were gnorant of the fourt cert in The facts cord I found, with the help of I here mit in a secure of the Aster us of Armses.

File ordens law is recited and represed by Arcadius (A.1) 2001 on the Theodos in code 1, in, it was leg of The sense as 1 is explained by Classifiant of Rufin : 234 2327 and Greferry from in p. 279), is perfectly dear.

Executive cures

Fund-time t nomen gent a desert laborat.

The acruptes of Page and 1 sement can arise only from their real for the geory of Theodomus.

penance of a regular society of monks. A numerous, and almost general, synod of the bishops of the eastern connire was summoned to celebrate, at the same time, the dedication of the church and the baptism of the founder. This double ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp; and, when Rufinus was purified, in the holy font, from all the sins that he had hitherto committed, a venerable hermit of Egypt rashly proposed himself as the sponsor of a proud and ambitious statesman."

The character of Theodosius imposed on his manister the task of hypocrasy, which disguised, and sometimes restrained, the abuse of power; and Rufinus was apprehensive of disturbing the indolent slumber of a prince, still expable of exerting the abilities and the virtue which had raised him to the throne 10. But the absence, and soon afterwards the death, of the emperor confirmed the absolute authority of Rufinus over the person and dominions of Areachus; a feeble youth, whom the impenous priefect considered as his pupil rather than his sovereign. Regardless of the public opinion, he indulged his passions without remorse and without resistance; and his malignant and rapacious spirit rejected every passion that might have contributed to his own glory or the happiness of the people. His avance, 11 which seems to have prevailed in his corrupt mind over every other sentiment, attracted the wealth of the East by the various arts of partial, and general, extortion: oppressive taxes, scandalous bribery, immoderate fines, unjust confiscations, forced or fictations testaments, by which the tyrant despoiled of their lawful inheritance the children of strangers, or enemies; and the public sale of justice, as well as of favour, which he instituted in the

Ammonus... Rufinium propriis manifus suscept sucre freite mundatum. See Rusweyde's Vitae Pater m. p. 967 [cd. 2, 3.0, 1888]. Sozonium (1 v1., c. e-mentions the church and conastery, and Tiles and Méin. howes reen ix. p. 46, records this synod, in which St. Gergeny of Nyssa performed a consequencing pa. t. 10 Mention of Control o

10 Montempore (Espect les Loix 1 m. c. 12) persons one of the laws of 1 reddown addressed to the persons Ruliness (1 it 11 v leg case: 10 describes of provention of treasonable, or sacrilegious, weeks. A type and statute a major proves the existence of tytaniny; but a laudable ed at may only contain be specious professions or medicated wishes of the prince, or his ministers. The am afraid, is a just though mort fying canon of criticism.

that this harr Expleri ille calor nequit . . .

Congestre cumulantur opes ; orbisque rapinas, cumas Acc pit una domus-

Accept unsedomus . . Thus character it I intain in Rufin is 184 185; 220 is confirmed by Letonic . disinterested witness (dedects insulability avantarilles of a difference pure fa-60" by Zormes , v. p. 286 [c 1], and by Suidas, who copied the history of Eurapius ir. 63 ! H is v p. 4 .

palace of Constantinople. The ambitious candidate eagerly solicited, at the expense of the fairest part of his patrimony, the honours and emoluments of some provincial government; the lives and fortunes of the unhappy people were abandoned to the most liberal purchaser; and the public discontent was sometimes appeased by the sacrifice of an unpopular criminal, whose pumshment was profitable only to the prefect of the East, his accomplice and his judge. If avarice were not the blindest of the human passions, the motives of Rufinus might excite our curiosity; and we might be tempted to inquire, with what view he violated every principle of humanity and justice, to accumulate those immense treasures which he could not spend without folly nor possess without danger. Perhaps he vainly imagined that he laboured for the interest of an only daughter, on whom he intended to bestow his royal pupil and the august rank of Empress of the East. Perhaps he deceived himself by the opinion that his avarice was the instrument of his ambition. He aspired to place his fortune on a secure and independent basis, which should no longer depend on the caprice of the young emperor; yet he neglected to conciliate the hearts of the soldiers and people, by the liberal distribution of those riches which he had acquired with so much toil, and with so much guilt. The extreme parsimony of Rufinus left him only the reproach and envy of ill-gotten wealth; his dependents served him without attachment; the universal hatred of mankind was repressed only by the influence of servile fear. The fate of Lucian proclaimed to the East that the prefect whose industry was much abated in the despatch of ordinary business was active and indefatigable in the pursuit of revenge. Lucian, the son of the præfect Florentius, the oppressor of Gaul, and the enemy of Julian, had employed a considerable part of his inheritance, the fruit of rapine and corruption, to purchase the friendship of Rufinus and the high office of Count of the East. But the new magistrate imprudently departed from the maxims of the court and of the times; disgraced his benefactor, by the contrast of a virtuous and temperate administration; and presumed to refuse an act of injustice, which might have tended to the profit of the emperor's uncle. Areadoux was easily persuaded to resent the supposed insult; and the priefect of the East resolved to execute in person the cruel vengeance which he meditated against this ungrateful delegate of his power. He performed with incessant speed the journey of seven or eight hundred iniles from Constantinople to Antioch, entered the capital of Syria at the dead

of night, and spread universal consternation among a people ignorant of his design but not ignorant of his character. The count of the lifteen provinces of the East was dragged, like the vilest malefactor, before the arbitrary tribunal of Rufinus. Notwithstanding the clearest evidence of his integrity, which was not impeached even by the voice of an accuser, Lucian was condemned, almost without a trial, to suffer a cruel and ignorminous punishment. The imposters of the tyrant, by the order, and in the presence, of their master, heat him on the neck with leather thongs, armed at the extremities with lead; and, when he fainted under the violence of the pain, he was removed in a close litter, to conceal his dying agomes from the eyes of the indignant city. No sooner had Rufinus perpetrated this inhuman act, the sole object of his expedition, than he returned, amidst the deep and salent curses of a trembling people, from Antioch to Constantinople; and his diligence was accelerated by the hope of accomplishing, without delay, the nuptials of his daughter with the

But Rufinus soon experienced that a prudent minister should the marker constantly secure his royal captive by the strong, though ineasily the favour, of the absent are obliterated in a short time from the mind of a weak and capricious sovereign. While the praefect satiated his revenge at Antioch, a secret conspiracy of the favourite ennucls, directed by the great chamberlain Eutropius, undernined his power in the palace of Constantinople. They discovered that Areadius was not inclined to love the daughter of Rufinus, who had been chosen, without his consent, for his bride; and they contrived to substitute in her place the fair Eudoxia, the daughter of Bauto, 15 a general of the Franks in the service of Rome; and who was educated, since the death of her father, in the family of the sons of Promotus. The young emperor, whose chastity had been strictly guarded by the mous care of his tutor Arsenius,14 eagerly listened

This author of Cludden (in Kufin & [239-241) is again explained by the circum-

st int arrative of los min. (., v. p. 208-286, [c. 2]).

10 Zen min (t. v. p. 243 [c. 31]) process the volcur, prudence and integrity of Bauto the brank. See Felemont Hat, des Empereurs tom v. p. 772

Plane was except from the palice of Constantinople and passed fifty-five years har gal paint win the monaster as of high part of lifetiment, M. m. F. les. tom, x.v. p. 676 p.e., and heavy lifet hade tom, x.p. p. r. &c., but the latter, for want of authorite materials, has given too much credit to the legend of Metaphrasies.

n . . Cetera argnis . Ad ficinus vel ix , puntus regione remotas In pager we was

to the artful and flattering descriptions of the charms of Eudoxia; he gazed with impatient ardour on her picture. and he understood the necessity of concealing his amorous designs from the knowledge of a minister who was so deeply interested to oppose the consummation of his happaness. Soon after the return of Rufmus, the approaching ceremony of the royal nuptuals was announced to the people of Constantinople, who prepared to celebrate, with false and hollow acclamations. the fortune of his daughter. A splendid train of eunuelis and officers issued, in hymeneal pomp, from the gates of the palace; bearing aloft the diadem, the robes and the mestimable ornaments of the future empress. The solemn procession passed through the streets of the city, which were adorned with garlands and filled with spectators; but, when it reached the house of the sons of Promotus, the principal cunuch respectfully entered the mansion, invested the fair Eudoxia with the Impenal robes, and conducted her in triumph to the palace and bed of Arcadius,13 The secrecy and success with which this conspiracy against Rufinus had been conducted imprinted a mark of indelible indicale on the character of a minister who had suffered lumself to be deceived in a post where the arts of deceit and dissimulation constitute the most distinguished ment. He considered, with a mixture of indignation and fear, the victory of an aspiring cunuch, who had secretly captivated the favour of his sovereign; and the disgrace of his daughter, whose interest was macparably connected with his own, wounded the tenderness, or, at least, the pride, of Rufinus. At the moment when he flattered himself that he should become the father of a line of kings, a foreign maid, who had been educated in the house of his implacable enemies, was introduced into the Imperial bed; and Eudoxis soon displayed a superiority of sense and spirit, to improve the ascendant which her beauty must acquire over the mind of a fond and youthful husband, The emperor would soon be instructed to hate, to fear, and to destroy the powerful subject whom he had injured; and the consciousness of guilt deprived Rufinus of every hope, either of safety or comfort, in the retirement of a private life. But he still possessed the most effectual means of defending his

is This story (Zosimus, L. v. p. ago 'c. 3]) proves that the hymerical rites of antique's were still principled, without idology, by the Christians of the East, and the bride was foundly conducted from the beside of her parents to that of her bushand. Our form of marriage requires, with less delicity, the express and public consent of a verges.

dignity, and perhaps of oppressing his enemies. The prefect still exercised an uncontrolled authority over the civil and military government of the East; and his treasures, if he could resolve to use them, might be employed to procure proper matruments for the execution of the blackest designs that pride, ambition, and revenge could suggest to a desperate statesman. The character of Rufinus seemed to justify the accusations that he conspired against the person of his sovereign to seat himself on the vacant throne; and that he had secretly invited the Huns and the Goths to invade the provinces of the empire and to increase the public confusion. The subtle prefect, whose life had been spent in the intrigues of the palace, opposed, with equal arms, the artful measures of the cumuch Entropius; but the timid soul of Rufinus was astonished by the hostile approach of a more formidable rival, of the great Stilicho, the general, or rather the master, of the empire of the West 16

The celestial gift which Achilles obtained, and Alexander envied, of a poet worthy to celebrate the actions of heroes has been enjoyed by Stilicho in a much higher degree than might have been expected from the declining state of genius and of art. The muse of Claudian,17 devoted to his service, was always prepared to stigmatize his adversaries, Rufinus or Eutropius, with eternal infamy; or to maint, in the most splendid colours, the victories and virtues of a powerful benefactor. In the review of a period indifferently supplied with authentic materials, we cannot refuse to illustrate the annals of Honorius from the invectives or the panegyries of a contemporary writer; but, as Claudian appears to have indulged the most ample privilege of a poet and a courtier, some criticism will be requisite to translate the language of fiction or exaggeration into the truth and sumplicity of historic prose. His silence concerning the family of Stilicho may be admitted as a proof that his patron was neither able nor desirous to boast a long series of illustrious progenitors; and the slight mention of his father, an officer of Barbarian cavalry in the service of Valens, seems to countenance the assertion that the general who so long commanded the armies of Rome was descended from the savage and perfidious

and private life of the hero are viguety expressed in the poem on his first consul-

1h.p. 35-140

Warrellinus (I. v. p. ago [c. 4]), Orosius (I. vii. c. 17), and the Chronicle of Marcellinus. (Marcellinus used Orosius; but adds the words in Generales, and paints in lawly colours the distress and guilt of the practect.

15 Stilicho directly or indirectly is the perpenal theme of Claudian. The youth

race of the Vandala,16 If Stilicho had not possessed the external advantages of strength and stature, the most flattering bard, in the presence of so many thousand spectators, would have heatated to affirm that he surpassed the measure of the demigods of antiquity; and that, whenever he moved, with lofty steps, through the streets of the capital, the astomshed crowd made room for the stranger, who displayed, in a private condition, the awful majesty of a hero. From his earliest youth he embraced the profession of arms; his prudence and valour were soon distinguished in the field; the horsemen and archers of the East admired his superior dexterity; and in each degree of his military promotions the public judgment always prevented and approved the choice of the sovereign. He was named by Theodosius to ratify a solemn treaty with the monarch of Persia ; [A.D. 20] he supported, during that important embassy, the dignity of the Roman name; and, after his return to Constantinople, his merit was rewarded by an intimate and honourable alliance with the Imperial family. Theodosius had been prompted by a pious motive of fraternal affection to adopt for his own the daughter of his brother Honorius; the beauty and accomplishments of Serena 19 were universally admired by the obsequious court; and Stillicho obtained the preference over a crowd of rivals, who am-(A.D. MI) bitiously disputed the hand of the princess and the favour of her adoptive father. 20 The assurance that the husband of Serena would be faithful to the throne, which he was permitted to approach, engaged the emperor to exalt the fortunes and to employ the abilities of the sagacious and intrepld Sulicho. rose, through the successive steps of master of the horse and count of the domestics, to the supreme rank of master-general measurers of all the cavalry and infantry of the Roman, or at least of the Western, empire; 21 and his enemies confessed that he invariably disdained to barter for gold the rewards of merit, or to defraud an mon

¹⁶ Vandalorum, imbellis, avane, perfidæ, et dolosse, gentis, genere editus, Oronus, i, va. c. 38. Jerom (tom. i. ad Gerontiam, p. 93) calls him a Semi-Barbarian.

¹⁰ Chaidian, in an imperfect poem, has drawn a fair, perhaps a flattering, posterio of Serena. That favourite infece of Theodosius was born, as well as her sister Therminita, in Spain; from whence, in their earliest youth, they were honourably conducted to the palace of Constant-nople.

²⁰ Some doubt may be untertained whether this adoption was legal or only metaphorecal (see Ducange Fam. Bysant. p. 75). An old inscription gives Stalisho the angular title of Progener Dies Theodoris. [See Appendix 13.]

21 Chardian Lang Serena, 190, 1931 expresses, in poetic language, the "dilectus

The headan (Lass Sereng, 190, 193) expresses, in poetic language, the "directual equition and the "genano moxidem culmine [and e germine] dissit agmina". The inscription a lds, count of the domestics, an important command, which Studden to the height of his grandeur, might prudently retain.

the soldiers of the pay and gratifications which they deserved or claimed from the liberality of the state " The valour and conduct which he afterwards displayed in the defence of Italy against the arms of Alanc and Radagaisus may justify the fame of his early achievements; and, in an age less attentive to the laws of honour or of pride, the Roman generals might yield the pre-emmence of rank to the ascendant of superior genius." He lamented and revenged the murder of Promotus, his rival and his friend; and the massacre of many thousands of the fixing Bastarnie is represented by the poet as a bloody sacrifice which the Roman Achilles offered to the manes of another Patrocles The virtues and victories of Stilicho deserved the hatred of Rufinus; and the arts of calumny might have been successful if the tender and vigilant Serena had not protected her husband against his domestic focs, whilst he vanquished in the field the enemies of the empire.24 Theodosus continued to support an unworthy minister, to whose diligence he delegated the government of the palace and of the Fast; but, when he marched against the tyrant Eugenius, he associated his faithful general to the labours and glories of the civil war; and, in the last moments of his life, the dying monarch recommended to Stilicho the care of his sons, and of the republic.35 The ambition and the abdities of Stilicho were not unequal to the important trust; and he claimed the guardianship of the two empires during the minority of Arcadius and Honorius.36 The first measure of his adminis-

The beautiful bass of Claudian (n i. Cons. Stilich, u. 113) display his gen inbut the misgrity of St. icho (in the mil tary administration) is much more from established by the unwilling evidence of Zosimus fl. v. p. 345 [c. 34].

Si bellien moles [nubes]

lugrueret, quan, v.s annis et jure minori,

Cefere grandievos equatum peditumque magistros Adaptoeres.

Claudian, Lam Seren p. 195, &c. A modern general would deem their submission either heroic patriotism or about

Screen (1897-187) 250], where it unfortunately breaks off). We may perceive the deep overterate and re of Rusinus.

Discreters of prunique (leg. chiprum) defensoremque defisti Vet the nomination (iv. Cons. Hen. 443) was pressure (* Cons. Hon. 145) cuneted d scalere jubet; and may therefore he suspected. Zos mus and hurstas appy to 5t who and Rufinus the same equal title of Er sparse, guard any co procurations

elective monarchy.

tration, or rather of his reign, displayed to the nations the vigour and activity of a spirit worthy to command. He passed the Alps in the depth of winter; descended the stream of the Rhine from the fortress of Basel to the marshes of Batavia; reviewed the state of the garrisons; repressed the enterprises of the Germans; and, after establishing along the banks a firm and honourable peace, returned with meredible speed to the palace of Milan, 77 The person and court of Honorius were subject to the master-general of the West; and the armies and provinces of Europe obeyed, without hesitation, a regular authority, which was exercised in the name of their young sovereign. Two rivals only remained to dispute the claims, and to provoke the vengeance, of Stilicho. Within the limits of Africa, Gildo, the Moor, maintained a proud and dangerous independence; and the minister of Constantinople asserted his equal reign over the emperor and the empire of the East.

The impartiality which Stilicho affected, as the common Too fall and guardian of the royal brothers, engaged him to regulate the man AD equal division of the arms, the jewels, and the magnificent ward robe and furniture of the deceased emperor.28 But the most important object of the inheritance consisted of the numerous legions, cohorts and squadrons of Romans or Barbarians, whom the event of the civil war had united under the standard of Theodosius. The various multitudes of Europe and Asia, exasperated by recent animosities, were overnwed by the authority of a single man; and the rigid discipline of Stilicho protected the lands of the citizen from the rapine of the licentious soldier 2 Anxious, however, and impatient to relieve Italy from the presence of this formidable host, which could be useful only on the frontiers of the empire, he listened to the just requisition of the minister of Areadius, declared his intention of re-conducting in person the troops of the East, and dex terously employed the rumour of a Gothic tumult to concest his private designs of ambition and revenge. 30 The guilty soul of

P See Caudian (), Cons. Stilich v. 188-242), but he must allow more than fifteen days for the sources and return between M an and Loyden

Tanacque conocto

^{#1 (} ons. St. ch.) \$8504. Not only the tobes and 1 olders of the deceased emperor but even the belt ets suord hilts, belts, curaves, &u., were enriched with pear's, everille, and diamonds.

Private unitate orbo non senset habenes.

This high one mendation is Cons. Sell to tay may be justified by the fears of the dying en more the Hell. Gotton axis just and the peace and good order which were one of after in a death is Cons. Still is towards.

**St. chois march, and the death of Rufmas, are described by Claudian (in

Rufinus was alarmed by the approach of a warrior and a rival. whose enmity he deserved; he computed with increasing terror the narrow space of his life and greatness; and, as the last hope of safety, he interposed the authority of the emperor Arcadius. Stilicho, who appears to have directed his march along the sea coast of the Hadratic, was not far distant from the city of Thessalomes, when he received a peremptory mesage to recall the troops of the East and to declare that an nearer approach would be considered by the Byzantine court as an act of hostility. The prompt and unexpected obedience of the general of the West convinced the vulgar of his loyalty and moderation; and, as he had already engaged the affection of the Eastern troops, he recommended to their zeal the execution of his bloody design, which might be accomplished in his absence with less danger, perhaps, and with less reproach. Stilicho left the command of the troops of the East to Gamas the Goth, co whose fidelity he firmly relied; with an assurance, at least, that the hardy Barbanan would never be diverted from his numose The soldiers were by any consideration of fear or remorse. easily persuaded to punish the enemy of Stilicho and of Rome: and such was the general hatred which Rufinus had excited that the fatal secret, communicated to thousands, was faithfully preserved during the long march from Thessalomea to the gates of Constantinople. As soon as they had resolved his death, ther condescended to flatter his pride; the ambitious prafect was seduced to behave that those powerful auxiliaries might be tempted to place the diadem on his head; and the treasures which he distributed with a tardy and reluctant hand were accepted by the indignant multitude as an insult rather than as a gift. At the distance of a mile from the capital, in the field of Mars, before the palace of Hebdomon, 31 the troops halted; and the emperor, as well as his minister, advanced according to ancient custom respectfully to salute the power which supported their throne. As Rufinus passed along the ranks and disguised with studied courtesy his innate haughtiness, the wings insensible wheeled from the right and left and inclosed the devoted victim within the circle of their arms. Before he could reflect on the danger of his situation Gainas gave the signal of death; a daring and forward soldier plunged his sword into the breast of the

Rufin I. is. 201-433). Zoumus (i. v. p. 206, 207 [c. 7]. Soumus (i. v., c. 1). Socrates (i. v. c. 2). Philostogy of (i. v. c. 3, with Godefroy, p. 442), and the throngs of Marcellana. See Append x 14. [18. [See above, p. 10, n. 28, and vol. 4. App. 4.]

guilty prefect, and Rufinus fell, grouned and expired at the feet of the affrighted emperor. If the agomes of a moment could expute the crimes of a whole life, or if the outrages inflicted on a breathless corpse could be the object of pity, our humanity might perhaps be affected by the horrid circumstances which accompanied the murder of Rufinus. His mangled body was abandoned to the brutal fury of the populace of either sex, who hastened in crowds from every quarter of the city to trample on the remains of the haughty minister at whose frown they had so lately trembled. His right hand was cut off and carried through the streets of Constantinople in cruel mockery to extort contributions for the avancious tyrant, whose head was publicly exposed, home aloft on the point of a long lance. 22 According to the savage maxims of the Greek republies his in nocent family would have shared the punishment of his crimes, The wife and daughter of Rufinus were indebted for their safety to the influence of religion. Her sanctuary protected them from the ruging madness of the people; and they were permitted to spend the remainder of their lives in the exercises of Christian devotion in the peaceful retirement of Jerusalem.

The service poet of Stilieho applauds, with ferocious joy, this blood of horrid deed, which, in the execution, perhaps, of justice, violated every law of nature and society, profuned the majesty of the prince, and renewed the dangerous examples of military licence. The contemplation of the universal order and harmony had satisfied Claudian of the existence of the Delty; but the prosperous impunity of vice appeared to contradict his moral attributes; and the fate of Rufinus was the only event which could dispel the religious doubts of the poet.84 Such an act might vindicate the honour of Providence; but it did not much contribute to the happiness of the people. In less than three months they were informed of the maxims of the new adminis-

22 The alteretion of Rufinia, which (Loud an performs with the savige coolness of an anatoment to Rufin to 405 415) is I knowled specified by Zosamus at and

discussed by the sceptic Bayle Dictionmage Cranque Ruris, Not. in

Jerom (tom 1. p. 25). The Pagen Jeourns mentions their sanctuary and pagramage. The sister of Rufinus, bely took who proved ber life at ferroscere, is senous in mornatic basery i. The study as verying had diligently and even repeatedly period the conumentations on the B bie, Organ Georgian, Basel Ac., to the amount of five interest of are a At the age of the mante, she could board that the had never washed her hands, face, or any part of her whole body except the spe of her linguist to receive communes. See the Vice Patrum, p. 77% [For the configuration of the property of Rufines op System lies op vi. 14.]

**See the beautifus excedum of his carectire signing Rufinus, which is currously

tration by a singular edict, which established the exclusive night of the treasury over the spouls of Rushnus; and splenord, under heavy penalties, the presumptious caums of the subjects of the Eastern empire, who had been in used by his rapinous tyranny to Even Stelleho did not derive from the munier of he nval the fruit which he had proposed; and, though he gratifed his revenge, his ambition was despromend. Under the name of a favourite, the weakness of Arradius required a master, but he naturally preferred the obsequious arts of the cunnels hattopius, who had obtained his domestic confidence, and the emperor contemplated, with terror and aversion, the stergenius of a foreign warmer. Till they were divided by the jealousy of power, the sword of Gamas and the charms of Eudoxia supported the favour of the great chamberlain of the palace; the perfidious Goth, who was appointed master general of the East, betrayed, without scruple, the interest of his benfactor; and the same troops who had so lately massacred the enemy of Strlicho were engaged to support, against him, the independence of the throne of Constantinople. The facounter of Arcadius fomented a secret and irreconcileable war against a formidable hero who aspired to govern and to defend the two empires of Rome and the two sons of Theodosius. They mcessantly laboured, by dark and treacherous machinations, to deprive him of the esteem of the prince, the respect of the people, and the friendship of the Barbarians. The life of Stilicho was repeatedly attempted by the dagger of hired assassins; and a decree was obtained, from the senate of ton stantinople, to declare him an enemy of the republic and to confiscate his ample possessions in the provinces of the Fast At a time when the only hope of delaying the run of the Roman name depended on the firm umon, and reciprocal aid, of all the nations to whom it had been gradually communicated the subjects of Arcadius and Honorus were instructed, by their respective masters, to view each other in a foreign, and even hostile, light; to rejoice in their mutual calamities, and to embrace, as their faithful allies, the Barbarians whom they excited to invade the territories of their countrymen " The natives of Italy affected to despise the servile and effeminate Greeks of

2 ce (audian (. Com Nemeli 1 i 272, 292, 296, 1 u. 83) and Zammus (1 t

br 303 [cr 11] r

^{**} See the Theodosian Code I in till alia leg 14 15. The rais schooler attempted with movement of action to water the spot of their predecessar and as provide to their own future seemsty.

Byzantium, who presumed to imitate the dress, and to usurp the dignity, of Roman senators; ³⁷ and the Greeks had not yet forgot the sentiments of hatred and contempt which their polished ancestors had so long entertained for the rude inhabitants of the West. The distinction of two governments, which soon produced the separation of two nations, will justify my design of suspending the series of the Byzantine history, to prosecute, without interruption, the disgreecful, but memorable,

reign of Honornis.

The prudent Stilicho, instead of persisting to force the across of ouinclinations of a prince and people who rejected his government, and in Am wisely abandoned Areadius to his unworthy favourites; and his reluctance to involve the two empires in a civil war displayed the moderation of a minister who had so often signalized his military spirit and abilities. But, if Stilicho had any longer endured the revolt of Africa, he would have betrayed the security of the capital and the majesty of the Western emperor to the capricious insolence of a Moonsh rebel. Gildo, is the brother of the tyrant Firmus, had preserved and obtained, as the reward of his apparent fidelity, the immense patrimony which was forfeited by treason; long and mentorious service, in the armies of Rome, raised him to the dignity of a military count; the narrow policy of the court of Theodosius had adopted the mischievous expedient of supporting a legal government by the interest of a powerful family; and the brother of Firmus was invested with the command of Africa. His ambition soon usurped the administration of justice and of the finances, without account and without control; and he maintained, during a reign of twelve years, the possession of an office from which it was impossible to remove him without the danger of a civil war. During those twelve years, the province of Africa grouned under the dominion of a tyrant who seemed to unite the unfeeling temper of a stranger with the partial resentments of domestic faction. The forms of law were often

(Tandian turns the consulship of the eunuch Entropess into a national reflection (i, i, i)4 [135])

Plandentem cerne tenatum

Fit Byzantineo process Grandyne Quirtes

O patricis plebes, O digni comule patres

It is currous to observe the first symptoms of jealousy and schoon between old and

new Rume between the Greeks and Latins,

** Cland an may have exaggreeted the vices of Gildo but his Moorah extraction, in noterious actions and the complaints of St. Augustin may justify the poet's nivertives. But a set Anna! Eccles. A a 308, No. 35 56) has treated the African rebellion with skin and learning.

superseded by the use of poison; and, if the trembling guests, who were invited to the table of Gildo, presumed to express their fears, the insolent suspicion served only to excite his fury, and he loudly summoned the ministers of death. Gildo alternately indulged the passions of avarice and lust; 20 and, if his days were terrible to the rich, his nights were not less dreadful to husbands and parents. The fairest of their wives and daughters were prostituted to the embraces of the tyrant, and afterwards abandoned to a ferocious troop of Barbarians and assassins, the black, or swarthy, natives of the desert, whom Gildo considered as the only guardians of his throne. In the civil war between Theodosius and Eugenius, the count, or rather the sovereign, of Africa maintained a haughty and suspecious neutrality; refused to assist either of the contending parties with troops or vessels, expected the declaration of fortune, and reserved for the conqueror the vain professions of his allegiance. Such professions would not have satisfied the master of the Roman world; but the death of Theodosius, and the weakness and discord of his sons, confirmed the power of the Moor; who condescended, as a proof of his moderation, to abstain from the use of the diadem." and to supply Rome with the customary tribute, or rather subsidy, of corn. In every division of the empire, the five provinces of Africa were invariably assigned to the West; and Gildo had consented to govern that extensive country in the name of Honorius; but his knowledge of the character and designs of Stilicho soon engaged him to address his homage to a more distant and feeble sovereign. The ministers of Arcadius embraced the cause of a perfidious rebel; and the delusive hope of adding the numerous cities of Africa to the empire of the East tempted them to assert a claim which they were incapable of supporting either by reason or by arms."

When Stilicho had given a firm and decisive answer to the pretensions of the Byzantine court, he solemnly accused the

Vagantus rapter, the arc s character whater.
Note that of the peril arcter is to Dentity and the et not metarity in the Dentity and the et not metarity and maritis.

Natura claracter arcter quarties

Fastudias condemns, still more wearely the locationasses of talks as his orde has all place and its safe were easily seed parties observed. The adultivies of the Afranan soldiers are checked by one of the limperus laws.

Inque tuan sortem numerous transmit urbe. Claudan 15- Pell Galencen, and has but stocked, with socials decay, the number of the instantine court which are likewise mentioned by Zosumus (L. s. p. 300 fc. 11]k.

tyrant of Africa before the tribunal which had formerly judged the kings and nations of the earth; and the image of the republic was revived, after a long interval, under the reign of The emperor transmitted an accurate and ample detail of the complaints of the provincials and the crimes of Gildo to the Roman senate; and the members of that venerable assembly were required to pronounce the condemnation of the rebel. Their unanimous suffrage declared him the enemy of the republic; and the decree of the senate added a sacred and legitimate sanction to the Roman arms, a A people who still remembered that their ancestors had been the masters of the world would have applauded, with conscious pride, the representation of ancient freedom; if they had not long since been accustomed to prefer the solid assurance of bread to the un substantial visious of liberty and greatness. The subsistence of Rome depended on the harvests of Africa; and it was evident that a declaration of war would be the signal of famine. The prefect Symmachus, who presided in the deliberations of the senate, admonished the ministers of his just apprehension that, as soon as the revengeful Moor should prohibit the exportation of corn, the tranquillity, and perhaps the safety, of the capital would be threatened by the hungry rage of a turbulent multitude.42 The prudence of Stilicho conceived and executed without delay the most effectual measure for the relief of the Roman people. A large and seasonable supply of corn, collected in the inland provinces of Gaul, was embarked on the rapid stream of the Rhone, and transported, by an easy navigation, from the Rhone to the Tiber. During the whole term of the African war, the granaries of Rome were continually filled, her dignity was vindicated from the humiliating dependence, and the minds of an immense people were quieted by the calm confidence of peace and plenty 43

The cause of Rome and the conduct of the African war were no Africa entrusted, by Stilicho, to a general active and ardent to avenge his private injuries on the head of the tyrant. The spirit of discord which prevailed in the house of Nabal had excited a

[•] Symmachus (I iv. epist. 4, 15, Seeck) expresses the judicial forms of the senate, and Cluschan (). Cons. St. 16, 1, 1, 315, 3.4.) seems to feel the spirit of a Roman. [Cp. Seeck, in his ed. of Symmachus, p. Iven. 377]

• Churd in finely displays these complaints of Symmachus in a speech of the goddens of Rome before the throne of jupiter (de Principlent, 28-123)

• See Chardian (in Europa I, 1, 401, &c. 1, Cons. Stil. 1, 1, 306, &c. 11, Cons.

Snich 91, &c.).

dentity juarrest between two of his some. Galdo and Mascema The usurper pursued, with implantive rage, the life of tavolumes invition whose courage and abouties he feared; of Masseries, ouprement by superior power took refuge in the part of M an, where he soon received the ernel intelligent that his two movement and helpless children had been munlers by their inhuman miele. The affliction of the father was repenaled only by the desire of revenge. The vigilant Study arreads prepared to enject the naval and military forces of the Western empire; and he had resolved, if the tyrant should by anle to wage an equal and doubtful war, to march against his in person. But, as Italy required his presence, and as it might be dangerous to weaken the desepte of the frontier, he indeed it more advisable that Mascezel should attempt this ardone adventure, at the head of a chosen body of Cause veterans, wh had lately served under the standard of Eugenius. troops, who were exhorted to convince the world that the could subvert, as well as defend, the throne of an usurper consisted of the Jornia, the Hermitian, and the Augustan Legions. of the Nerman auxiliaries; of the soldiers who displayed in their banners the symbol of a hose, and of the troops which were distinguished by the auspicious names of Fortunite and la rescable. Yet such was the smallness of their establishments. or the difficulty of recruiting, that these arres bands, to of high dignity and reputation in the service of Rome, amounted to no more than five thousand effective men. " The fleet of gallies and transports sailed in tempestnous weather from the port of Pisa, in Tuscany, and steered their course to the little island of Capraria; which had borrowed that name from the wild goals. its original inhabitants, whose place was now occupied by a new colony of a strange and savage appearance. "The whole island (says an ingenious traveller of those times) is filled, or rather defiled, by men who fly from the light. They call themselves

[outsure]

ochistan Bell tiel (1035). The hange a disconne allowed him to me and flerently the names of Legas Cohore, Managaria. See the Notation Imperio. S.

He was of a mature age, since be had former; A ft against the breater f or as plantamen, and, a landam, who extensioned the court of M and dually or the super pather than the matter of Manches and Bell tails about the first and as a few worths of Honor are or as a few decimals as a war to a worth of Honor are or as a few decimals.

^{38 40} the way (L. via c. 36, p. 565, qualities this account with an expression of doubt (at a int) and discourse consider to the larger choice of Zon, is L. 6, p. x. (c. 1). Vet claud in after some declination again (c. 1) and wanters from owns that bribable sent a small army, lest the recei should by ne inner to the (L. 6 one Steich, L. 1. 314, &c.).

Monks, or solitaries, because they choose to live alone, without any witnesses of their actions. They fear the gifts of fortune. from the apprehension of losing them; and, lest they should be miserable, they embrace a life of voluntary wretchedness. How alisard is their choice! how perverse their understanding! to dread the evils, without being able to support the blessings, of the human condition. Either this melancholy madness is the effect of disease, or else the consciousness of guilt urges these unhappy men to exercise on their own bodies the tortures which are inflicted on fugitive slaves by the hand of justice." 47 Such was the contempt of a profine magistrate for the monks of Captaria, who were revered, by the pious Museezel, as the chosen servants of God 45. Some of them were persuaded, by his entreaties, to embark on board the fleet; and it is observed. to the praise of the Roman general, that his days and nights were employed in prayer, fasting, and the occupation of singing psalms. The devout leader, who, with such a reinforcement, appeared confident of victory, avoided the dangerous rocks of Corsica, coasted along the eastern side of Sardima, and secured his ships against the molence of the south wind, by casting anchor in the safe and capacious harbour of Caghari, at the distance of one hundred and forty miles from the African

Gildo was prepared to resist the invasion with all the forces processed of Africa. By the liberality of his gifts and promises, he en a deal of Africa. By the liberality of his gifts and promises, he en a deal of deavoured to secure the doubtful allegizance of the Roman soldiers, whilst he attracted to his standard the distant tribes of Gretuha and Atthopia. He proudly reviewed an army of seventy thousand men, and boasted, with the rash presumption which is the forceunier of disgrace, that his numerous cavalry would trample under their horses' feet the troops of Mascazel and in volve, in a cloud of burning sand, the natives of the cold regions of Gaul and Germany. 50 But the Moor who commanded the

Claud, Rutil Numatian funerar 449-48. He ifterwards/555 5261 mentions is rely as niviman on he line of the giona. For such protone remarks, Rutilia and his assumptions in styled by his commentator. Buttle is rebine concerning the most (Mem brows tom xi), p. 4711 sore calmly observes that the interleaving port praises where he means to consume.

port process, I vo. c. 30, p. 364. Augusto commends two of these savage so ats of the Tale of Gouts (epist land, apad. Lillement Mon backs, tom vo. p. 317 and Baronus, Annal. Leeles, A to. 308, No. 51).

The rest of Claudian's poem has been lost and we are gnorant some or refere the army nade good

the a band og in Alexa.

* Oregins must be responsible for the account. The presumption of Guido and has various trans of Barbanians is celebrated by Claudian (s. Cong. Sci. 1, 345-153).

(Thiberes)

legions of Honorus was too well acquainted with the pure of his countrymen to entertain any serious apprehension of a naked and disorderly host of Barbarians; whose left arastead of a shield, was protected only by a mantle; who we totally disarmed as soon as they had darted their javela for their right hand; and whose horses had never been taught. bear the control, or to obey the guidance, of the bodie fixed his camp of five thousand veterans in the face of a wind enemy, and, after the delay of three days, gave the signal of Theshor to general engagement. 11 As Mascezel advanced before the per with fair offers of peace and pardon, he encountered one of the foremost standard bearers of the Africans, and, on his refeasible yield, struck him on the arm with his sword. The arm w the standard, sunk under the weight of the blow; and w imaginary act of submission was hastily repeated by all 'z standards of the line. At this signal, the disaffected cotar proclaimed the name of their lawful sovereign; the Barbaran astonished by the defection of their Roman allies, disperse, according to their custom, in tumultuary tlight; and Maxo obtained the honours of an easy, and almost bloodless, victor The tyrant escaped from the field of battle to the season and threw himself into a small yeasel, with the hope of reacher in safety some friendly port of the empire of the East; but te obstanacy of the wind drove him back into the harling a Tabraca, which had acknowledged, with the rest of the previor the dominion of Honorus and the authority of his heutener The inhabitants, as a proof of their repentance and lovaly seized and confined the person of Gildo in a dungeon; and he own despuir saved him from the intolerable torture of suppri ing the presence of an injured and victorious brother, captives and the spoils of Africa were laid at the feet of the emperor; but Stilicho, whose moderation appeared more or spicuous and more sincere in the midst of pensperity, st. affected to consult the laws of the republic, and referred to the

> 26 St. Amileose, who had been dead about a year revealed in a vesser to time and place of the energy. Movemel afterwards resided the directs to first at the or gonal beognapher of the saint from whom it might easily place to these at

> 20 /community p. son [c. tr , supposes an obstante combat; but the parents of On a 15 appears to conceal a real fact. Index the disguise of a mirally

best interpreters, Zosamus and Orosaus,

to fabraca lay between the two H traces of cilar is, torn, as to Fahrhea key between the two Hames of ciliatius, form, in print of Anvelle, form in p. 848. Orosecs has dasheetly named the field of buttle, her we ignoresize cannot define the precise as astronom.

The death of Gildo is expressed by Claudian (i. Coun, Seii, I. 349) and he

senate and people of Rome the judgment of the most illustrious criminals.33 Their trial was public and solemn; but the judges, in the exercise of this obsolete and precarious jurisdiction, were impatient to punish the African magistrates, who had intercepted the subsistence of the Roman people. The rich and guilty province was impressed by the Imperial ministers, who had a visible interest to multiply the number of the accomplices of Gildo; and, if an edict of Honorius seems to check the malicious industry of informers, a subsequent edict, at the distance of ten years, continues and renews the prosecution of the offences which had been committed in the time of the general rebellion.34 The adherents of the tyrant who escaped the first fury of the soldiers and the judges might derive some consolation from the tragic fate of his brother, who could never obtain his pardon for the extraordinary services which he had performed, After he had finished an important war in the space of a single winter, Mascezel was received at the court of Milan with loud applause, affected gratitude, and secret jealousy; 37 and his death, which, perhaps, was the effect of accident, has been considered as the crime of Stilicho. In the passage of a bridge, the Moonsh prince, who accompanied the master-general of the West, was suddenly thrown from his horse into the river: the officious haste of the attendants was restrained by a cruel and perfidious smile which they observed on the countenance of Stilicho; and, while they delayed the necessary assistance, the unfortunate Mascezel was irrecoverably drowned. 58

The joy of the African triumph was happily connected with Marriage the nuptuals of the emperor Honorius and of his cousin Maria, of South the daughter of Stilicho: and this equal and honourable alliance seemed to invest the powerful minister with the authority of a parent over his submissive pupil. The muse of Claudian was

** Claudian (n. Cons. Stideh, 99-119) describes their trial (tremuit quon Africa nuper, cemunt rostra reor) and applicads the restoration of the ancient constitution. It here that he introduces the famous sentence, so familiar to the friends of despotium:

... Nunquam thertas grattor existat Quam sub rege piu

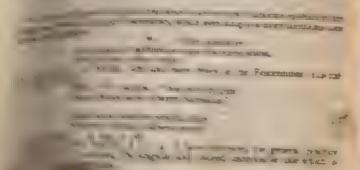
But the freedom which depends on myal piety sourcely deserves that appellation,

M See the Theodosian Code, L m, tit, xixix, leg. 3, tit, xl, leg. 19.

AT St licho, who claimed an equal share in all the victories of Theodosius and his son particularly asserts that Viria was recovered by the wisdom of his counsels (see an inscription produced by Baronius). [Gruter, p. 412. See Appendix 13.]

he I have seitened the narrative of Zosimus, which, in its crude implicity, is almost in red ble [1 v p 303 [c 11]]. Occasus damns the victorious general (p. 538 7, 33 for violating the right of sanctuary.

not silent on this propitions day; 30 he sing, in various and lively strains, the happiness of the royal pair, and the giery of the hero, who confirmed their umon and supported their throne. The ancient fables of Greece, which had almost ceased to be the object of religious faith, were saver from oblivion by the genius of poetry. The picture of the neur grave, the sent of harmony and love; the triumphant magnes it was over her native seas, and the mild influence some ar accounter diffused in the palace of Milan; carres " " " ar ar netural contiments of the heart, in the are and moral to auguage of allegonical fiction. But the anneus prattients with it bed an attributes to the roung muse " one made "the un is of the court ; and his beautions some at the proved the prese of beauty had not must be an a spe from the passings of her lover. Honorar wa m. I is more entity war of his age: between the myther a to the street, by art or permitting the communication of the second section of a rest of the section o after she had been to a vice unit the character or the emperor was a real or the second of the cheek of of his constituted to the world wife the mit will still the character in the case of the little and the first the tent of the little and the without posters or and a without there's and that his feety as his control was a see pragative of decharacte " " . was it it even at the secretary of host of the second person of the Pris and the same bear on the same recountry of the season of the season of the the same of the same of the same and the same of the same the sea of the same of the party of the sea of



skilful hand of his guardian Stilicho. The experience of history will countenance the suspicion that a prince who was born in the purple received a worse education than the meanest peasant of his dominions; and that the ambitious minister suffered him to attain the age of manhood without attempting to excite his courage or to enlighten his understanding. The predecessors of Honorius were accustomed to animate by their example, or at lesst by their presence, the valour of the legions; and the dates of their laws attest the perpetual activity of their motions through the provinces of the Roman world. But the son of Theodonus passed the slumber of his life, a captive in his palace, a stranger in his country, and the patient, almost the indifferent, spectator of the rum of the Western empire, which was repeatedly attacked, and finally subverted, by the arms of the Barbarians. In the eventful history of a reign of twenty-eight years, it will seldom be necessary to mention the name of the emperor Honorus.

The lessons of Theodosius or rather Chindian (iv. Cons. Honor 2x4-4x8), might companie a fine institution for the future prince of a great and free batton. It was far above Honorius and his degenerate subjects.

A D. HIS

CHAPTER XXX

Revolt of the Goths-They plunder Greece-Two great Invasions of Italy by Alaric and Radagaisus. They are repulsed by Stilscha -The Germans overrun Gaul-Usurpation of Constantine in the West-Disgrace and Death of Stilicho

Room of the ly the subjects of Rome could be ignorant of their obligations to the great Theodosius, they were too soon convinced how painfully the spirit and abilities of their deceased emperor had supported the frail and mouldering edifice of the republic. died in the month of January; and before the end of the winter of the same year the Gothic nation was in arms,1 The Barbarian auxiliaries erected their independent standard; and boldly avowed the hostile designs which they had long cherished in their ferocious minds. Their countrymen, who had been condemned by the conditions of the last treaty to a life of tranquillity and labour, deserted their farms at the first sound of the trumpet, and eagerly resumed the weapons which they had reluctantly laid down. The barriers of the Danube were thrown open; the savage warriors of Seythia issued from their forests; and the uncommon severity of the winter allowed the poet to remark "that they rolled their ponderous waggons over the broad and icy back of the indignant river ".3 The unhappy natives of the provinces to the south of the Danube submitted to the calamities which, in the course of twenty years, were almost grown familiar to their imagination; and the various troops of Barbarians who gloried in the Gothic name were irregularly spread from the woody shores of Dalmatia to the

¹ The revolt of the Goths and the blockede of Constantinople are distinctly mentioned by Claudian (a Rufin, l. ii, 7-100). Zosimus (l. v. p. 292 [c. 5]), and Jornandes ide Rebus Geneil, c. 39). [Alanc approached Constantinople, but did not blockade it. (p. Keiler, Stilleho, p. 31.]

Danubii soudata ruunt expertaque remis

Frangunt stagna rous (26, 26). Claudian and Ovid often amuse their fancy by interchanging the metaphors and properties of liquid water and solid ion. Much false wit has been expended in this

walls of Constantinople.3 The interruption, or at least the dumnution, of the subsidy which the Goths had received from the prudent liberality of Theodosius was the specious pretence of their revolt; the affront was embittered by their contempt for the unwarlike sons of Theodosius; and their resentment was inflamed by the weakness or treachery of the minister of Arcadius. The frequent visits of Rufinus to the camp of the Barbarians. whose arms and apparel he affected to imitate, were considered as a sufficient evidence of his guilty correspondence; and the public enemy, from a motive either of gratitude or of policy, was attentive, amidst the general devastation, to spare the private estates of the unpopular prefect. The Goths, instead of being impelled by the blind and headstrong passions of their chiefs, were now directed by the bold and artful genius of Alaric. Dorn be That renowned leader was descended from the noble race of the set my Balti; which yielded only to the royal dignity of the Amali. he had solicited the command of the Roman armies; and the Imperial court provoked him to demonstrate the folly of their mounts refusal and the importance of their loss. Whatever hopes might an might be entertained of the conquest of Constantinople, the judicious general soon abandoned an impracticable enterprise. In the midst of a divided court and a discontented people, the Emperor Areadius was terrified by the aspect of the Gothic arms; but the want of wexlom and valour was supplied by the strength of the city; and the fortifications, both of the sea and land, might securely brave the impotent and random darts of the Barbarians. Alane disdained to trample any longer on the prostrate and rumed countries of Thrace and Dacia, and he resolved to seek a plentiful harvest of fame and nehes in a province which had hitherto escaped the ravages of war.

The character of the civil and military officers, on whom starte

* Jerom, tom, i. p. 26 [ep. 60]. He endeavours to consion his friend Helio-docas, bahop of Altinum, for the loss of his nephric Nepotian, by a curious compitulation of all the public and private misfortunes of the times. See Tillemont, Men. Forlés, tom, an p. 200, &c.

* Butten or fold origo marken, anys formandes (c. 29). [The meaning of the passage of fordamen may be, as K take the set, that owing to his bravery Alaric was described taler over as a true Bu tha conference).] It is illustrious race long conference to formath in France in the boths promise of Sept man are Languetoc, and the set of the set under the computed appe turen of Brain and a branch of that family afterwards settied of the kingdoor of Naples (Greens in Processon, ad Host. Costiac, p. 53). The tords of Buas, near Aries, and of seventy nine subord nate places, were independent of the counts of Provence (Longuesia, Description de la France, tom.

2 Zosamus (L. v. p. 293-295 [c. c.]) is our best guide for the conquest of Greece, but the hasts and allusion of Claudian are so many rays of historic light.

YOL. DEE

[Bad of

Rufinus had devolved the government of Greece, confirmed the public suspicion that he had betrayed the ancient seat of freedom and learning to the Gothic invader. The proconsul Antiochus was the unworthy son of a respectable father; and Gerontius, who commanded the provincial troops, was much better qualified to execute the oppressive orders of a tyrant than to defend, with courage and ability, a country most remarkably fortified by the hand of nature. Alazie had traversed, without resistance, the plams of Macedonia and Thessaly, as far as the foot of Mount Octa, a steep and woody range of hills, almost impervious to his cavalry. They stretched from East to West, to the edge of the seashore; and left, between the precipice and the Malian Gulf, an interval of three hundred feet, which, in some places, was contracted to a road capable of admitting only a single carriage.4 In this narrow pass of Thermopylie, where Leonidas and the three hundred Spartans had gloriously devoted their lives, the Goths might have been stopped, or destroyed, by a skilful general; and perhaps the view of that sacred spot might have kindled some sparks of military ardour in the breasts of the degenerate Greeks. The troops which had been posted to defend the straits of Thermopylæ retired, as they were directed, without attempting to disturb the secure and rapid passage of Alarie; and the fertile fields of Phoeis and Borotia were instantly covered by a deluge of barbarians, who massacred the males of an age to bear arms, and drove away the beautiful females, with the spoil and cattle, of the flaming villages. The travellers who visited Greece several years afterwards could easily discover the deep and bloody traces of the march of the Goths: and Thelies was less indebted for her preservation to the strength of her seven gates than to the eager haste of Alaric, who advanced to occupy the city of Athens and the important harbour of the Piraus. The same impatience urged him to prevent the delay and danger of a slege, by the offer of a capitulation: and, as soon as the Athemans heard the voice of the Gothic herald, they were easily persuaded to deliver the greatest part of their wealth, as the ransom of the city of Minerva and its inhabitants. The treaty was ratified by solemn oaths, and observed with mutual fidelity. The Gothic prince, with a small

The passed, says Eunapus (in Vit. Philosoph p. 93, edst. Commelin. 2506), through the attempts, his non-realist (of Thermoppine) variables, his realist control act recognition realist control of Alacie in Greece, cp. App. 24.

Compare Herodotus (I vii. c 176) and Lity (xxxvi. 15). The narrow entrance of Greece was probably enlarged by each successive ravisher. [The sea has retreated far from the pass.]

and select train, was admitted within the walls; he indulged himself in the refreshment of the bath, accepted a splendid banquet which was provided by the magistrate, and affected to show that he was not ignorant of the manners of civilised nations.4 But the whole terntory of Attica, from the promontory of Sumum to the town of Megara, was blasted by his baleful presence; and, if we may use the comparison of a contemporary philsopher, Athens itself resembled the bleeding and empty skin of a slaughtered victim. The distance between Megara and Cornth could not much exceed thirty miles; but the bad road, an expressive name, which it still bears among the Greeks, was, or might easily have been made, impassable for the murch of an enemy. The thick and gloomy woods of Mount Citheron covered the inland country; the Seironian rocks approached the water's edge, and hung over the narrow and winding path, which was confined above six miles along the seashore." passage of those rocks, so infamous in every age, was terminated by the isthmus of Corinth; and a small body of firm and intrepid soldiers might have successfully defended a temporary intrenchment of five or six miles from the lonian to the Egean sea. The confidence of the cities of Peloponnesus in their natural numbert had tempted them to neglect the care of their antique walls; and the avarice of the Roman governors had exhausted and betrayed the unhappy province. 10 Corinth, Argos, Sparta, yielded without resistance to the arms of the Goths; and the most fortunate of the inhabitants were saved by death from beholding the slavery of their families and the configration of their cities.13 The vases and statues were distributed among the

⁶ In obedience to Jerom and Claudian (in Rufin, I, it, 191), I have mixed some darker colours in the infid representation of Zosimus, who wished to soften the calamities of Athens.

Nee fera Cecropias transsent vincula matres

Senesius (Fpist, clvi, [4g, 135], p. 272 edit. Petav.) observes that Athens, whose
sufferings he imputes to the proconsul's avariee, was at that time less famous for
less schools of ph losophy than for her trade of honey.

Violuta more Souronia rupes

Et duo continuo connectens acquara muro lathmes

Claudian de Bell, Getico, 188,
The Scironian rocks are described by Pausanna (l.) c 44, p. 107, edit. Kuhn,
[§ 10]) and our modern travellers, Wheeler (p. 436), and Chandler (p. 298). Hadran

made the road passable for two carrages.

If the stant in Kestin, I, it is is and de Bello Gesco, 611, &c.) vaguely, though force this delineates the seem of rather and destination.

fore bly, delineates the scene of rapine and destruction,

If The manager Assess for respect to. These generous lines of Homer (Odyss.

L.v., 306) were transcribed by one of the captive youths of Countin; and the tears of Munn, in may cove that the rade conquerer, though he was ignorant of the ance of an original picture, possessed the purest source of good taste, a benevolent heart (Plutageb, Symptomat. List, tom. in p. 73, edit. Weibel).

Barbarians, with more regard to the value of the materials that to the elegance of the workmanship; the female captives at mitted to the laws of war; the enjoyment of beauty was the reward of valour; and the Greeks could not reasonably complian of an abuse, which was justified by the example of the hers times, in The descendants of that extraordinary people, who has considered valour and discipline as the walls of Sparta, no large remembered the generous reply of their ancestors to an invaler more formidable than Alaric: " If thou art a god, thou wilt ust hurt those who have never injured thee; if thou art a maadvance : - and thou wilt find men equal to thyself", the from Thermopyle to Sparts, the leader of the Goths pursued ha victorious march without encountering any mortal antagoinsts but one of the advocates of expiring Paganism has confidently asserted that the walls of Athens were guarded by the godden Minerva, with her formidable Ægis, and by the angry phanton of Achilles; 14 and that the conqueror was dismayed by the presence of the hostile deities of Greece. In an age of miracle, it would perhaps be unjust to dispute the claim of the historian Zosimus to the common benefit; yet it cannot be dissembled that the mind of Alane was ill prepared to receive, either w sleeping or waking visions, the impressions of Greek superstition The songs of Homer and the fame of Achilles had prutably never reached the ear of the illiterate Barbarian; and the Christian faith, which he had devoutly embraced, taught him to despise the imaginary derties of Rome and Athens. The invasion of the Goths, instead of vindicating the honour, contributed, at least accidentally, to extirpate the last remains, of Paganism: and the mysteries of Ceres, which had subsisted eighteen hundred years, did not survive the destruction of Eleusis and the calamities of Greece. 15

The last hope of a people who could no longer depend on their arms, their gods, or their sovereign, was placed in the powerful assistance of the general of the West; and Stabelo

of Platarch in Pyrrho, tom it. p. 471, ed.t. Brian [c. 16, 16] for fix [] gives to gen ine answer in the Locome dialect. Furthus attacked Sparta, with as an fixed 2000 horse, and 24 elephants and the distance of that open town is a fixed minent on the laws of I verigits, runn in the stage of deals.

18 such pethips as Homer Lind, xx 164 has so oels, passed him to be a fixed party of the laws of the

¹¹ Homer perpetually describes the exemplary patience of those female enough who gave then this mi, and ever then hearts to the monterers of their factories are See a possion of English for Actions) is touched with adequate dener y by Racine

who had not been permitted to repulse, advanced to chartise the invaders of Greece,16 A numerous fleet was equipped in the ports of Italy; and the troops, after a short and prosperous navigation over the Ionian sea, were sifely disembarked on the isthmus, near the runs of Counth. The woody and mountain 1227 in A.D. 201 ous country of Arcadua, the fabulous residence of Pan and the Dryads, became the scene of a long and doubtful conflict between two generals not unworthy of each other. The skill and perseverance of the Roman at length prevailed; and the Coths, after sustaining a considerable loss from disease and descriton, gradually retreated to the lofty mountain of Pholoe. near the sources of the Peneus, and on the frontiers of Elis: a sacred country, which had formerly been exempted from the calamities of war. IT The camp of the Barbanans was immediately beneged; the waters of the river 18 were diverted into another channel; and, while they laboured under the intolerable pressure of thirst and hunger, a strong line of circumvaliation was formed to prevent their escape. After these precautions, Stilicho, too confident of victory, retired to enjoy his triumph in the theatrical games and laservious dances of the Greeks; his soldiers, deserting their standards, spread themselves over the country of their allies, which they stripped of all that had been saved from the rapacious hands of the enemy. appears to have seized the favourable moment to execute one of those hardy enterprises, in which the abilities of a general are displayed with more genuine lustre than in the tumult of a day of battle. To extreate himself from the prison of Peloponnesus, it was necessary that he should pierce the intrenchments which surrounded his camp; that he should perform a difficult

26 For Schicho's Greek war, compare the honest marrative of Zovients (L. v. Prof. squiros tores was, compare the former surface of zonarin (2.1), 255, 396 [c.7]) with the currous circumstaria, the error of Cand to to Combined Live 196, iv. Come Hon 410 197). As the error was not glorious, it is articly therm into the scale. The highest via the first who must bed through the error of a run life. It has began pade, they corrected the Eleans who were leaven of a run life. It has began pade, they

distinced their privilege, and they sufered. It should be steen to retire once or with a their inage cache. Some housed and account on the Ory apic sames, which Mr. West has prefixed to be an altition. (Produce On the P. Isaalem (in Cons. Hom. 48. a subset to the fact, without naming the river, perhaps the Alpheias (c. (as. S.)), a rise.

had phono tier or ung intermented Tardere ad San or et amondm perget am eres.

Yes I should perfer the Pieus, a sixt wateran in a wide and deep bed, which runs the light is and full a into the sea be east to see. It had been ye sed with the Vipliers to cleanse the Augean static (Cellanus, tom. a p. 760; t panifer's 1 raves p. 556).

THE DECLINE AND FALL

march of thirty miles as far as the fall and that he should transport his troops he cape that he should transport his troops he cape he was over an arm of the sea which, in the transport Rhum and the opposite shore, a sea must be breadth. The operations of Alanc miles a mile in breadth. The operations of Alanc miles a mile in the ligence that the Goths, who had entered by the intelligence that the Goths, who had entered with the write in full possession of the important provides. This unfortunate delay allowed Alanc sufficient to miles of Constantinople. The apprehension of a creation of Stilleho to retire, at the haughty manufact of a creation of Rome the honourable character of the ally and sense as the emperor of the East.

A Greenan philosopher," who visited Constantinonle soon after the death of Theodosius, published his liberal opinions concering the duties of kings and the state of the Roman republic Systems observes and deplores the fatal abuse which the marleat bounty of the late emperor had introduced into the multiwerece. The citizens and subjects had purchased an exemption wom the indispensable duty of defending their country; what was supported by the arms of Barbarian mercenanes. The fugitives of Scythia were permitted to disgrace the illustros dignities of the empire; their ferocious youth, who disdained the salutary restraint of laws, were more anxious to acquire to riches than to imitate the arts of a people, the object of their cotempt and hatred; and the power of the Goths was the stone v Tantalus, perpetually suspended over the peace and safety of the devoted state. The measures which Synesius recommends are the dictates of a bold and generous patriot. He exhorts the emperor to revive the courage of his subjects by the exampe of manly virtue; to banish luxury from the court and from the camp; to substitute in the place of the Barbanan mercenance. an army of men interested in the defence of their laws and d their property; to force, in such a moment of public danger, the

P Straho 1 vm p. 517; Pin Hat. Natur. iv. 3; Wheeler, p. 20. Chandler p. 275. They measured from different points the distance between the two-lands.

²⁰ Names or passed three years (A. b. 307 good at Constantinops as departy from 5 print to the conjector Aread K. He presented from with a crown of good, and perconduce its fore him the instructive contains at Region (p. 1.32 and t. Petary Pala 7614 (A. b. 492). The phelosopher was made beloop of Processing, A. b. 410, and shed about 430. See Treemont Mem. Eccles. tom. xii. 15 436, 554, 653-655.

mechanic from his shop and the philosopher from his school; to rouse the indolent citizen from his dream of pleasure, and to arm, for the protection of agriculture, the hands of the laborious husbandman. At the head of such troops, who might deserve the name, and would display the spirit, of Romans, he animates the son of Theodosius to encounter a race of Burbarians who were destitute of any real courage; and never to lay down his arms, till he had chased them far away into the solitudes of Scythia; or had reduced them to the state of ignominious servitude which the Lacedamonians formerly imposed on the captive Helots 11 The court of Arcadius indulged the zeal, applauded the eloquence, and neglected the advice of Synesius. Perhaps the philosopher, who addresses the emperor of the East in the language of reason and virtue which he might have used to a Spartan king, had not condescended to form a practicable scheme, consistent with the temper and circumstances of a degenerate age. Perhaps the pride of the ministers, whose business was seldom interrupted by reflection, might reject as wild and visionary every proposal which exceeded the measure of their espacity and deviated from the forms and precedents of office. While the oration of Synesius and the downfall of the Barbarians were the topics of popular conversation, an edict was published at Constantinople, which declared the promotion of Alane to the rank of master-general of the Eastern Illyricum. The Roman provincials and the allies, who had respected the faith of treaties, were justly indignant that the ruin of Greece and Eparus should be so liberally rewarded. Gothic conqueror was received as a lawful magistrate, in the cities which he had so lately besieged. The fathers whose sons he had massacred, the husbands whose wives he had violated, were subject to his authority; and the success of his rebellion encouraged the ambition of every leader of the foreign mercenaries. The use to which Alarie applied his new command distinguishes the firm and judicious character of his policy. He usued his orders to the four magazines and manufactures of offensive and defensive arms, Margus, Ratiaria, Naissus, and Thessalonica, to provide his troops with an extraordinary supply of shields, helmets, swords, and spears; the unhappy provincials were compelled to forge the instruments of their own destruction; and the Barbanans removed the only defect which had

sometimes disappointed the efforts of their courage " The birth of Alanc, the glory of his past exploits, and the confident in his future designs, insensibly united the body of the nite under his victorious standard; and with the unanimous comes of the Barbarian chieftains, the master-general of Illyneum ve elevated, according to ancient custom, on a shield, and solution proclaimed king of the Visigoths." Armed with this dela power, scated on the verge of the two empires, he alternate. sold his deceitful promises to the courts of Areadies an Honorus; 24 till he declared and executed his resolution of invading the dominions of the West. The provinces of home which belonged to the Eastern emperor were already exhausted those of Asia were maccessible; and the strength of Comunity nople had resisted his attack. But he was tempted by the fum the beauty, the wealth of Italy, which he had twice visited and he secretly aspired to plant the Gothic standard on the walls of Rome, and to enrich his army with the accumulated spods of three hundred triumphs.25

The searcity of facts 26 and the uncertainty of dates # oppose

-gui fœdeni rampit Ditatur : qui servat eget sustator Achivae Gentis, et Epirum nuper populatus intifami Pranidet Illyr co., jam. quos claerid, amicus Ingredaur moros; illis responsa claturus Quorum conjugibus portur natosque perennt,

Claudian in Entrop I, it, as a Alarce appaints his two poncy (de Bet esc. \$33,544 in the use which be had made of the Illerian jaradiction. The positive concertain; but Viaster-General is positive. From de B. G., 534, as a

Mr. Hodgkin suggests Dux Dacue tipens set Messae poince;

Journales - 26, p. 64t. The Gotha hater in adds, with unisting specific rules deliberant suast suo altore queriere regon, quam alterna per subjectere. [It is much more probable that he was proclaimed long triber in ago a.D., after the death of Theodosius, see Hodgkin 1 653. Indoore gives the date 382, which Clinton accepts.]

Discorn odisque anceps centure orbes

Non sua vis tutata deu dum foedera fallax Ludit, et alternse perjuria vendant aulie

Claudsup de Bell. Get , 505.

20 Alpibus Italiae ruptis penetralus ad Urbew. This authentic predictor was announced by Alarie or at least by Claudian (de Be. Getso, 642), 500. before the event. But, as it was not accompashed without he term would be been rashly fixed, the interpreters escaped through an ambiguous meaning. [Fa

Claudian a accession this passage, see Appendix 16.]

Our best materials are gro versus of Claudian, in the poem on the Gets are and the beginning of that which corebrates the soft one-siship of H is an Zoomitis is totally about and we are not and to such a rapis, or rather crumstant

we can pick from Orosius and the Chron cles.

"Notwithstand by the gross errors of formendes, who confounds the Inwars of Alane to ago his date of the consumb profits who and Agreement A to acc is from and respectable. It is certain from a land to (1 th morn). Hist des fatom v p. 804) that the battle of Pollenia was forget a p. 603. but we cannot be seen to be a constant. easily fill the interval. [The right date it 402 see Appendix 17]

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our attempts to describe the circumstances of the first invasion of Italy by the arms of Alarie His march, perhaps from Thessalonica, through the warlike and hostile country of Pannonia, as far as the foot of the Julian Alps; his passage of those mountains, which were strongly guarded by troops and intrench. ments; the siege of Aquileia, and the conquest of the provinces of Istria and Venetia, appear to have employed a considerable time. Unless his operations were extremely cautious and slow, the length of the interval would suggest a probable suspicion that the Gothic king retreated towards the banks of the Danube and reinforced his army with fresh swarms of Barbarians, before he again attempted to penetrate into the heart of Italy. Since the public and important events escape the diligence of the historian, he may amuse himself with contemplating, for a moment, the influence of the arms of Alarie on the fortunes of two obscure individuals, a presbyter of Aquileia and an husbandman of Verona. The learned Rufinus, who was summoned by his enemies to appear before a Roman synod,28 wisely preferred the dangers of a besieged city; and the Barbarians, who furnously shook the walls of Aquileia, might save him from the cruel sentence of another heretic, who, at the request of the same bishops, was severely whipped and condemned to perpetual exile on a desert island.25 The old man, 30 who had passed his simple and innocent life in the neighbourhood of Verona, was a stranger to the quarrels both of kings and of bishops; his pleasures, his desires, his knowledge, were confined within the little circle of his paternal farm; and a staff supported his aged steps, on the same ground where he had sported in his infancy. Yet even this humble and rustic felicity (which (lauding describes with so much truth and feeling) was still exposed to the undistinguishing rage of war. His trees, his old contemporary trees, 31 must blaze in the conflagration of the whole

Tanten. Romanie urbis Judicium fagis, in magis obsidionem hirbaricam, quam An are arter judgesim wells make seen. I from, i.e. p. 240. Runner interest and findinger; the peaceful city was unfamed by the beliam Marcella and the set of Jessey a faction. [C.p. Appendix 1.]

2 Junear the enemy of fasts and cultivary, who was persecuted and insulted by

the farmer between but on Receards, vol. 18, p. 104, the t. See the original relief of the atment in the Theodorian Code, I are till voleg 43.

With engrans we bene Veronens quasultarbum narquam egenesis eath is one

of the en 'ru and most pleasing companion of them in Cowley's in tation. Hard's edition was a p. 241) has some named and happy steeless but it is much inferior to the one na, pertian who has evaluatly drawn from the life.

If gottom reports parson que germ ne quereum.

Acquirecum are videt consenusse nemus.

country; a detachment of Gothic cavalry might sweep and a cottage and his family; and the power of Alaric could deer this happiness which he was not able either to take at bestow. "Fame," says the poet, "encircling with term to gloomy wings, proclaimed the march of the Barbaran arm, is filled Italy with consternation;" the apprehensions of oxindividual were increased in just proportion to the means his fortune; and the most timid, who had already existing their valuable effects, meditated their escape to the island. Sicily of the African coast. The public distress was aggressed by the fears and reproaches of superstition. Every hour seduced some borrid tale of strange and portentous accident, to Pagans deplored the neglect of omens and the interruptate sacrifices; but the Christians still derived some comfort on the powerful intercession of the saints and marry ra. 13

The emperor Honorius was distinguished, above his subsetby the pre-eminence of fear, as well as of rank. The preand luxury in which he was educated had not allowed in to suspect that there existed on the earth any power posume tuous enough to invade the repose of the successor of Augusta The arts of flattery concealed the impending danger, till Aur. approached the palace of Milan. But, when the sound of w had awakened the young emperor, instead of flying to are with the spirit, or even the rushness, of his age, he eagen listened to those timid counsellors who propused to count his sacred person and his faithful attendants to some secure so distant station in the provinces of Gaul. Stritcho alone what courage and authority to resist this disgraceful measure, who would have abandoned Rome and Italy to the Barburians; beas the troops of the palace had been lately detached to the Rhatian frontier, and as the resource of new levies was alow and precanous, the general of the West could only promise that if the court of Milan would maintain their ground during to

> A neighbouring wood born with himself he soen, And loves his old contemporary trees.

In this passage, Coalcy is perhaps superior to his original; and the English por who was a good totanist, has conocaled the other under a riose general expression. We classian de Bell, Get 192 56. He may seem pool at but fear and superstition occurred as large a page in the minds of the liabans.

attion occupied as large a space in the minds of the Italiana.

From the passages of Paulinus, which Bureausi has produced (Annal Rocke A.D. 405, No. 51) it is magnifest that the general nature had pervaded all Italy, a far as Nota in Campania, where that famous penitent had fixed his abadic.

M Scan crat School, &c. is the exclusive commendation which Clauder bestows (or Pell. Get 257) without condescending to except the emperor. How imagnificant must Honorus have appeared in his own court?

phorise or From D. 405 absence, he would soon return with an army equal to the encounter of the Gothic king. Without losing a moment (while each moment was so important to the public safety) Stilicho hastily embarked on the Larian lake, ascended the mountains of ice and snow, anulat the severity of an Alpine tensor of winter, and suddenly repressed, by his unexpected presence. the enemy who had disturbed the tranquility of Rhatia. The Barbarians, perhaps some tribes of the Alemann, respected the firmness of a chief who still assumed the language of command; and the choice which he condescended to make of a select number of their bravest youths was considered as a mark of his esteem and favour. The cohorts, who were delivered from the neighbouring foe, diligently repaired to the Imperial standard; and Stilicho issued his orders to the most remote troops of the West to advance, by rapid marches, to the defence of The fortresses of the Rhine were Honorius and of Italy. abandoned; and the safety of Gaul was protected only by the faith of the Germans and the ancient terror of the Roman name. Even the legion which had been stationed to guard the wall gre of Britain against the Caledonians of the north was hastily recalled: 35 and a numerous body of the cavalry of the Alani was persuaded to engage in the service of the emperor, who anxiously expected the return of his general. The prudence and vigour of Stilicho were conspicuous on this occasion, which revealed, at the same time, the weakness of the falling empire. The legions of Rome, which had long since languished in the gradual decay of discipline and courage, were exterminated by the Gothic and civil wars; and it was found impossible, without exhausting and exposing the provinces, to assemble an army for the defence of Italy.

When Stilleho seemed to abandon his sovereign in the seemen unguarded palace of Milan, he had probably calculated the by the on term of his absence, the distance of the enemy, and the obstacles that might retard their march. He principally de-

The face of the country, and the hardness of Subcho, are finely described (de Bell. Get 340-363). [The danger which Standho had to meet in Rectas and Vindebess was an attack of the Goth Radagassis, who was in league with Assarc. see Prosper, so b anno 400, a notice which has been improperly confounded with that under 505 and ep. Append x 27.]

** Venut et extremus legio prætenta firitarinis

Quae Scoto dat frena truci. De Beil, Get. 416. Yet the most rapid march from Edurburgh, or Newcastle, to Milan must have required a longer space of time than Claudian seems willing to allow for the duration of the Gothic way.

pended on the rivers of Italy, the Adige, the Mincius, the Ogbo, and the Addus; which, in the winter or spring, by the fall of rams, or by the melting of the snows, are commonly swelled into broad and impetuous torrents.17 But the scason happened to be remarkably dry; and the Goths could traverse, without impediment, the wide and stony beds, whose centre was faintly marked by the course of a shallow stream. The bridge and passage of the Addua were secured by a strong detachment of the Gothic army; and, as Alarie approached the walls, or rather the suburbs, of Milan, he enjoyed the proud satisfaction of seeing the emperor of the Romans fly before him. Honorius, accompanied by a feeble train of statesmen and cunuchs, hastily retreated towards the Alps, with a design of securing his person in the city of Arles, which had often been the royal residence of his predecessors. But Honorius 85 had scarcely passed the Po, before he was overtaken by the speed of the Gothic cavalry; 39 since the urgency of the danger compelled him to seek a temporary shelter within the fortification of Asta, a town of Liguria or Piemont, situate on the banks of the Tanarus. 40 The siege of an obscure place. which contained so rich a prize and seemed incapable of a long resistance, was instantly formed and indefatigably pressed by the long of the Goths; and the bold declaration, which the emperor might afterwards make, that his breast had never been susceptible of fear, did not probably obtain much credit, even in his own court.41 In the last and almost hopeless extremity, after the Barbarians had already proposed the indignity of a capitulation, the Imperial captive was suddenly relieved by the fame, the approach, and at length the presence of the hero

Exery traveller must recollect the face of Lombardy (see Fontenelle, tom, v p 279), which a often torne ted by the capt, and aregular abundance of waters. The Austrians before Geroa, were meaniped in the dry boil of the Poloreers. 'Ne sureabe "(says Muratori)" mai presido per mente a que brioni Alemain, che quel piccachi terratir potesse, per così dire, in un nota le cuignari in un serribil gigante" (Annal d'Itana, tom xxi. o 443 Milan, 1753, 810 M Lan. 1753, 810

me land in does not clearly answer our question. Where was Honorius is movif? Vet the light is marked by the pursuit; and my idea of the Got in east or justified by the Items center Signals (tom. 1. P. ii p. 369, de Imp. Occident, x and Minuters (\ mah d'Itana, tom, iv p. 45)

"One of the rouds may be trained in the It peraties (p. 98, 288 294, with

Wesseling's notes. Asta las some miles on the right land.

"Arts, or Art. a Roman ordery is now the capital of a pleasant country which in the internal century, decolered to the discourse locality laberts.

Discressioned Italia, p. 35. [The form is only (.) p. 17. 1

When me throughout all is. He might hold this proud language the rest year at Route, five hundred miles from the scene of danger (s), Cons. Hon. 449.

(Tanace)

whom he and so long expected. At the head of a chosen and intropid vanguard, Stilieho swam the stream of the Addua, to gain the time which he must have lost in the attack of the bridge; the passage of the Po was an enterprise of much less hazard and difficulty; and the successful action, in which he cut his way through the Gothic camp under the walls of Asta, revived the hopes, and vindicated the honour, of Rome. Instead of grasping the fruit of his victory, the Barbarian was gradually invested, on every side, by the troops of the West, who successively issued through all the passes of the Alps; his quarters were struitened; his convoys were intercepted; and the vigilance of the Romans prepared to form a chain of fortifications, and to besiege the lines of the besiegers. A military council was assembled of the long-haired chiefs of the Gothic nation; of aged warriors, whose bodies were wrapped in furs, and whose stern countenances were marked with honourable wounds. They weighed the glory of persisting in their attempt against the advantage of securing their plunder; and they recommended the prudent measure of a seasonable retreat. In this important debate, Alarie displayed the spirit of the conqueror of Rome; and, after he had reminded his countrymen of their schievements and of their designs, he concluded his animating speech by the solemn and positive assurance that he was resolved to find in Italy either a kingdom or a grave. 42

The loose discipline of the Barbarians always exposed them had been to the danger of a surprise; but, instead of choosing the discalled solute hours of riot and intemperance, Stilleho resolved to had attack the Christian Goths, whilst they were devoutly employed in celebrating the festival of Easter. The execution of the stratagem, or, as it was termed by the clergy, of the sacrilege, was entrusted to Saul, a Barbarian and a Pagan, who had served, however, with distinguished reputation among the veteran generals of Theodosius. The camp of the Goths, which

Hanc ego vel victor regno vei morre tenebo.
 Victor human

The speeches (de Bell, Get 47) 540) of the Gothic Nestor and Achilles are strong, characteristic, adapted to the circumstances, and possibly not less genuine that those of Lavy

44 Orisins II vin e 371 is showed at the implety of the Romans who attacked, on baster Sunday, such pions Orisina. Yet in the same time public prayers were offered at the shinner of St. Themas of Edessa for the destriction of the Arisin robber. See Tulement (Hist des Eespa tom v. p. 1.44, who quotes in home, which has been erroneously assested to St. Chrysostom, [For date see Appendix 17.]

which was living maintained with consi operate of the Lant, whose distinguistive an appropriate a sugmanimum and, appropriate he to be well with the faught, and fell, in the - - one and the time of this gallant Barbe agreement in the verses of Claudian, if and writer his victie, has amothed the mental was denied was becaused by the thight and d waters when he commanded; and the defeat a carry marge have decaied the victory of a me not monestrate, vied the Roman and B are a the attack. The skill of the general and the a seniors surmounted every obstacle. In the en and is the texts retreated from the field of arear turents of their cump were forced, and the and samplifer made some atonement for the re-.... See Said spirieted on the subjects of the empire. and speak of Counth and Argus currehed the west, the captive wife of Alane, who had into to promise of Rossan jewels and Patrician hand sourced to unplore the mercy of the insulting for Inspand presences, released from the Ciothic were through the provinces of Italy the praises

Force or Francisco H. dra Fung. v. 530. in

heroic deliverer. The triumph of Stilicho was compared by the poet, and perhaps by the public, to that of Marius; who, in the same part of Italy, had encountered and destroyed another army of northern Barbarians. The huge bones, and the empty helmets, of the Cimbri and of the Goths would easily be confounded by succeeding generations; and posterity might creet a common trophy to the memory of the two most illustrious generals who had vanquished, on the same memorable

ground, the two most formidable enemies of Rome.45

The eloquence of Claudian 40 has celebrated with lavish solution applause the victory of Pollentia, one of the most glorious days of Auris in the life of his patron; but his reluctant and partial muse bestows more genuine praise on the character of the Gothic king. His name is indeed branded with the reproachful epithets of pirate and robber, to which the conquerors of every age are so justly entitled; but the poet of Stilicho is compelled to acknowledge that Alaric possessed the invincible temper of mind which rises superior to every misfortune and derives new resources from adversity. After the total defeat of his infantry he escaped, or rather withdrew, from the field of battle, with the greatest part of his cavalry entire and unbroken. Without wasting a moment to lament the irreparable loss of so many brave companions, he left his victorious enemy to bind in chains the captive images of a Gothic king; 10 and holdly resolved to break through the unguarded passes of the Apennine, to spread desolation over the fruitful face of Tuscany, and to conquer or die before the gates of Rome. The capital was saved by the active and in-

47 Chardian (de Bett, Get. 520-647) and Prudentus on Symmach, L ii 694-710) celebrate, without ambiguity, the Roman victory of Polienta. They are

processes to without amongstry, the Roman victory of Pollenia. They are process and party writers, yet some credit is due to the most suspicious writersom, who are checked by the recent notonety of facts.

"It landsan's percention is strong and elegant; but the identity of the Combine and Goaha fields must be unfersiond (like Virgil's Philipp), Georgie 1, 490) according to the loose geography of a poet. Verceline and Pollenia are sixty indes from each other, and the lantade is still greater, if the Cambin were defeated in the wide and burren plain of Verona (Maffer, Verona Illustrata, P. 1, p. 54-52).

A Claudian and Fundentius must be strictly examined, to reduce the figures, and exact the historie scans of those meets.

and extort the historic sense of those poets.

20 Et gravant en a san sex frèles avantages. De mes états conquis enchaîner les images.

The practice of expenng in trumph the images of kings and provinces was familiar to the Romans. The bust of M tradities himself was twelve feet high, of massy gold Fremshem. Supplement Livian, cin. 47h.

[4] Alaric was retreating and had no idea of advancing on Rome. He was obliged to retreat towards the Apenn ness (claud de vi. Cons. Hon. 183). Stabeho let him go once more (as before in the Peloponnesus). Cp. von Wietersheim, of uff. 2, 230.]

no cience and meteral is minutioned by his of the bounds. to the company of population touling the property of particular other tetr of the Burnacement the which is carrie with it or partiest opening arrives the permitted of a return with the liberty s personal with replacingly mine distinguishing has been seen. tracted and preparence additionant is at the marginalist thereal of the light water to little for your art you printed the facilities the relationship tipes were still to the disposed to have at appropriate protection. and manus of them were semigrant to minimize their minimize to a to the regularism will the minutes of pomertus. The way Account of a lar visite of the perspectation. In these will be an other of the Appropriate remaining the FL with the terminate of the Completing orang which he had not the lines A committee part of the Karmen furnes of a rendering to attend the matters and of who, who the transferred a terms of the contract with the of the feetunest quete was provided to experience of the services that were former in the county and making of higher. The wing of the feether anner them to make up the time of the come should er horsestand had been been by comparable amountain any of reman, which remains the printing postage of the Educati Auga, and determing his marrie through the territories of their forester, there where a sense would restore the extensive strength, to meade, on the ude of the Ribme, the weathy and anangering pressure of (sail. Ignerat of the trease, which had astearly testrayed has bond and judicious enterprise, be adentend temands the passes of the mountains, atready presented by the Imperior trucks, where he was exposed, almost at the some matant, to a general attack in the front, on his flance, and to the rear In this bloody action, at a small distance from the malls of bereins, the less of the Coths was not less heavy than that which they had quatained in the defeat of Pollentia, and Hear valuant long, who excepted by the swiftness of his borse, numb either have been slain or made prisoner, if the hasty rashness of the Alam had not disappointed the measures of the ltoman general. Alarie secured the remains of his army on the adjacent rocks; and prepared himself with undaunted resolution to maintain a sirge against the superior numbers of the enemy, who invested him on all sides. But he could not oppose the distructive progress of hunger and disease; nor was it possible for him to cheek the continual desertion of his impatient and

of it bearing stome mentions that tastle, See, for date, Appendix 57.)

[A 6 44F]

capracious Barbarians. In this extremity he still found resources in his own courage, or in the moderation of his adversary; and the retreat of the Gothic king was considered as the deliverance of Italy.33 Yet the people and even the clergy, incapable of forming any rational judgment of the business of peace and war, presumed to arraign the policy of Stilicho, who so often vanquished, so often surrounded, and so often dismissed the implacable enemy of the republic. The first moment of the public safety is devoted to gratitude and joy; but the second is

diligently occupied by envy and calumny.64

The ci zens of Home had been astonished by the approach of me who Alanc; and the diligence with which they laboured to restore at an the walls of the capital confessed their own fears and the decline of the empire. After the retreat of the Barbarians, Honorius was directed to accept the dutiful invitation of the senate, and to celebrate in the Impenal city the auspicious ara of the Gothic victory and of his sixth consulship.45 The suburbs and the streets from the Milvian bridge to the Palatine mount, were filled by the Roman people, who, in the space of an hundred years, had only thrice been honoured with the presence of their lovereigns. While their eyes were fixed on the chanot where Stilicho was deservedly scated by the side of his royal pupil, they applauded the pomp of a triumph, which was not stained, like that of Constantine, or of Theodosius, with civil blood. The procession passed under a lofty arch, which had been purposely erected: but in less than seven years the Gothic conquerors of Rome might read, if they were able to read, the superb inscription of that monument, which attested the total defeat and destruction of their nation " The emperor resided several months in the capital, and every part of his behaviour was regulated with care to conciliate the affection of the clergy, the tarnate, and the people of Rome. The clergy was edified by his frequent visits and liberal gifts to the shinnes of the apostles. The senate, who in the triumphal procession had been excused

The Getic war and the sixth consulting of Honorius obscurely connect the events of Alane's retreat and loss s.

20 The rema eder of Clandian's poem on the sinh consulship of Honorius de-

acribes the journey the transple and the games (330-660).

Dee the inscription in Mascou's History of the Ancient Germans, viii, 12. The words are positive and indiscreet, Getarum nationem in omne assum domi-tam ligg, docume extingu., &c. [C. I. L. 6, 1156. It probably refers to the defeat of Radagassus, A.D. 405. See Appendix 13.

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¹⁴ Tareo de Aharico . . suepe victo, stepe concluso, semperque diminso. Ocosius 1 via e 37, p 567. Claudian (vi. Cons. Hon. 320) drops the curtain with a fine image

from the humiliating ceremony of preceding on foot the Imperial chariot, was treated with the decent reverence which stands always affected for that assembly The people was repealedly gratified by the attention and courtesy of Houseus in the public games, which were relchrated on that occasion with a magmificence not unworthy of the spectator. As some as the appointed number of chanot races was concluded, the deceration of the Circus was suddenly changed, the hunting of wild heasts afforded a various and splended entertainment, and the chase was succeeded by a military dance, which seems in the lively description of Claudian to present the image of a modern tournament.

The glode a tore abulished

In these games of Flonorus, the inhuman combats of glade ators of polluted, for the last time, the amphithestre of Rome The first Christian emperor may claim the honour of the first edict which condemned the art and amusement of sheridang human blood; 19 but this benevolent law expressed the wishes of the prince, without reforming an inveterate abuse, which degraded a civilised nation believ the conditure of savage cannibals. Several hundred, perhaps several thousand, victims were annually slaughtered in the great cities at the empire; and the month of December, more peculiarly devoted to the combats of gladiators, still exhibited to the even of the Roman people a grateful spectacle of blood and emelts. Amost the general joy of the victory of Polientia a Christian over exhorted the emperor to extirpate be breauthout the horse custom which had so long respect the your it humanit and mine to The pathetic representatives of Profession were too effectual than the generous boldness of Testimetics at feasible much, whose death was more unches to matthew that he the The Romans were provoked by the intersuption of their presuper and the rish monk, who had descended into the seems to separate the gladiators, was overwhelmed under a dissert of stores. But the

the practice of a cost of the control of the commencer of Control of the control of the control of the control of the cost of The state of the s the house he specially district that there are seen and the the state of the state of the same

and the same of the B. S. The state of the same of the to the case a numerous some a conjunction production

[#] On the current therigh house, action to be admired within the two bonks of the Summer of the state of the stat

madness of the people soon subsided; they respected the memory of Telemachus, who had deserved the honours of martyrdom; and they submitted, without a murmur, to the laws of Honorius, which abolished for ever the human sacrifices of the amphitheatre. The citizens who adhered to the manners of their ancestors, might perhaps insinuate that the last remains of a martial spirit were preserved in this school of fortitude, which accustomed the Romans to the sight of blood and to the contempt of death: a vain and cruel prejudice, so nobly confuted by the valour of ancient Greece and of modern Europe 61

The recent danger to which the person of the emperor had smortus been exposed in the defenceless palace of Milan urged him to resistance at seek a retreat in some maccessible fortress of Italy, where he A.D. of might securely remain while the open country was covered by a deluge of Barbanana. On the coast of the Hadriatic, about ten or twelve miles from the most southern of the seven mouths of the Po, the Thessalians had founded the ancient colony of RAYENA, 62 which they afterwards resigned to the natives of Umbria. Augustus, who had observed the opportunity of the place, prepared, at the distance of three miles from the old town, a capacious harbour for the reception of two hundred and tifty slops of war. This naval establishment, which included the arsenals and magazines, the barracks of the troops, and the houses of the artificers, derived its origin and name from the permanent station of the Roman fleet; the intermediate space was soon filled with buildings and inhabitants, and the three extensive and populous quarters of Ravenna gradually contributed to form one of the most important cities of Italy The principal canal of Augustus poured a copious stream of the waters of the Po through the midst of the city to the entrance of the harbour; the same waters were introduced into the profound ditches that encompassed the walls; they were distributed by a thousand subordinate canals into every part of the city, which they divided into a variety of small islands; the

Crudele gladiatorum speciacullum et inhumanum novamilis viden solet et kand sees an ita sit, ut nune fit. Cis. I usculan, u 17. He faintly censures the navis and warmly defends the nue of these sports, oculis nullu potent esse fortior contra doloren et mortem d'se plans. Senera (spist, vi. 1860) the feelings of a man

doloren et morten d'se plus. Senera (epist. vi. sheus the feelings of a man doloren et morten d'se plus. Senera (epist. vi. sheus the feelings of a man "I lin account of Ravenna is di un from Strabo (i. v. p. 327 [c. i. § 7]). Piny (ii) so), Stephen of Byrantian (inh vocc Passess, p. 652, ed t. Berkel, Charlen (ii) v. Cona. Honor. 492, &c.), S. donuz Apollmaris (t. i. epist. v. 8), formules (de Reh. Get c. 29), Procupus (de Bell, Gothar L. i. e. i. p. 300 edit. Loure), and Cluverus (Ital. Antiq. tom. t. p. 301-307). Vet I still want a local artiquarian, and a good topographical map. [C. Ricci, Ravenna e i suo. dintorn.]

communication was maintained only by the use of boats and bridges; and the houses of Ravenna, whose appearance may be compared to that of Venice, were raised on the foundation of wooden piles. The adjacent country, to the distance of many miles, was a deep and impassable morass; and the artificial causeway, which connected Ravenna with the continent, might be easily guarded or destroyed on the approach of an hostile army. These monasses were interspersed, however, with vinepards; and, though the soil was exhausted by four or five crops. the town enjoyed a more plentiful supply of wine than of fresh water. (3) The air, instead of receiving the sickly and almost pestilential exhalations of low and marshy grounds, was distinguished, like the neighbourhood of Alexandria, as uncommonly pure and salubrious; and this singular advantage was asenhed to the regular tides of the Hadriatic, which swept the canals, interrupted the unwholesome stagnation of the waters, and floated every day the vessels of the adjacent country into the heart of Ravenna. The gradual retreat of the sea has left the modern city at the distance of four miles from the Hadratic: and as early as the fifth or sixth century of the Christian are the port of Augustus was converted into pleasant orchards, and a lonely grove of pines covered the ground where the Roman fleet once rode at anchor.44 Even this alteration contributed to increase the natural strength of the place; and the shallowness of the water was a sufficient barrier against the large ships of the enemy. This advantageous situation was fortified by art and labour; and in the twentieth year of his age the emperor of the West, anxious only for his personal safety, retired to the perpetual confinement of the walls and morasses of Ravenna The example of Honorus was imitated by his feeble successors, the Gothic kings, and afterwards the Exarchs, who occupied the throne and palace of the emperors; and, till the middle of the eighth century, Ravenna was considered as the seat of government and the capital of Italy.10

44 The fable of Theodore and Honoma, which Dryden has so admirably transplanted from Boccase of Georgia, in novell, yet I was acted in the wood of the second of the second from Chairs, the mirrhest no, which, with the intermediate toad or a fluid, the Fast constituted the triple city of Rivenna.

on From the year 404, the dates of the Theodon in Code become sodentary at Constantinople and Ravenna. See Godefroy's Chronology of the Laws, sum to p. calvat., Sec.

Martial (epigram in, 55-52) plays on the trick of the knave who tiad sold him wine instead of water, but he scriously decurres that is custern at Ravenna is more valuable than a vineyard. Suffering complains that the town is destructe of found as and squeducts, and ranks the want of fresh water among the local evils, such as the crossing of frogs, the stringing of gnats, for

The fears of Honorius were not without foundation, nor were men his precautions without effect. While Italy rejoiced in her deliverance from the Goths, a furious tempest was excited among the nations of Germany, who yielded to the irresistible impulse that appears to have been gradually communicated from the eastern extremity of the continent of Ama, Chanese annals, as they have been interpreted by the learned industry of the present age, may be usefully applied to reveal the secret and remote causes of the fall of the Roman empire. The extensive territory to the north of the great wall was possessed, after the flight of the Huns, by the victorious Sien-pi, who were sometimes broken into independent tribes, and re-united under a supreme chief; till at length, styling themselves Topa, or masters of the earth, they acquired a more solid consistence and a more formidable power. The Topa soon compelled the pastoral nations of the eastern desert to acknowledge the superiority of their arms; they invaded China in a period of weakness and intestine discord; and these fortunate Tartars, adopting the laws and manners of the vanquished people, founded an Imperial dynasty, which reigned near one hundred and sixty years over the northern provinces of the monarchy. Some generations before they ascended the man mon throne of China one of the Topa princes had enlisted in his cavalry a slave of the name of Moko, renowned for his valour; (Matura) but who was tempted by the fear of punishment to desert his standard and to range the desert at the head of an hundred followers. This gang of robbers and outlaws swelled into a camp, a tribe, a numerous people, distinguished by the appellation of Georgen; and their hereditary chieftains, the posterity (300) and of Moko, the slave, assumed their rank among the Scythian monarchs. The youth of Toulun, the greatest of his descend [Shelve or ants, was exercised by those misfortunes which are the school of heroes. He bravely struggled with adversity, broke the (A.D. DO) imperious yoke of the Topa, and became the legislator of his nation and the conqueror of Tartary. His troops were distributed into regular bands of an hundred and of a thousand men; cowards were stoned to death; the most splendid honours were proposed as the reward of valour; and Toulun, who had knowledge enough to despise the learning of China, adopted only such arts and institutions as were favourable to the unlitary spirit of his government. His tents, which he removed in the winter season to a more southern latitude, were pitched during the summer on the fruitful banks of the Selinga. His

[Shakhan]

conquests stretched from Corea far beyond the river Irtish. He vanquished in the country to the North of the Caspian Sea the nation of the Huns: and the new title of Khanor Cagan expressed the faine and power which he derived from this memorable victory.

Emigration of the northern Germana A D 400

The chain of events is interrupted, or rather is concealed, as it passes from the Volga to the Vistula, through the dark interval which separates the extreme limits of the Chinese and of the Roman geography. Yet the temper of the Barbarians and the experience of successive enurrations sufficiently declare that the Hans, who were oppressed by the arms of the Geougen, soon withdrew from the presence of an insulting victor. The countries towards the Euxine were already occupied by their kindred tribes; and their hasty flight, which they soon converted into a bold attack, would more naturally be directed towards the rich and level plans through which the Vistula gently flows into the Baltic Sea. The North must again have been alarmed and agitated by the invasion of the Huns; and the nations who retreated before them must have pressed with incumbent weight on the confines of Germany. The inhabitants of those regions which the ancients have assigned to the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Burgundians might embrace the resolution of abandoning to the fugitives of Sarmatia their woods and morasses; or at least of discharging their superfluous numbers on the provinces of the Roman empire.68 About four years after the victorious Toulun had assumed the title of Khan of the Geongen, another Barbarian, the haughty Rhodogast or Radagaisus. " marched from the northern extremities of Germany

**See M de Guignes, Hist des Huns, tom a p. 179-180, tom a p. 291, 334-338. [His empire "extended east and west from Cores to Harsshar and south as far as the country of the Tukuhan and the modern Kan Suh province". * Nexth west of Zarun's empire were the remains of the Haingnu and they were all gradually anneaed by him. This modest statienent, which precedes the distinct limitation of his dominions in a westerfy detection to the north of Hirashar at the utmost Tarbagata. or Kuleba is estdently the ground for Gibbon's mistaken statement that he "sinquished the Huns to the north of the Caspian. * Mr. E. H. Parker, A Thousand Years of the Tartars, p. 182-has observed an emigration from the Palus Macotas to the north of Germany, which he ascribes to famine, but his views of ancient history are strangely instead by gnorance and error. * Zoumus (I. v. p. 33-1 [c. 26]) uses the general description of the nations beyond the Danube and the Rhine. Their situation and consequently their names, are manifestly shown, even in the various epithets which each ancient writer may have causally added.

The name of Rhadagast was that of a local desty of the Obotrites (in Meck.)

The name of Rhad wast was that of a local detty of the Obotrites (in Meck tenburgh). A hero might naturally assume the appellation of his totelar god, but it is not probable that the Burbarians should worst p an unsuccessful here. Mascou, Hist of the Germana vin. 14. [His name suggested that Radagaisus was a Slav; but he is now generally supposed to be a Goth.]

almost to the gates of Rome, and left the remains of his army to achieve the destruction of the West. The Vandals, the Suevi, and the Burgundians formed the strength of this mighty host; but the Alam, who had found an hospitable reception in their new seats, added their active eavalry to the heavy infantry of the Germans; and the Gothic adventurers crowded so eagerly to the standard of Radagaisus that, by some historians, he has been styled the king of the Gotha. Twelve thousand warriors, distinguished above the vulgar by their noble birth or their valuant deeds, glittered in the van; 70 and the whole multitude, which was not less than two hundred thousand fighting men. might be increased by the accession of women, of children and of slaves, to the amount of four hundred thousand persons. This formidable emigration issued from the same coast of the Baltic which had poured forth the myriads of the Cimbri and Tcutones to assault Rome and Italy in the vigour of the republic. After the departure of those Barbarians, their native country, which was marked by the vestiges of their greatness, long ramparts and gigantic moles,71 remained during some ages a vast and dreary solitude; till the human species was renewed by the powers of generation, and the vacancy was filled by the influx of new inhabitants. The nations who now usurp an extent of land which they are unable to cultivate would soon be assisted by the industrious poverty of their neighbours, if the government of Europe did not protect the claims of dominion and property.

The correspondence of nations was in that age so imperfect states. and precarious that the revolutions of the North might escape AD the knowledge of the court of Ravenna; till the dark cloud which was collected along the coast of the Baltic burst in thunder upon the banks of the Upper Danube The emperor of the West, if his ministers disturbed his amusements by the news of the impending danger, was satisfied with being the occasion, and the spectator, of the war. 12 The safety of Rome was entrusted to the counsels and the sword of Stilicho; but

To Olympiodorus (apud Photnum, p. 190 [F. H. G. iv. p. 59, fr. 9]) uses the Greek aprd Orngavo; which does not convey any precise idea. I suspect that they were the princes and nobles, with their faithful companions, the kinghts with their squares, as they would have been styled some centuries afterwards.

Therefore the capacity of the Companion of the Companio

Spectator vel causa fur

Claudian, vi. Cons. Hon. 439 is the modest language of Honorius, in speaking of the Gothic war, which he had seen somewhat nearer.

such was the feeble and exhausted state of the empire that it was impossible to restore the fortifications of the Danube, or to prevent, by a vigorous effort, the invasion of the Germans.73 The hopes of the vigilant minister of Honorius were confined to the defence of Italy. He once more abandoned the provinces, recalled the troops, pressed the new levies, which were ingorously exacted and pusillammously cluded, employed the most efficacious means to arrest, or allure, the deserters, and offered the gift of freedom, and of two pieces of gold, to all the slaves who would enlist. By these efforts he painfully collected, from the subjects of a great empire, an army of thirty or forty thousand men, which, in the days of Scipio or Camillus, would have been instantly furnished by the free citizens of the territory of Rome." The thirty legions of Stiheho were reinforced by a large body of Barbarian auxiliaries; the faithful Alani were personally attached to his service; and the troops of Huns and of Goths, who marched under the banners of their native princes, Huldin and Sarus, were animated by interest and resentment to oppose the ambition of Radagaisus. The king of the confederate Germans passed, without resistance, the Alps, the Po, and the Apennine, leaving on one hand the inaccessible palace of Honorus, securely buried among the marshes of Ravenna, and, on the other, the camp of Stilieho, who had fixed his headquarters at Ticmum, or Pavia, but who seems to have avoided a decisive battle, till he had assembled his distant forces. Many cities of Italy were pillaged, or destroyed, and the siege of Florence 76 by Radaguisus is one of the earliest events in the history of that celebrated

.

(Ulda)

for Zosimus (l. v. p., 311 [c. 26]) transports the war and the victory of Stilleho beyond the Danule. A strange error, which is awkwardly and imperfectly cared by ending 'taxor for 'lorses (Tillemont, Hist, des Emp. tom > p. 807). In good poncy, we must use the service of Zosimus, without esteering or trusting from But see Amendia 18.1.

But see Appendix 18.]

14 Codex Theodos. I via tit wis, leg 16. The date of this law (A.D 466, 18th May) satisfies me, as a had done Godefroy (tona a p 387), of the true j w of the invasion of Radagasus. Ellemont, Page and Maraton prefer the preceding year, but they are bound, by certain obligations of civil ty and respect to 54 Paulinis of Nola. [A.D. 405 is the true date, given by our best authority. Propert.]

the Soon after Rome had been taken by the Gouls, the senate on a sudden emergency, armed ten legions, good horse, and 44,000 foot, a force which the city could not have sent forth under Augustus (Luvy, vii =35). This declaration may purity an antiquary but it is clearly explained by Montesquien.

Machavel has expla and, at least as a philosopher, the origin of Florence, which users bly described, for the benefit of trade, from the took of I resulte to the banks of the Arno (Istoria Florence, which user Tiberius (Tiet Annal 179). The Transverse and a colony to Florence, which useler Tiberius (Tiet Annal 179), described the reputation and name of a florencing city. See Claver, Ital Antag. tom. 1, p. 507, Sec.

republic, whose firmness checked and delayed the unskilful fury of the Barbanans. The senate and people trembled at their approach within an hundred and eighty miles of Rome, and anxiously compared the danger which they had escaped with the new perils to which they were exposed. Alaric was a Christian and a soldier, the leader of a disciplined army; who understood the laws of war, who respected the sanctity of treaties, and who had familiarly conversed with the subjects of the empire in the same camps, and the same churches. The savage Radagassus was a stranger to the manners, the religion, and even the language, of the civilised nations of the South, The fierceness of his temper was exasperated by cruel superstition, and it was universally believed that he had bound himself by a solemn vow to reduce the city into a heap of stones and and threat threat the solemn ashes, and to sacrifice the most illustrious of the Roman senators on the alters of those gods who were appeased by human blood. The public danger, which should have reconciled all domestic ammosities, displayed the incurable madness of religious faction. The oppressed votanes of Junter and Mercury respected, in the implacable enemy of Rome, the character of a devout Pagan; loudly declared that they were more apprehennive of the sacrifices than of the arms of Radagassus, and secretly rejoiced in the calamities of their country which condemned the faith of their Christian adversaries. 17

Florence was reduced to the last extremity, and the fainting prose courage of the citizens was supported only by the authority of it an St. Ambrose, who had communicated, in a dream, the promise 20 of a speedy deliverance. 8 On a sudden, they beheld, from their walls, the banners of Stilicho, who advanced, with his united force, to the relief of the faithful city, and who soon marked that fatal spot for the grave of the Barbarian host. The apparent contradictions of those writers who variously relate the defeat of Radagaisus may be reconciled, without offering much violence to their respective testimonies. Orosius and Augustin, who were intimately connected by friendship and religion, asembe this mimeulous victory to the providence of God rather

77 Ves the Jupiter of Radagaisus who worshipped Thor and Woden was very different from the Olympic or Capitoline Jove. The accommodating temper of Pe viheism might unite those various and remote deties, but the genuine Romans abhorred the human sacrifices of Gottl and Germany

28 Paul nus (in V.t. Ambros, c. 50) relates this story, which be received from the mouth of Pansophia berself, a reagious matron of Florence. Yet the archbishop soon crowed to take an active part in the business of the world, and never became

a popular saint,

was sentenced to a mild, but distant, exile in the province of Tuscany; and this degradation of the regal dignity was so far from exciting the resentment of his subjects that they punished with death the turbulent Sunno, who attempted to revenge his brother; and maintained a dutiful allegiance to the princes who were established on the throne by the choice of Stilicho.89 When the limits of Gaul and Germany were shaken by the northern emigration, the Franks beavely encountered the single force of the Vandals, who, regardless of the lessons of adveraty, had again separated their troops from the standard of their Barbarian allies. They paid the penalty of their rashness, and twenty thousand Vandals, with their king Godigischis, were slain in the field of battle. The whole people must have been extirpated if the squadrons of the Alani, advancing to their relief, had not trampled down the infantry of the Franks, who, after an honourable resistance, were compelled to relinquish the unequal contest. The victorious confederates pursued their march; and on the last day of the year, in a season when the [a.o. os. waters of the Rhine were most probably frozen, they entered, without opposition, the defenceless provinces of Gaul. This memorable passage of the Suevi, the Vandals, the Alani, and the Burgundians, who never afterwards retreated, may be considered as the fall of the Roman empire in the countries beyond the Alps; and the barriers, which had so long separated the savage and the civilised nations of the earth, were from that fatal moment levelled with the ground.99

While the peace of Germany was secured by the attachment pustures of the Franks, and the neutrality of the Alemanni, the subjects 20 of Home, unconscious of their approaching calamities, enjoyed the state of quiet and prosperity, which had sekloin blessed the frontiers of Gaul. Their flocks and herds were permitted to graze in the pastures of the Barbarians, their huntsmen pene-

Реоческа писоса

Expellet ed un taxon quam Francia regis Quon dedenna

Claudian to Cons. Sci. 1 235 [236], &c.) is clear and satisfactory. These kings of France are unknown to Gregory of Tours, but the author of the Gesta France or Days. ment one both Sunno and Marconer, and names the latter as the father of Phara mend on both. Sunno and Marconse, and natures the latter as the latter of Francisco mend on term, p. 643). He seems to write from good materials, which he did not understand. (Mr. Hodgkin places this journey of Schebe in the first half of A D 365 (, 660). The source for it is Claudian, do it, Cons. then 43, 547 () Mr. See Zosemus (i. vi. p. 371 (c. 3)). Orivins the vir c. 40, p. (66) and the Historians of Francisco () n. c. 9, p. 28, in the second so one of the Historians of Francisco has preserved a valuate imaginers to Renatus Frontingua.

Frigerichis, whose three names denote a Christian a Roman subject and a Semi-

burbarian.

than to the valour of man." They strictly exclude every ide of chance, or even of bloodshed, and positively affirm that the Romans, whose camp was the scene of plenty and idleness of joved the distress of the Barbarians, slowly expiring on the share and barren ridge of the hills of Fasula, which rise above the che Florence. Their extravagant assertion that not a single solderal the Christian army was killed, or even wounded, may be dispused with silent contempt; but the rest of the narrative of Augusta and Orosius is consistent with the state of the war and the character of Stilicho. Conscious that he commanded the la army of the republic, his prudence would not expose it in the open field to the headstrong fury of the Germans, of surrounding the enemy with strong lines of circumvallates. which he had twice employed against the Gothic king, was repeated on a larger scale, and with more considerable effect The examples of Casar must have been familiar to the most Illiterate of the Roman warnors; and the fortifications of Dymchium, which connected twenty-four castles by a perpetual date and rampart of fifteen miles, afforded the model of an intrence ment which might confine and starve the most numerous hos of Barbarians. 80 The Roman troops had less degenerated free the industry than from the valour of their ancestors, and, if the servile and laborious work offended the pride of the solders. Tuscany could supply many thousand peasants who would labour, though perhaps they would not fight, for the salvation of their native country. The impresoned multitude of horses and men 51 was gradually destroyed by famine rather than by the sword; but the Romans were exposed, during the progress of such an extensive work, to the frequent attacks of an impatient

PAugustin de Civitat, Dei, v. 23. Orosius, l. vn. c. 37, p. 567 571. The set friends wrote in Africa, ten or twelve years after the victory, and their author to ampuently followed by Indore of Seville (in Chron. p. 212, edit. Greit). Here set interesting facts might Orosius have interesting facts might Orosius have interesting facts might Orosius have interesting facts.

to pious nonsense i

50 Franguintur montes, plantimque per ardua Ciesar

Duc t opus , pandit fessas turstaque salminis Dispond eastella jugis, magnoque recessa Amplexus fines a saltus nemoriosque tesqua Et silvas vastăque feras indag ne cinudit.

Vet the simplicity of truth (Cossar, do Bell Civ in 44) is far greater than the amplifications of Lucan (Pharsal, I. v. 25-23).

If the rhetorical expressions of Orosias, "In ando et appero montas juge "extrain as parvin recticem" are not very suitable to the cream-process of a greaterny. But I walke, only three miles from Florence might afford apare for the indignature of Radagassus, and would be comprehended within the cutture of its time.

stran lines.

enemy. The despair of the hungry Barbarians would precipitate them against the fortifications of Stilicho; the general might sometimes indulge the ardour of his brave auxiliaries, who engerly pressed to assault the camp of the Germans; and these various incidents might produce the sharp and bloody conflicts which dignify the narrative of Zosimus and the Chromeles of Prosper and Marcellinus.81 A seasonable supply of men and provisions had been introduced into the walls of Florence, and the famished host of Radagaisus was in its turn besieged. The proud monarch of so many warlike nations, after the loss of his bravest warners, was reduced to confide either in the faith of a capitulation or in the elemency of Stilicho.30 But the death of the rayal captive, who was ignomimously beheaded, disgraced the triumph of Rome and of Christianity, and the short delay of has execution was sufficient to brand the conqueror with the guilt of cool and deliberate crucity.84 The famished Germans who escaped the fury of the auxiliaries were sold as slaves, at the contemptible price of as many single pieces of gold; but the difference of food and climate swept away great numbers of those unhappy strangers; and it was observed that the inhuman purchasers, instead of reaping the fruits of their labour, were soon obliged to provide the expense of their interment. Stilicho informed the emperor and the senate of his success; and deserved, a second time, the glorious title of Deliverer of Italy.85

The fame of the victory, and more especially of the miracle, the has encouraged a vain persuasion that the whole army, or the o rather nation, of Germans, who migrated from the shores of the Baltic, miserably perished under the walls of Florence. Such indeed was the fate of Radagaisus himself, of his brave and faithful companions, and of more than one third of the various multitude of Sueves and Vandals, of Alani and Burgundians,

to See Zosimus, L. v., p. 331 [c. 26], and the Chronicles of Prosper and Murcel-

Solvempodorus (agud Photium, p. 180) uses an expression (**portranter's which would denote a strict and friendly alliance, and render St. cho stal more commat [fr. q. F. H. G. o. p. 16. The expression refers to Gothic chiefs, not to Radagassis]. The paulisper detentus, denude interfectus, of Orocas in sofficiently

**Orosius, plously inhuman sacrifices the king and people Agag and the Amaid later without a symptom of compassion. The bloody actor is less detentable

than the cool referring historian.

** And Charden's music was she askep? bad she been 21 paid? Methalis the wenth consider p of Hessens (A.D. 40) would have furnished the subject of a noble poem. See below p. 282, and ep. Appendix t. Before it was discovered that the state could no longer be served. Stocho (after Romulus, Camillus, and Martus) might have been worthly surnamed the fourth founder of Rome.

who adhered to the standard of their general.46 The union of such an army might excite our surprise, but the causes of separation are obvious and forcible; the pride of birth, the insolence of valour, the jealousy of command, the impatience of subordination, and the obstinate conflict of opinions, of interests, and of passions, among so many kings and warriors, who were untaught to yield, or to obey. After the defeat of Radagaisus, two parts of the German host, which must have exceeded the number of one hundred thousand men, still remained in arms, between the Apeniune and the Alps, or between the Alps and the Danube. It is uncertain whether they attempted to revenge the death of their general; but their irregular fury was soon diverted by the prudence and firmness of Stilicho, who opposed their march, and facilitated their retreat; who considered the safety of Rome and Italy as the great object of his care, and who sacrificed, with too much indifference, the wealth and tranquility of the distant provinces. The Barbarians acquired, from the junction of some Pannonian deserters, the knowledge of the country and of the roads; and the invasion of Gaul, which Alarie had designed, was executed by the remains of the great army of Radagaisus."

Yet, if they expected to derive any assistance from the tribes of Germany, who inhabited the banks of the Rhine, their hopes were disappointed. The Alemanni preserved a state of in active neutrality; and the Franks distinguished their zeal and courage in the defence of the empire. In the rapid progress down the Rhine, which was the first act of the administration of Stiheho, he had applied himself, with peculiar attention, to secure the alliance of the warlike Franks, and to remove the preconcileable enemies of peace and of the republic. Marconne, one of their kings, was publicly convicted before the tribunal of the Roman magistrate, of violating the faith of treaties. He

66 A humanous passage of Prosper's Chronole, "In tree perfer, per diverse principes, diverse covered as, reduces the miracle of Florence, and connects the history of Italy, Gaul and Germany, of Orosius and I forom per tively charge him with instigating the invasion "Excitation a Stellehone gentes," &c. They must mean instigatify. He saved

Its vot the expense of Giral.

[T.A. 20 306]

[&]quot; The Count de Bunt is satisfied that the Germans who invaded Goal were the Anciente that yet remined of the army of Radagasus. See the Historic Anciente des Prindes de l'harque (tom via p. 87-12). Para 1772, an illustrative, which I had not the advantage of perusing till the year 1777. As early is 1772, I find the some des expressed in a rough draught of the present Historic I have some observed a set of an information in Masone in 151. Not agreement. "musual coursest auton may add some weight to our common service of timeders of Gault west feeth from Norman and Vindelinas norms probability

was sentenced to a mild, but distant, exile in the province of Tuscany; and this degradation of the regal dignity was so far from exciting the resentment of his subjects that they punished with death the turbulent Sunno, who attempted to revenge his brother; and maintained a dutiful allegance to the princes who were established on the throne by the choice of Stilleho, 10 When the limits of Gaul and Germany were shaken by the northern emigration, the Franks bravely encountered the single force of the Vandals, who, regardless of the lessons of adversity. had again separated their troops from the standard of their Barbarian ailies. They paid the penalty of their rashness, and twenty thousand Vandals, with their king Godigischis, were slain in the field of battle. The whole people must have been extrepated if the squadrons of the Alani, advancing to their relief, had not trampled down the infantry of the Franks, who, after an honourable resistance, were compelled to relinquish the unequal contest. The victorious confederates pursued their march; and on the last day of the year, in a season when the LAD. 40. waters of the Rhme were most probably frozen, they entered, without opposition, the defenceless provinces of Gail. This memorable passage of the Suevi, the Vandals, the Alani, and the Burgundians, who never afterwards retreated, may be considered as the fall of the Roman empire in the countries beyond the Alps; and the barriers, which had so long separated the savage and the civilised nations of the earth, were from that fatal moment levelled with the ground.20

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> --- Provincia minaca Expellet citias fasces quam Francia reges Quos deders.

Classitian is Cons. Stil. 1. 223 (247), &c.) is clear and satisfactors. These kings of France are unknown to Gregory of Tours, but the author of the Gesta Francounce more tions both Sunno and Marcomir, and names the latter as the father of Phara

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**See Zommis (I. vi. p. 373 [c. 3]). Orm is if vi. 40. 40. 443.47.]

**Street Seems of France has preserved a visinitive traginers of Review Problems. Frigeryles, whose three names denote a Christian, a Roman subject, and a Semi-DATE LANGE THE

270 THE DECLINE AND FALL

trated, without fear or danger, into the darkest recesses of the

Hereyman wood,81 The banks of the Rhine were crowned, like those of the Tiber, with elegant houses, and well-cultivated farms; and, if a poet descended the river, he might express his doubt on which side was situated the territory of the Romans This scene of peace and plenty was suddenly changed into a desert; and the prospect of the smoking ruins could alone distinguish the solitude of nature from the desolation of man. The flourishing city of Menta was surprised and destroyed; and many thousand Christians were inhumanly massacred in the church. Worms penshed after a long and obstinate mege, Strasburg, Spires, Rheims, Tournay, Arras, Amiens, experienced the cruel oppression of the German yoke; and the consuming flames of war spread from the banks of the Rhine over the greatest part of the seventeen provinces of Gaul. That neh and extensive country, as far as the ocean, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, was delivered to the Barbanans, who drove before them, in a promiscuous crowd, the bishop, the senator, and the virgin, laden with the spoils of their houses and altars. 4 The ecclesiastics, to whom we are indebted for this vague description of the public calamities, embraced the opportunity of exhorting the Christians to repent of the sins which had provoked the Divine Justice, and to renounce the perishable goods of a wretched and deceitful world. But, as the Pelagian controversy. " which attempts to sound the abyss of grace and predestination, soon became the serious employment of the Latin clergy; the Providence which had decreed, or foreseen, or permitted such a train of moral and natural evils was rashly weighed in the imperfect and fallacious balance of reason. The crimes and the mis-

[Berbetome

Com videat coas que sit Romana requirat.

Jerom, tom. i. p. 63. See in the 1st vol. of the Historiaes of France p. 777 762, the proper extracts from the Carmen de Privade 1st Dayla and Salvan. The anonymous poet was binself a captive with his bishop and fellow entirets.

96 The Pengan doctrine, which was first apparted A D and, was condemned in the space of ten years. It Reuse and Curringe. St Augustin fought and conquered but the Greek Church was favourable to be adversaries; and twhite angular enough) the people did not take any part in a dispute which they could not understand.

fortunes of the suffering people were presumptuously compared with those of their ancestors; and they arraigned the Divine Justice, which did not exempt from the common destruction the feeble, the guiltless, the infant portion of the human species. These idle disputants overlooked the invariable laws of nature, which have connected peace with impocence, plenty with industry, and safety with valour. The timid and selfish policy of the court of Ravenna might recall the Palatine legions for the protection of Italy; the remains of the stationary troops might be unequal to the arduous task; and the Barbarian auxiliaries might prefer the unbounded beence of spoil to the benefits of a moderate and regular stipend. But the provinces of Gaul were filled with a numerous race of hardy and robust youth, who, in the defence of their houses, their families, and their altars, if they had dared to die, would have deserved to vanquish. The knowledge of their native country would have enabled them to oppose continual and insuperable obstacles to the progress of an invader; and the deficiency of the Barbarians, in arms as well as in discipline, removed the only pretence which excuses the submission of a populous country to the inferior numbers of a veteran army. When France was invaded by Charles the Fifth, he inquired of a prisoner how many days Paris might be distant from the frontier. "Perhaps twelve, but they will be days of battle;" such was the gallant answer which checked the arrogance of that ambitious prince. The subjects of Honorius and those of Francis I. were animated by a very different spirit; and in less than two years the divided troops of the savages of the Bultic, whose numbers, were they fairly stated, would appear contemptible, advanced without a combat to the foot of the Pyrenean mountains.

In the early part of the reign of Honorius, the vigilance of access to the Stilicho had successfully guarded the remote island of Britain and from her incessant enemies of the ocean, the mountains, and the Irish coast. But those restless Barbanans could not neglect the

Ese Memoires de Guillaume du Bellay, U. In French the original reproof is less observand more pointed, from the double sense of the word jowewle, which agencies a day's travel or a battle.

** Indian h to one Still I in ago). It is supposed that the Scots of ireland invaded, by sea, the whole western coast of Britain and some a ght cord t may be premeiven to Nennus and the firsh traditions (Latte's Hist. of England, vol. it.).

1. 160. Whisakers Genuine History of the Britain p. 190. The sixty-six lives of St. Patrick which were extent in the ninth century must have contained as many thousand lies, yet we may believe that in one of those free inconds, the introduction provide was led many capture (I sher Antiquit Eccles, Britain), p. 431, and Tillemont, Mena Faulta tom, and p. 436, 78a, &c.).

[A.D. jog]

Constantine is an know leadent in the larg and Gaut A.D. 601

fair opportunity of the Gothic war, when the walks and stations of the province were stripped of the Roman troops. If any of the legionaries were permitted to return from the Italian expedition, their faithful report of the court and character of Honorus must have tended to dissolve the bonds of allegiance and to examperate the seditious temper of the British army The spirit of revolt, which had formerly disturbed the age of Gallienus, was revived by the capricious violence of the soldiers: and the unfortunate, perhaps the ambitious, candidates, who were the objects of their choice, were the instruments, and at length the victims, of their passion.97 Marcus was the first whom they placed on the throne, as the lawful emperor of Britain, and of the West. They violated, by the hasty murder of Marcus, the oath of fidelity which they had imposed on themselves; and their disapprobation of his manners may seem to inscribe an honourable epitaph on his tomb. Gratian was the next whom they adorned with the diadem and the purple, and, at the end of four months, Gratian experienced the fate of his predecessor. The memory of the great Constantine, whom the British legions had given to the church and to the empire, suggested the singular motive of their third choice. They discovered in the ranks a private soldier of the name of Constantine, and their impetuous levity had already scated him on the throne, before they perceived his incapacity to sustain the weight of that glorious appellation.98 Yet the authority of Constantine was less precarrous, and his government was more successful, than the transient reigns of Mazcus and of Gratian. The danger of leaving his inactive troops in those camps which had been twice polluted with blood and sedition urged him to attempt the reduction of the Western provinces. He landed at Boulogue with an inconsiderable force; and, after he had reposed himself some days, he summoned the cities of Gaul, which had escaped the yoke of the Barbarians, to acknowledge their lawful sovereign. They obeyed the summons without reluctance. The neglect of the court of Ravenna had absolved a deserted people from the duty of allegiance; their actual distress en-

If The British unimpers are taken from Zosimus (l. v. p. 371-375 [c. 2]), Oromia (l. v. c. 40, p. 576, C7). Olympiadomi (Apid Photoum p. 180, 18), fr. 12.), the endestastical bottomais, and the chronicles. The Laires are ignorant of Marcus, feeding to Zosimus, the structure of Gaul by the Vandals caused the result in the tun. For the usurpers see Appendix 19 and 20.

exec narestar to Constantino incontrastino execute to donus Apollinaria, 1 v exect 9, p. 130 and a second. Second 1. Vet Sidonus maybe be tempted, by so fair

a pun to st greature a primor who had disgraced his grandfather,

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

couraged them to accept any circumstances of change, without apprehension, and perhaps with some degree of hope; and they might flatter themselves that the troops, the authority, and even the name of a Roman emperor, who fixed his residence in Gaul, would protect the unhappy country from the rage of the Bar-The first successes of Constantine against the detached parties of the Germans were magnified by the voice of adulation into splendid and decisive victories; which the reumon and insolence of the enemy soon reduced to their just value. His negotiations procured a short and precarious truce; and, if some tribes of the barbarians were engaged, by the liberality of his gills and promises, to undertake the defence of the filme, these expensive and uncertain treaties, instead of restoring the pristine vigour of the Gallie frontier, served only to disgrace the majesty of the prince and to exhaust what yet remained of the treasures of the republic. Elated, however, with this imaginary triumph. the vam deliverer of Gaul advanced into the provinces of the South, to encounter a more pressing and personal danger. Sarus the Goth was ordered to lay the head of the rebel at the feet of [AR wi] the emperor Honorus; and the forces of Britain and Italy were unworthly consumed in this domestic quarrel. After the loss of his two bravest generals Justinian and Nevigastes, the former (some) of whom was slain in the field of battle, the latter in a peaceful and treacherous interview, Constantine fortified himself within the walls of Vienna. The place was meffectually attacked to The seven days; and the Impenal army supported, in a precipitate retreat, the ignominy of purchasing a secure passage from the freebooters and outlaws of the Alps. 96 Those mountains now separated the dominions of two rival monarchs; and the fortifications of the double frontier were guarded by the troops of the empire, whose arms would have been more usefully employed to maintain the Roman limits against the Barbarians of Germany and Scythia.

On the side of the Pyrenees, the ambition of Constantine moretures might be justified by the proximity of danger; but his throne and was soon established by the conquest, or rather submission, of Spain; which yielded to the influence of regular and habitual subordination, and received the laws and magistrates of the Gallie prefecture. The only opposition which was made to the

^{**}Buganda is the name which Zosemus applies to them **Basseloss** vt. 2], perho is they deserved a less oddess character (see Dibros. H. it. Critique tom 1: p. 203, and this History, vol. a. p. 121). We shall bear of them again. Here they appear as a sort of national militar. On Freeman, in Eng. Hist. Review, t. 63.3.

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authority of Constantine proceeded not so much from the powers of government, or the spirit of the people, as from the private seal and interest of the family of Theodosius. Four treothers, in had obtained by the favour of their kinsman, the deceased emperor, an honourable rank, and ample possessions, in their native country, and the grateful youths resolved to risk those advantages in the service of his son. After an unsuccessful effort to maintain their ground at the head of the stationary troops of Lusitania, they retired to their estates; where they armed and levied, at their own expense, a considerable laids of slaves and dependents, and boldly marched to occupy the strong posts of the Pyrensean mountains. This domestic insurrection alarmed and perplexed the sovereign of Gaul and Britain; and he was compelled to negotiate with some troops of Barbaran auxiliaries, for the service of the Spanish war. They were distinguished by the title of Honorians; 101 a name which might have reminded them of their fidelity to their lawful sovereign; and, if it should candidly be allowed that the Scots were influenced by any partial affection for a British prince, the Moore and Marrowanni could be tempted only by the profuse liberality of the usurper, who distributed among the Barbarians the military, and even the civil, honours of Spain. The nine bands of Honorson which may be easily traced on the establishment of the Western empire, could not exceed the number of five thousand men. vet this meonsiderable force was shifteient to terminate a war which had threatened the power and safety of Constantine The rustic army of the Theodosian family was surrounded and destroyed in the Pyrenees: two of the brothers had the good fortune to escape by sea to Italy, or the East; the other two after an interval of suspense, were executed at Arles, and, Honorius could remain insensible of the public disgrace, he might perhaps be affected by the personal misfortunes of his generous kinsmen. Such were the feeble arms which decided

100 Vermanus Didymus, Theodosius, and Lagodius, who in modern sauts would be styled princes of the 1000d were not distinguished by any rank a princeges above the rest of their fellow-subjects.

privileges above the rest of their fellow-subjects.

101 These Honorisms, or Honorisms consisted of two bands of Scots, or Attaces, two of Moors, two of Marcomann, the Victores the Amortism and the Green (Not be Imperatively and are properly styled to be and refer to be Joseph and Taylor and Taylor by Joseph and Taylor by Joseph and Taylor by Joseph and Taylor by Joseph and Taylor of America Palatins, and are properly styled to be and refer to the property transport of America Palatins, and Hende the formed a single of a son of troops acted together. The Honorism in Great bat it is the global with the Honorism in Carlo bat to the planting in Carlo Moories the fabrication of Constitution had only to do with the Palatins in Carlo Moories the fabrication of Constitution had only to do with the Palatins in Carlo Moories. the phrase of Zosimus does not refer to Aux ha Palatina.

the possession of the Western provinces of Europe, from the wall of Antoninus to the columns of Hercules. The events of peace and war have undoubtedly been dimunished by the narrow and imperfect view of the historians of the times, who were equally ignorant of the causes and of the effects of the most important revolutions. But the total decay of the national strength had annihilated even the last resource of a despotic government; and the revenue of exhausted provinces could no longer purchase the military service of a discontented and

pusillammous people.

The poet whose flattery has asenhed to the Roman eagle the newstand victories of Pollentia and Verona pursues the histy retreat of a Alaric, from the confines of Italy, with a horrid train of imaginary spectres, such as might hover over an army of Barbarians, which was almost externmated by war, famine, and disease. 102 In the course of this unfortunate expedition, the king of the Goths must indeed have sustained a considerable loss, and his harassed forces required an interval of repose, to recruit their numbers and revive their confidence. Adversity had exercised, and displayed, the genius of Alarie; and the fame of his valour invited to the Couthie standard the bravest of the Barbanan warriors, who, from the Euxine to the Rhine, were agitated by the desire of rapine and conquest. He had deserved the esteem, and he soon accepted the friendship, of Stilicho himself. Renouncing the service of the emperor of the East, Alaric concluded, with the court of Ravenna, a treaty of peace and alliance, by which he was declared master-general of the Roman armies throughout the prefecture of Illyneum; as it was claimed, according to the true and ancient limits, by the minister of Honorus. in The execution of the ambitious design, which was either stipulated, or implied, in the articles of the treaty, appears to have been suspended by the formidable irruption of Radagaisus; and the neutrality of the Gothic king may perhaps be compared to the indifference of Casar, who, in the conspiracy of Cataline, refused either to assist or to oppose the enemy of the republic. After the defeat of the Vandals, Stilicho resumed his pretensions to the provinces of the East; appointed civil magistrates for the

> Comitatur cuntem Palker et atra fames, et samue l'aidus ora Lucius, et inferni stridentes agin ne morbi

Clandan in v. Cons. Hon. 301, &c. Peuples de l'Europe, t. m. vn., c., h.-vi., p. 69-200), whose laborious accuracy may sometimes fatigue a superficial reader

administration of justice, and of the finances; and declared his impatience to lead to the gates of Constantinople the united armies of the Romans and of the Goths. The prudence, however, of Stilicho, his aversion to civil war, and his perfect knowledge of the weakness of the state, may countenance the suspicion that domestic peace, rather than foreign conquest, was the object of his policy; and that his principal care was to employ the forces of Alaric at a distance from Italy. This design could not long escape the penetration of the Gothic king. who continued to hold a doubtful, and perhaps a treacherous, correspondence with the rival courts, who protracted, like a dissatisfied mercenary, his languid operations in Thessaly and Epirus, and who soon returned to claim the extravagant reward of his meffectual services. From his camp near Amona, is on the confines of Italy, he transmitted, to the emperor of the West, a long account of promises, of expenses, and of demands; called for immediate satisfaction and clearly intimated the consequences of a refusal. Yet, if his conduct was hostile, his language was decent and dutiful. He humbly professed himself the friend of Stilleho, and the soldier of Honorius; offered his person and his troops to march, without delay, against the usurper of Gaul; and solicited, as a permanent retreat for the Gothic nation, the possession of some vacant province of the Western empire.

The political and secret transactions of two statesmen, who laboured to deceive each other and the world, must for ever have been concealed in the impenetrable darkness of the cabinet, if the debates of a popular assembly had not thrown some rays of light on the correspondence of Alaric and Stilicho. The necessity of finding some artificial support for a government, which, from a principle, not of moderation, but of weakness, was reduced to negotiate with its own subjects, had insensibly revived the authority of the Roman senate; and the minister of Honorius respectfully consulted the legislative council of the republic. Stilicho assembled the senate in the palace of the Casars; represented, in a studied oration, the actual state of affairs; proposed the demands of the Gothic king, and submitted to their consideration the choice of peace or war. The senators, as if they had been suddenly awakened from a dream

¹⁰⁴ See Zoeimus, l. v. p. 334, 335 (c. aq. He interrupts his scartly narrange, to relate the fable of immonal and of the ship Argo, which was drawn over from that place to the Hadrane Somemen (l. vn. c. 25, l. v. c. 4) and Soemtes (l. vn. c. 10) cast a pale and doubtful light; and Orosius (l. vn. c. 38, p. 573) is about about the light.

of four hundred years, appeared on this important occasion to be inspired by the courage, rather than by the wisdom, of their predecessors They loudly declared, in regular speeches, or in tumultuary acclamations, that it was unworthy of the majesty of Rome to purchase a precarious and disgraceful truce from a Barbarian king; and that, in the judgment of a magnanimous people, the chance of ruin was always prefemble to the certainty of dishonour. The minister, whose pacific intentions were seconded only by the voices of a few servile and venal followers, attempted to allay the general ferment, by an apology for his own conduct, and even for the demands of the Gothic prince. "The payment of a subsidy, which had excited the indignation of the Romans, ought not (such was the language of Stilicho) to be considered in the odious light either of a tribute or of a ransom, extorted by the menaces of a Barbarian enemy. Alaric had faithfully asserted the just pretensions of the republic to the provinces which were usurped by the Greeks of Constantinople; he modestly required the fair and stipulated recompense of his services; and, if he had desisted from the prosecution of his enterprise, he had obeyed, in his retreat, the peremptory though private letters of the emperor himself. These contradectory orders (he would not dissemble the errors of his own family) had been procured by the intervession of Serena. The tender piety of his wife had been too deeply affected by the discord of the royal brothers, the sons of her adopted father; and the sentiments of nature had too easily prevailed over the stern dietates of the public welfare." These ostensible reasons, which faintly disguise the obscure intrigues of the palace of Ravenna, were supported by the authority of Stilicho; and obtained, after a warm debate, the reluctant approbation of the senate. The tumult of virtue and freedom subsided; and the sum of four thousand pounds of gold was granted, under the name of a subsidy, to secure the peace of Italy, and to conciliate the friendship of the king of the Goths. Lampadius alone, one of the most illustrious members of the assembly, still persisted in his dissent; exclaimed with a loud voice, "This is not a treaty of peace, but of servitude"; 108 and escaped the danger of such hold opposition by immediately retiring to the sanetuary of a Christian church.

But the reign of Stilicho drew towards its end, and the proud integral of

¹⁰⁶ Zesimin I, v p. 338, 339 [c 20]. He repeats the words of Lampadius, as May they were choke in latin. "Non-est ista pax and pactus servitins," and then translates them not treek for the benefit of his readent.

THE DESIGNATION OF THE PARTY OF

when the second to resistant is the granulate NAME OF THE PARTY OF THE PARTY AND POST OF THE PARTY STATE OF THE PARTY OF The same of the same of the same of The frame was all susmed the next The property of the Record of the Company of the law THE PART OF THE PARTY OF THE PA the size the conference point of the matter the paint THE REST OF BY MAIN PROPERTY OF THE PL And the second of the second of the lease the water of the period and made in the second of the resid the second of the second of the second of the second the two transfers of the same to the standard the the company and asset. The rain transfers " who no many in an other the best of the time the party and secret. promised in the latter is office to that he was presented to the properties of the superior bears of the terwarmed to the measurement of the land actioned the worth-till tear of its up that he was writing wouth, or ed because outline total providence of its reporting mand and minimal instruction by a market posterior of the design property and in them on printing the present of his present will the minimum hims of history the distance of the best of the one Emperous The emperor was management by his art former to to assume the trace of management appropries and the particles was ashinguisted to find that writer processings were formers to the round and research, which were represented to be stered or to the control instead of realizing to the paint of Prote Protection to make the tall protection to retain to the service portrom of placetons. The the and missioner of the desire of its proper to a time to proper district to contain topic, and is regulate with the authority of a guardian, the print area of the mant Threedman. The representation of the defer estrained expenses of such a distant expedition obeying the

The fire and was the real of the first and washined a control of the angelow to represent as the following a first and the control of the first and the firs

whiteher the property of remaining the being down in the case of the known compare would be been covered and could not have

hom were under

strange and sudden sally of active diligence; but the dangerous project of showing the emperor to the camp of Pavia, which was (Disam) composed of the Roman troops, the enemies of Stilicho, and his Barbarian auxiliaries, remained fixed and unalterable. The minister was pressed, by the advice of his confident Justinian, a Roman advocate of a lively and penetrating genius, to oppose a journey so prejudicial to his reputation and safety. His strenuous, but ineffectual, efforts confirmed the tnumph of Olympias; and the prudent lawyer withdrew himself from the

impending ruin of his patron.

in the passage of the emperor through Bologna, a mutiny of pages and the guards was excited and appeased by the secret policy of and Stribcho; who announced his instructions to decimate the guilty, and and ascribed to his own intercession the ment of their pardon. After this turnult, Honorius embraced, for the last time, the mmister whom he now considered as a tyrant, and proceeded on his way to the camp of Pavia, where he was received by the loyal acclamations of the troops who were assembled for the service of the Gallie war. On the morning of the fourth day, he pronounced, as he had been taught, a military oration in the presence of the soldiers, whom the charitable visits, and artful discourses, of Olympius had prepared to execute a dark and bloody conspiracy. At the first signal, they massacred the friends of Stilicho, the most illustrious officers of the empire; two Pratorian prafects, of Gaul, and of Italy; two mastersgeneral, of the cavalry and infantry; the master of the offices; the quastor, the treasurer, and the count of the domestica. Many lives were lost; many houses were plundered; the furious sedition continued to rage till the close of the evening; and the trembling emperor, who was seen in the streets of Pavia without his robes or diadem, yielded to the persuasions of his favourite, condemned the memory of the slain, and solemnly approved the innocence and fidelity of their assassins. The intelligence of the massacre of Pavia filled the mind of Stilicho with just and gloomy apprehensions; and he instantly summoned, in the camp of Bologna, a council of the confederate leaders who were attached to his service, and would be involved in his rum. The impetuous voice of the assembly called aloud for arms, and for revenge; to march, without a moment's delay, under the banners of a hero whom they had so often followed to victory; to surprise, to oppress, to extirpate the guilty Olympus, and his degenerate Romans; and perhaps to fix the dudem on the head of their injured general, Instead of

SE IN LIFE AND FALL

water many many been installed by and the second s he destrusted the with the fact of t The same of the same of the same and the sam a new paper of the companies, impalient of to see the control was been word, with fear tol was more to the more a married to bothic water the strength and - and the second of the second of the plandered of believing out and a series of the series of when we are received to the time, when the mainter, penalty and when the same of the comment of and after the latter and after The second section of the second section is the second section of the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the second section in the second section in the second section is the Deer gains against the Serverses, he crossistons or he and the same and the same of the large same ATTACHE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CHARLES (HAMPING who has named the nominant a Constant was specifit to track but to was but contract, to a supplement, the alter of the command report. The tage and other disposition of the twocountry one accumulate at mice or removere, but he possisafter that to equipe without them to respon the printings of the machine and firmers, with a tree of widow, appoint at the many of may better the game of the charact of Records The issues was advoted by a sneeme and that the imperal remainer any terrained them to recent the person of Strikely but as soon as the analytiquede species had been tempted personal the hour threshold be produced the warrant for he rection recognists removing upported with case recognition the practice autom of tradit and particular represent the nameasurable seas of his interesting who were wants to afterupt an medication from and, will a minutes not assertly of the lot of the firmum generals, mountled his neck to the sweet of Hermitage -

The service reward of the palace who had an long adored the hortune of Schools affected to most has fail, and the most detail commercial with the master-general of the West, which had no lately been a title to wealth and horours, was standard.

There is a good or which a manage thought are worth respectively as a sub-five and the sub-

denied and rigorously punished. His family, united by a triple alliance with the family of Theodosius, might envy the condition of the meanest peasant. The flight of his son Eucherius was intercepted, and the death of that innocent youth soon followed the divorce of Thermantia, who filled the place of her sister Maria, and who, like Maria, had remained a virgin in the Imperial bed. 100 The friends of Stilicho, who had escaped the massacre of Pavia, were persecuted by the implacable revenge of Olympius, and the most exquisite cruelty was employed to extort the confession of a treasonable and sacrilegious conspiracy. They died in silence; their firmness justified the choice. 110 and perhaps absolved the innocence, of their patron. and the despotic power which could take his life without a trial. and stigmatize his memory without a proof, has no jurisdiction over the impartial suffrage of posterity. It The services of Stilicho are great and manifest; his crimes, as they are vaguely stated in the language of flattery and hatred, are obscure, at least, and improbable. About four months after his death an edict was published in the name of Honorus to restore the free communication of the two empires which had been so long interrupted by the public enemy. 113 The minister whose fame and fortune depended on the prosperity of the state was accused of betraying Italy to the Barbarians, whom he repeatedly vanquished at Pollentia, at Verona, and before the walls of Florence. His pretended design of placing the diadem on the head of his son Eucherus could not have been conducted without preparations or accomplices, and the ambitious father would not surely have left the future emperor, till the twentieth year of his age, in the humble station of tribune of the notaries. Even the religion of Stilicho was arraigned by the malice of his rival. The seasonable and almost miraculous deliverance was devoutly cele-

100 Zummun, t. v. p. 333 [c. 28]. The marriage of a Christian with two sisters scandalines Tillemont (Hist. des Empireurs, tom. v. p. 557), who expects a vain, that Pope Innucent I, should have done something in the way either of censure or

of dispensation

100 I wo of his friends are honourably mentioned (Zoromus, I v. p. 346 [c. 35]); Price, chief of the second of notanes, and the great chamberlain Deuternis. the had wented the hedchamber, and it is surprising that, under a feeble priore, the limb ham ser was not able to secure bint

to all comers from the realm of Areadius.

The post

brated by the applause of the clergy, who asserted that the restoration of idols and the persecution of the church would have been the first measure of the reign of Eucherius. The son of Stalicho, however, was educated in the bosom of Christianity, which his father had uniformly professed and zealously supported.113 Serena had borrowed her magnificent necklace from the statue of Vesta,114 and the Pagans executed the memory of the sacrilegious minister, by whose order the Sybilline books, the oracles of Rome, had been committed to the flames 113. The pride and power of Stilicho constituted his real guilt. honourable reluctance to shed the blood of his countrymen appears to have contributed to the success of his unworthy rival; and it is the last humiliation of the character of Hononus that posterity has not condescended to reprosch him with his base ingratitude to the guardian of his youth and the support of his empire.

Among the train of dependents whose wealth and dignity attracted the notice of their own times our currosity is excited by the celebrated name of the poet Claudian, who enjoyed the favour of Stilicho, and was overwhelmed in the ruin of his patron. The titular offices of tribune and notary fixed his rank in the Imperial court; he was indebted to the powerful intercession of Serona for his marriage with a very rich heiress of the province of Africa, 116 and the statue of Claudian, erected in the forum of Trainn, was a monument of the taste and liberality of the Roman senate.117 After the praises of Stilicho became offensive and

115 Amounton homself a unt sheel with the effectual laws which Strucks had expected against heretics and oblaters and which in still extant in the Cide - He co. supplies to Olympius for their confirmation (Baronius, Annal Eccles, A D. 408 No.

19). 20simus, 1 v. p. 351 [c. 38] We may dressing their statues with such awkward finery dressing their statues with such awkward finery We may observe the bad taste of the age in

116 See Rutilais Namatanna (Italicate I to 41 60), to whom religious enthesiasm has dictated some elegant and forcible lines. St. cho I sew se structed the gold plates from the desers of the Capitol and read a prophetic sentence which was engraven under them (Zosmus, 1 v p. 352 st.) These are fool-shottoness vet the charge of respecty adds weight and cred to the praise, which Losumus reluctantly bestown of his virtues.

116 At the cuptials of Orpheus (a modest comparison it all the parts of animated nature contributed their various gitts, and the gods themselves enselved their favourite. Chem in had neither flooks, nor herds, nor since nor olives. His wealthy bride was hearss to them all. But he carried to Africa a recommendatory letter from Serrox his Jimo, and was made has posit post in his Services

uf (la d an feels the honour like a man who deserved it for prat a De ! Get ! The original assertion on marble, was found at Rome in the litteenth waters in the house of Pointon in Latius [See Append 21, it is received Courtein] The statue of a poet for superior to Chind an April, have been creeted during his fetime by the nich of letters, his countrymen, and contemporaries. It was a notice design! [See Appendix ar]

criminal, Claudian was exposed to the enmity of a powerful and imforgiving courtier, whom he had provoked by the insolence of wit. He had compared, in a lively epigram, the opposite characters of two Pratorian prafects of Italy; he contrasts the innocent repose of a philosopher who sometimes resigned the hours of business to slumber, perhaps to study, with the interested diligence of a rapacious minister, indefatigable in the pursuit of unjust or sacrilegious gain. "How happy," continues Claudian, "how happy might it be for the people of Italy if Mallius could be constantly awake, and if Hadrian would always sleep!" 118 The repose of Mallius was not disturbed by this friendly and gentle admonition, but the cruel vigilance of Hadran watched the opportunity of revenge, and easily obtained from the enomies of Stilicho the trifling sacrifice of an obnoxious poet. The poet concealed himself, however, during the tumult of the revolution, and, consulting the dictates of prudence rather than of honour, he addressed, in the form of an epistle, a suppliant and humble recantation to the offended prefect. He deplores, in mournful strains, the fatal indiscretion into which he had been hurried by passion and folly; submits to the imitation of his adversary the generous examples of the elemency of gods, of heroes, and of hons; and expresses his hope that the magnanumity of Hadran will not trample on a defenceless and contemptible foe, already humbled by disgrace and poverty, and deeply wounded by the exile, the tortures, and the death of his dearest friends,119 Whatever might be the success of his prayer, or the accidents of his future life, the period of a few years levelled in the grave the minister and the poet: but the name of Hadran is almost sunk in oblivion, while Claudian is read with pleasure in every country which has retained, or acquired, the knowledge of the Latin language. If

110 See Enigram axx.

Mailius indulget somno noctesque diesque: Insomnis Pharies aiera pr. lana, rapit. Omnibus, hoc, Italie gentes, caposente vota Mailius ut viglet, dormini ut Pharius.

Hadran was a Pharian (of Alexandria). See his public life in Godefroy, Cod. Theodos tom vi p. 364. [Hadranus was Pr. Pr. in 401 A.D.] Mal. in the not always steep. He composed some englished alogues on the Greek systems of natural philosophic (Chod. in Mail. Theodor Cons. 61-812). [This Hadran episode is

very doubtful, we next note]

19 See (land an a brist Ep able | Vet, in some places, an air of irony and indignation betrays his accret relactance | (1) The Miss greatly vary us to the head ong of the separtly some even calling a Deprecational Statistic vary (2 there snothing to connect it is the the latter rather than the earlier pair of C handam's career, and the whole piece sounds more like banter than earness, Hodgkin, i. 731.]

we fairly balance his merits and his defects, we shall acknowledge that Claudian does not either satisfy or science our It would not be easy to produce a passage that deserves the epithet of sublime or pathetic; to select a sense that melts the heart or enlarges the imagination. We should exinty seek, in the poems of Claudian, the happy invention and artificial conduct of an interesting fable, or the just and incly representation of the characters and situations of real life. For the service of his patron he published occasional panegymes and invectives; and the design of these slavish compositions encouraged his propensity to exceed the limits of truth and nature These imperfections, however, are compensated in some degree by the poetical virtues of Claudian. He was endowed with the rare and precious talent of raising the meanest, of adorning the most barren, and of diversifying the most similar topics; he colouring, more especially in descriptive poetry, is soft and splendid; and he seldom fails to display, and even to abuse, the advantages of a cultivated understanding, a copious fancy, an easy, and sometimes foreible, expression, and a perpetual flow of harmonious versifications. To these commendations, independent of any accidents of time and place, we must add the pecaliar merit which Claudian derived from the unfavourable creum stances of his birth. In the decline of arts and of country a native of Egypt. 196 who had received the education of a Greek. assumed, in a mature age, the familiar use and absolute command of the Latin language, 131 soured above the heads of his feeble contemporaries, and placed himself, after an interval of three hundred years, among the poets of ancient Rome, 121

im National vanity has made him a Florentine, or a Spaniard eputtle of Claudian power him a native of Alexandria (Fabric 4s, Bibliot Latin tom in p. 191 209 edit. Ernest)

in His first Latin verses were composed during the consulshap of Prolumes

A. D 395

Romanos bibimus pranum te consale, fortes, Li lait recent [12] scressit [Gran 1] a toga-

Besides some Greek ep grams, which are still extant, the Latin poet had composed in Greek, the analysis of Tarsus, Anarachis, Berssis, Nier, &c. It is not

courter Batharar (ast gione. His aim tess are received asternate by the courter b the rigid or her reproach the exque weeds, or flowers, which spring too luxurands in his Latian soil.

CHAPTER XXXI

Invasion of Italy by Alaric—Manners of the Roman Senate and People Rome is thrice besieged and at length pillaged by the Coaths Douth of Alaric- The Goths evacuote Italy—Fall of Constantine Gaul and Spain are occupied by the Barburums Independence of Brstain

THE incapacity of a weak and distracted government may weaken often assume the appearance, and produce the effects, of a have treasonable correspondence with the public enemy. If Alarie and himself had been introduced into the council of Ravenna, he would probably have advised the same measures which were actually pursued by the ministers of Honorius,1 The king of the Goths would have conspired, perhaps with some reluctance, to destroy the formidable adversary by whose arms, in Italy as well as in Greece, he had been twice overthrown. Their active and interested hatred laboriously accomplished the disgrace and rum of the great Stilicho. The valour of Sarus, his faine in arms, and his personal, or hereditary, influence over the confederate Barbarians could recommend him only to the friends of their country, who despised, or detested, the worthless characters of Turpilio, Varanes, and Vigilantius. By the pressing instances of the new favourites, these generals, unworthy as they had shown themselves of the name of soldiers,? were promoted to the command of the cavalry, of the infantry, and of the domestic troops. The Gothic prince would have subscribed with pleasure the edict which the fanaticism of Olympius dictated to the simple and devoit emperor, Honorius excluded all persons who were adverse to the entholic church from holding any office in the state; obstinately rejected the service of all those who dissented from his religion; and rashly disqualified many of his bravest and most skilful

¹ The series of events from the death of Stilicho to the arrival of Alaric before Rome can only be found in Zosamus, 1 v p. 347 350 c. 35 371.

² The expression of Zosamus is strong and lively correspond the information role.

The expression of Zosimus is strong and lively rerespondent furnities you redepose 4 processes, sufficient to excee the contempt of the enemy.

officers, who adhered to the Pagan worship, or who had imbibed the opinions of Aranism.3 These measures, so advantageous to an enemy, Alane would have approved, and might perhaps have suggested; but it may seem doubtful whether the Barbarian would have promoted his interest at the expense of the inhuman and absurd cruelty which was perpetrated by the direction, or at least with the connivance, of the Impenal ministers. The foreign auxiliaries who had been attached to the person of Stilicho lamented his death; but the desire of revenge was checked by a natural apprehension for the safety of their wives and children; who were detained as hostages in the strong cities of Italy, where they had likewise deposited their most valuable effects. At the same hour, and as if by a common signal, the cities of Italy were polluted by the same hornd scenes of universal massacre and pillage, which involved, in promisenous destruction, the families and fortunes of the Barbarans. Exasperated by such an injury, which might have awakened the tamest and most servile spirit, they east a look of indignation and hope towards the camp of Alaric, and unanmously swore to pursue, with just and implicable war, the perfidious nation that had so basely violated the laws of hospitality. By the imprudent conduct of the ministers of Honorus, the republic lost the assistance, and deserved the enmity, of thirty thousand of her bravest soldiers; and the weight of that formidable army, which alone might have determined the event of the war, was transferred from the scale of the Romans into that of the Goths.

Atarie marches to Rome A D In the arts of negotiation, as well as in those of war the Gothic king maintained his superior ascendant over an enemy whose seeming changes proceeded from the total want of counsel and design. From his camp, on the confines of Italy, Alaric attentively observed the revolutions of the palace, watched the progress of faction and discontent, disguised the hostile aspect of a Barbarian invader, and assumed the more popular appearance of the friend and ally of the great Stilicho; to whose virtues, when they were no longer formidable, he could pay a just tribute of sincere praise and regret. The pressing invitation of the malcontents, who urged the king of

² Ros que catholicar sectar sunt mimici intra palatium multare prohibemon. Null is notes a state, a rate in conjunctur que a nobre fele et rengione discortis. Cod Treed a la av. tit. v leg q2, and feedefroy 2 Commentary tree vi. p. 164. This law was applied in the utilisast latitude and regenerally executed. Zoomes, l. v. p. 264 jc. 40.

the Goths to invade Italy, was enforced by a lively sense of his personal injuries; and he might speciously complain that the Imperial ministers still delayed and eluded the payment of the four thousand pounds of gold, which had been granted by the Roman senate either to reward his services or to appease his His decent firmness was supported by an artful moderation, which contributed to the success of his designs. He required a fair and reasonable satisfaction; but he gave the strongest assurances that, as soon as he had obtained it, he would unmediately retire. He refused to trust the faith of the Romans. unless Actus and Jason, the sons of two great officers of state. were sent as hostages to his camp; but he offered to deliver, in exchange, several of the noblest youths of the Gothic nation. The modesty of Alazic was interpreted, by the ministers of Ravenna, as a sure evidence of his weakness and fear. They disdained either to negotiate a treaty or to assemble an army; and with a rish confidence, derived only from their ignorance of the extreme danger, irretrievably wasted the decisive moments of peace and war. While they expected, in sullen adence, that the Barbarians should evacuate the confines of Italy, Alarie, with bold and rapid marches, passed the Alps and the Po; hastily pillaged the cities of Aquileia, Altinum, Concordia, and Cremona, which yielded to his arms; increased his forces by the accession of thirty thousand auxiliaries; and without meeting a single enemy in the field, advanced as far as the edge of the morass which protected the impregnable residence of the emperor of the West. Instead of attempting the hopeless siege of Ravenna, the prudent leader of the Goths proceeded to Rimmi, stretched his ravages along the sea-coast of the Hadratic, and meditated the conquest of the ancient mistress of the world. An Italian hermit, whose zeal and sanctity were respected by the Barbarians themselves, encountered the victorious monarch, and boldly denounced the indignation of heaven against the oppressors of the earth; but the saint himself was so confounded by the solemn asseveration of Alaric, that he felt a secret and preternatural impulse, which directed, and even compelled, his march to the gates of Rome He felt that his genius and his fortune were equal to the most arduous enterprises; and the enthusiasm which he communicated to the Goths insensibly removed the popular,

That he took and plundered these cities is not implied by the phrase of Zonimu (corospogus). Op. von Wietersheim, Gesch der Volkerwanderung, 2, 146.)

and almost superstitious, reverence of the nations for the majesty of the Roman name. His troops, animated by the hopes of spoil, followed the course of the Flamman way, occupied the unguarded passes of the Apenning, descended into the neh plains of Umbna; and, as they lay encamped of the banks of the Chiumnus, might wantonly slaughter and devon the milk-white oxen, which had been so long reserved for the use of Roman triumphs.4 A lofty situation and a seasonable tempest of thunder and lightning preserved the little city of Nam; but the king of the Goths, despising the ignoble prevstill advanced with unabated vigour; and, after he had passed through the stately arches, adorned with the spoils of Barban victories, he pitched his camp under the walls of Rome."

Namethal at the gates of June

During a period of six hundred and nineteen years, the seat of empire had never been violated by the presence of foreign enemy. The unsuccessful expedition of Hannibal served only to display the character of the senate and people of a senate degraded, rather than ennobled, by the comparison of an assembly of kings; and of a people to whom the ambassador of Pyrrhus ascribed the mexhaustible resources of the Hydrs.' Each of the senators, in the time of the Punic war, had accomplished his term of military service, either in subordinate or a superior station; and the decree which a vested with temporary command all those who had been consuls or censors or dictators gave the republic the immediate assistance of many brave and experienced generals. beginning of the war, the Roman people consisted of two

rock (Cluver Italia Antiq. 10m. 1. p. 618), was totally neglected.

Hint Juby, Chitimpe greges, et maxima taurus.

Viet ma. seepe tuo perfusi frum be sacro. Romanos ad templa Deura duxere triumphos

Besides Virgil most of the Lacin poets, Properties, Lucan, Solaic Italion, I isodian, &c., whose passages may be found in Cluserius and Addison nan celebrated the transphal virins of the Claminus.

Some ideas of the march of Alans are borrowed from the sources. Honories over the same ground (see Chandian in v. Cons. Hor., and cas.). De-

measured chatance between Ravenna and Rome was 254 Roman in les Imens. Wesseling p. 126.

The much and retreat of Hannibal are described by Livy, a save u. 7 8 6 to, 11; and the reader is made a speciator of the interesting score.

These comparisons were used by Canous the counse on of Farrhus after to

return from his embrys, in which he had diligrath stuted for thought and need of Rome. See Platatch, in Pyrtho, tom is p 459 [a 19].

^{*}Addison (see his Works, vol. is, p. 54, edst. Baskerville, has given a ver-picturesque description of the road through the Apeninne. The Gotto were a at leasure to observe the beauties of the prospect, has they were presented that the Saxa Interests a narrow passage which Vespassan had out through the

hundred and fifty thousand citizens of an age to bear arms. 10 Fifty thousand had already died in the defence of their country; and the twenty-three legions which were employed in the different camps of Italy, Greece, Sardinia, Sicily, and Spain, required about one hundred thousand men. But there still remained an equal number in Rome, and the adjacent territory, who were animated by the same intrepid courage; and every citizen was trained, from his earliest youth, in the discipline and exercises of a soldier. Hannibal was astonished by the constancy of the senate, who, without raising the siege of Capus or recalling their scattered forces, expected his approach. He encamped on the banks of the Amo, at the distance of three miles from the city; and he was soon informed that the ground on which he had pitched his tent was sold for an adequate price at a public auction and that a body of troops was dismissed by an opposite road, to reinforce the legions of Spain.11 He led his Africans to the gates of Rome. where he found three armies in order of battle, prepared to receive him; but Hannibal dreaded the event of a combat from which he could not hope to escape, unless he destroyed the last of his enemies; and his speedy retreat confessed the invincible courage of the Romans.

From the time of the Punic war the uninterrupted succession emalor of senators had preserved the name and image of the republic; Subsequently and the degenerate subjects of Honorius ambitiously derived their descent from the beroes who had repulsed the arms of Hannibal and subdued the nations of the earth. The temporal

in the three centus, which were made of the Roman people, about the tame of the second Painc war, the numbers stand as follows (see Lavy. Epitom. I xx. If x I xxxx 36 xxx xy xpo xx3, tyy ro8 xx4 xxx xxx. The fall of the second, and the rise of the third appears so enormous that several critics, nowalistanding the unancerty of the Max. have suspected some corruption of the text of Lay. (See Dimension is ad xxxx 36 and Resufert Republique Romaine, tom. a. p. 12x, I they did not consider that the second centur was taken only at Rome, and that the numbers were often after that the second century was taken only at Rome, and that the numbers were of many widness. In the third remain Lavy expressly affects that the leg us were mastered by the cure of particular commissances. From the numbers on the lat we must always deduct one twelfth above three score and incapable of hearing arms. See Population de la France p. 72

honours which the devout Paula 12 inherited and despised are

bearing arms. See Population de la France p. 72.

11 Lasy considers these two incidents as the effects only of chance and courage. I suspect that they were both managed by the admirable pointy of the

12 See Jerom, tom 1 p. 169, 170, ad Einstech um lep 108, ed Magne 1, p. 878] he bestows on Paula the splended there of Gracehorum surps, soboles Seption in Paul, been cities so abulian trabit. Mastice l'appear Matrix Meican, sera et germana propago. This particular descripcion supposes a more solid infe than

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carefully recapitulated by Jerom, the guide of her consequence and the historian of her life. The genealogy of her father, Rogain. which ascended as high as Agamemnon, might seem to betray a Grecian origin; but her mother, Blæsilla, numbered the Scinor Amilius Paulus and the Griechi, in the list of her aucestics; and Toxotrus, the husband of Paula, deduced his royal linear from Eneas, the father of the Julian line. The vanity of the rich who desired to be noble was gratified by these lotty pretensions. Encouraged by the applause of their parasites, they easily imposed on the credulity of the vulgar, and were countenanced in some measure by the custom of adopting the name of their patron, which had always prevailed among the freedings and chents of illustrious families Most of those families, however, attacked by so many causes of external violence or internal decay, were gradually extirpated; and it would be more reason able to seek for a lineal descent of twenty generations among the mountains of the Alps, or in the peaceful solitude of Apolo, than on the theatre of Rome, the seat of fortune, of danger. and of perpetual revolutions. Under each successive regul and from every province of the empire, a crowd of hardy adventurers, rising to emmence by their talents or their vices. usurped the wealth, the honours and the palaces of Rome: and oppressed or protected the poor and humble remains of consular families; who were ignorant perhaps of the glory of their ancestors. 18

The Asimas South In the time of Jerom and Claudian, the senators unanimously yielded the pre-eminence to the Ameian line; and a slight new of their history will serve to appreciate the rank and antiquity of the noble families which contended only for the second place." During the first five ages of the city the name of the Ameian was unknown; they appear to have derived their origin from Prieneste; and the ambition of those new citizens was long

the surnature of Julius which Toxot to shared with a thorsaid families of the Western provinces. See the Index of Talatas of Greater's Index, tours & ...

1 Indius Annal, up 16) affirms that between the buttle of Actions and the

³ The till Acroal, e.g. (c) affirms that between the hattle of Actions on the tright of Veryasian the secart was gradually filled with oon families from Municipia and convince of Italy.
¹⁴ New quasquisis Processors tenter (boot are vetusto)

Vic quagram Processin tentet (hoet are vetusto Floreat et claro caputur Roma senatu Se jactare parem, sed posses sed infecta Anchenis, de jure beet certare secundo

Such a compliment paid to the observe name of the Austron has consent to the but became agree that whatever may be the true reading the sense of Claudian can be applied only to the American family.

satisfied with the Plebeian bonours of tribunes of the people.13 One hundred and sixty-eight years before the Christian arm, the family was ennobled by the pretorship of Anicus, who gloriously terminated the Illyman war by the conquest of the nation and the captivity of their king.10 From the triumph of that general, three consulships in distant periods mark the succession of the Anician name !! From the reign of Diocletian to the final extinction of the Western empire that name shone with a lustre which was not eclipsed in the public estimation by the majesty of the Imperial purple. 13 The several branches to whom it was communicated united, by marriage or inheritance, the wealth and titles of the Annian, the Petronian and the Olybrian houses; and in each generation the number of consulships was multiplied by an hereditary claim. The Ameian family excelled in faith and in riches; they were the first of the Roman senate who embraced Christianity; and it is probable that Anicius Julian, who was afterwards consul and prefect of the city, atoned for his attachment to the party of Maxentius by the readiness with which he accepted the religion of Constantine.20 Their ample patrimony was increased by the industry of Probus, the chief of the Apician family; who shared with Gratian the honours of the the consulship, and exercised four times the high office of Præ-

13 The earliest date in the annals of Pighan is that of M. Anicius Gallius, Trib. PT A 1 6 500 Another Iribune, Q Annuls A t.a. we a datage shed by the epithet of Propositions Lavy (xlv. 43) places the Annul below the great

lamines of Rome [Q. Ankius Prenestinis was utilified in the 304]

16 I by all 30 31 als t. 26. 43. He lamb appreciates the ment of Ankius and justly observes that his time was clouded by the superior matter of the Mace-

doman, which provided the Harran tramph.

If The dates of the three course it in are, A t t to t, 818, 907 the two last under the reigns of Nero and t are alla. The second—these consum daying—bed tomaelf only by his influences flattery if not Anna in 741 but even the excitore of croses, if they bear the stamp of greatness and antiquity is admitted a thout reflectance to prove the genealogo of a noble house

" In the sixth century the nobinty of the Anic an name is mentioned (I assumber Variat L x Ep 10, 12) with singular respect by the minister of a Gothac king of

Ituly.

- Fores in orines Cognition process t honor, que mesimque requies Hat de stupe serons certuri est de Coras le nasti Per fusces numerantur Avi, seniger que renata

Note the vient of prolem fata segmenter for an Prob of Oak Consult to hit The Ann s whose name seems to have merged in the Arrian, mark the Fast, with many consuships, from the time

of bequested to the locath century

an The title of test China an senator may be justified by the authority of Pru-dent us in Symma h 1 153 and the Inche of the pagests to the American tem 1 See Tillemont, flort des Empereurs, tom, 18 p. 183, 8 p. 44. Baron, Annai A.D. 357, No. 78, A.D. 322, No. 2.

torian prefect." His immense estates were scattered over the wide extent of the Roman world; and, though the public might suspect or disapprove the methods by which they had been acquired, the generosity and magnificence of that fortunate statesman deserved the gratitude of his clients and the admiration of strangers.22 Such was the respect entertained for his memory that the two sons of Probus in their earliest youth, and at the request of the senate, were associated in the consular dignity : a memorable distinction without example in the annals of Rome.28

Wealth of the Roman pohler

[1770]

"The marbles of the Anician palace" was used as a proverbial expression of opulence and splendour; 26 but the nobles and senators of Rome aspired in due gradation to imitate that illustrious family. The accurate description of the city, which was composed in the Theodosian age, chumerates one thousand seven hundred and eighty houses, the residence of wealthy and honograble citizens 35 Many of these stately mansions in ght almost excuse the exaggeration of the poet; that Rome contained a multitude of palaces, and that each palace was equal to a city; since it included within its own precincts everything which could be subservient either to use or luxury : markets, hippodromes, temples, fountains, baths, porticos, shady groves. and artificial aviances.26 The historian Olympiodonis, who represents the state of Rome when it was besieged by the Goths," continues to observe that several of the nehest senators received

City.

Two Persian Satrans rescalled to Milan and Rome to heat St. Ambrove and to see Probins (Paulin, in Vit. Ambros). Claudian on Cons. Probin. et Olyte. 30-60; seems at a loss how to express the glory of Pr shap.

25 See the poem which Claudian addressed to the two noble souths.

24 See Nardini, Roma Anter p. Bor 198 gor 25 See Nardini, Roma Anter p. Bor 198 gor 26 Quid fequar includes inter helpocarin system.

Vernula quie virior carring ne haut aves

The poet fixed at the time of the Gothic insis on. A neederate palice would have exercised Cineman as firm of four actor. Val. Max. iv. 4). In Lantition 1 ou excurrent, says because, 1 p.st. 114. See a judy our note of Mr. Hume, Essais,

vol. i.p. 652, but 8-monthion.

The curvate account of Rome in the reign of Honor in a found in a fragment. of the historian Osympiodorus, ap Photom, p. 197 (tr. 43-44 1. H. G. iv. p. 57,

clanitatine generol et potentia et oppus magniturbine cognitis Orbi Romano, per quem univers in puene psitutnomia sparsa possedat juste ar seems non pricioli est nostre Armana, Marcella, veva in widow erected for him a magnific of fourth in the Val can, which was deredab-in the time of Pope Nicholas V, to make room for the new charch of he Perer Baronnis, who luments the run of this Christian in a mount has descent per-served the inscriptions and basso-prihevos. See Annal Ecolos. A D 1966. No.

from their estates an annual income of four thousand pounds of gold, above one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling; without computing the stated provision of corn and waie, which, had they been sold, might have equalled in value one-third of the money. Compared to this immoderate wealth, an ordinary revenue of a thousand or fifteen hundred pounds of gold might be considered as no more than adequate to the dignity of the senatorian rank, which required many expenses of a public and ostentatious kind. Several examples are recorded in the age of Honorus, of vain and popular nobles who celebrated the year of their pretorship by a festival, which lasted seven days and cost above one hundred thousand pounds sterling.25 The estates of the Roman senators, which so far exceeded the proportion of modern wealth, were not confined to the limits of Italy. Their possessions extended far beyond the Ionian and .Egean seas to the most distant provinces; the city of Nicopolis, which Augustus had founded as an eternal monument of the Actian victory, was the property of the devout Paula; " and it is observed by Seneca that the rivers which had divided hostile nations now flowed through the lands of private citizens.30 According to their temper and circumstances, the estates of the Romans were either cultivated by the labour of their slaves or granted, for a certain and stipulated rent, to the industrious farmer. The economical writers of antiquity strenuously recommend the former method

Necessals an Actace littere sto possessons vestes ninc pairs well manned est Jesom in prefat comment, ad Epistol ad Titue, tom ix p. 2437 ed Migne es p. 555). Mide Tillement supposes, strangely enough, that it was part of Agamemon's mheotance. Mem highest ten a p. 85.

"Sense i fost faxe a list lenguage is of the decessantory kind, but de-

"Sense i I put laxax. His lenguage is of the decematory kind, but dechariation could scarcely enggerate the autroc and hancy of the Rumans. The philosopher haself deserved some share of the reproach, if it betrue that his regional exaction of (madrages/in, above three hadred thousand pounds which he had lent at high interest, provided a rebellion. Petitin (Dan Carrier, Lam. p. 1003 fc. 2). According to the connecture of these Actionists Innerary in British, p. 92) the same factorial provisional an estate near flury in Suffolk, and another in the kingdom of Napies.

The sons of Alypius, of Symmachus, and of Maximus, apent during their respective practiciships twelve or twenty or forty centenaries (or hundredweight of gold). See Olympodor up Phot p. 167 [16]. This popular estimation allows some latitude, but it is difficult to explain a law in the Theodosian Code (fixeleg 5) which fixes the expense of the first practor at 25,000, of the second at 20,000, and of the third at 15,000/min. The name of relating them, do Paradi des Third practor to the trial process of silver and to a simil copper on to the value of year, part of that purse. In the former sense the 25,000 foller would be equal to 150,000 L, in the latter to five or ax paradical statement. The one appears extravagint finites the true amount; the other art dictious. There must have expressed some third and middle vides which is on because of the same and of law.

wherever it may be practicable, but if the object should be removed by its distance or magnetude from the immediate exe of the master, they perfer the active care of an old hered tary terant, attached to the son and interested in the produce to the mercency administration of a negligent, perhaps an untaithful steward !

The opicient nobles of an unmense capital, who were pear? excited by the pursuit of military glory, and seldien engaged in the occupit one of civil government, naturally reserved their lessure to the business and amusements of private life. At Rome, commerce was always held in contempt, but the senators from the first age of the republic, increased their patrimons and multiplied their clients, by the lucrative practice of using and the obsolete laws were cluded, or violated, by the mutual in clinations and interest of both parties 2 A considerable mass of treasure must always have existed at Rome, either in the current coin of the empire or in the form of gold and salver plate; and there were many suleboards, in the time of Pant, which contained more solid silver than had been transported by Scipio from vanquished Carthage 12 The greater part of the nobles, who dissipated their fortunes in profine luxury, found themselves poor in the midst of wealth, and alle in a constant cound of desenation. Their desires were continually gratified by the labour of a thousand hands; of the numerous train of their domestic slaves, who were actuated by the fear of punishment; and of the various professions of artificers and merchants, who were more powerfully impelled by the hopes of gain. The ancients were destitute of many of the conveniences of life which have been invented or improved by the progress of industry; and the plenty of glass and linen has defused more real comforts among the modern nations of Europe than the senators of Rome could derive from all the refinements of pompous or sensual luxury 34 Their luxury and their manners

P Volumes a wealthy weather (Lact. Annal -) 30, always preferred tenants born on the estate. Commercial was received this case in from his august sent and county on the subject. Do he heart of the 2-p 400, estat. Genner Leppag.

1735 Wales us (ad Amerika, Ku. 6) has growed from Chrysostom and Angustin that the enature were too all west to it decrease at over. Yet tappe a rose the Theories on Crafe use Geneloop and in it was toon it agrees that the Theorems Code over Generally and I is the term is players that the same permit I to be a special or one has dethe so observed, and what is considered, as the permittod was grated in the purpose of the permittod was grated in the purpose of the first star and the permitted in the purpose of the former section to so use also when it is the same of the former section to so an opular city, the latter too provides an principle of the former section to so an opular city, the latter too provides and principle of the same of the featured Affactuated Trives of America (2 has due, p. 150) has observed with the many and I believe with that the same bad opines against the features.

with b moser and I believe with treet, then Augustes had neither place to but

have been the subject of minute and laborious disquisition; but, as such inquiries would divert me too long from the design of the present work, I shall produce an authentic state of Rome and its inhabitants, which is more peculiarly applicable to the period of the Gotine invasion. Ammunus Marcellinus, who prudently chose the capital of the empire us the residence the best adapted to the historian of his own times, has inixed with the narrative of public events a lively representation of the scenes with which he was familiarly conversant. The judicious reader will not always approve the asperity of censure, the choice of circumstances, or the style of expression; be will perhaps detect the latent prejudices and personal resentments which soured the temper of Ammianus himself; but he will surely observe, with philosophic carosity, the interesting and original picture of the manners of Rome. 83

"The greatness of Rome" (such is the language of the historian) coarsener of the Roman" was founded on the rare and almost incredible alliance of virtue solies by and of fortune The long period of her infancy was employed in Marsillan a laborious struggle against the tribes of Italy, the neighbours and enemies of the rising city. In the strength and ardour of youth, she sustained the storms of war; carried her victorious arms beyond the seas and the mountains; and brought home trumphal laurels from every country of the globe. At length, verging towards old age, and sometimes conquering by the terror only of her name, she sought the blessings of ease and tranquillity. The VENERABLE CITY, which had trampled on the necks of the fiercest nations, and established a system of laws, the perpetual guardians of justice and freedom, was content, like a wise and wealthy parent, to devolve on the Casars, her favourite sons, the care of governing her ample patrimony. A secure and profound peace, such as had been once emoved in the reign of Numa, succeeded

windows nor a thirt to his back. I nder the lower empire, the use of lines and glass became somewhat more common [Giass was used in the age of Augustus.]

It is normalized on me to explain the liberties which I have taken with the text of Ammassus. I I have melted down into one piece the with chapter of the fourteenth and the fourth of the twenty gith, book 2 I have given order and come aim to the confused man at mater in 3. I have softened soor extra again hypertoirs and pared away some sup-off, the of the original. 4. I have descripted some observations which were instructed tather than expressed. With these allowances my version all be found, not literal individual but but highlight and exact 20 (madian who seems to have read the history of Americanus, speaks of this

great revolution in a in hiles courtly style;

Postquam jura fere k in se communia Carsar I russtulit, et lapsi mores descriaque priscis Artibus in gremnum pixes service recess

De Holt Gudonseo v 49-

THE DECLINE AND FALL

to the tumults of a republic; while Rome was still adored as the queen of the earth, and the subject natures still reverenced the name of the people and the majorty of the senate. But the native splendour (continues Ammiatius) "is degrated and solved by the conduct of some nobies, who, numinitial of their own dignity and of that of their country, assume an unbounded begate of vice and folly. They contend with each other in the empty vanity of titles and surrames; and curously select or invent the most lofty and sonorous appellations, Heburrus, or Fabunus, Pagomus, or Tarrason," which may unjuess the cars of the vulgar with astonishment and respect. From a vain ambition of perpetuating their memory, they affect to multiply their likeness in statues of bronze and marble; nor are they satisfied unless those statues are covered with plates of goul an honourable distinction, first granted to Acalus the consul, after he had subdued, by his arms and counsels, the power of king Antiochus The estentation of displaying, of magnitying perhaps, the rentroll of the estates which they possess in all the provinces, from the rising to the setting sun, provokes the just resentment of every man who recollects that their poor and invincible ancestors were not distinguished from the meanest of the soldiers by the delicacy of their food or the splendour of their apparel. But the modern nobles measure their rank and consequence according to the loftmess of their chanots and the weighty magnificence of their dress. Their long robes of silk and purple float in the wind; and, as they are agitated, by art or accident, they recause ally discover the under garments, the rich turies, embroidered

The minute difference of universals has not been able to verify their critical and the state of the state of the state of the has a state of application. The has a state of application to the has a state of application. The minute of the state of the s

The dress of an coaches of the Romans were offered solid union accounts cuttered and engineered, and the trapped to the proof the major of an account of the solid and the carry and the trapped to the solid and the carry and the trapped to the solid and the trapped to the trapped to the solid and trapped to the solid and the trapped to the solid and trapped to

with the figures of various animals,39 Followed by a train of fifty servants, and tearing up the pavement, they move along the streets with the same impetuous speed as if they travelled with post horses; and the example of the senators is boldly imitated by the matrons and ladies, whose covered carriages are continually driving round the immense space of the city and suburbs. Whenever these persons of high distinction condescend to visit the public baths, they assume, on their entrance, a tone of loud and insolent command, and appropriate to their own use the conveniencies which were designed for the Roman people. if, in these places of mixed and general resort, they meet any of the infamous ministers of their pleasures, they express their affection by a tender embrace; while they proudly decline the salutations of their fellow-citizens, who are not permitted to aspireabove the honour of kissing their hands or their knees. Assoon as they have indulged themselves in the refreshment of the bath, they resume their rings, and the other ensigns of their dignity; select from their private wardrobe of the finest linen, such as nught suffice for a dozen persons, the garments the most agreeable to their fancy, and maintain till their departure the same haughty demeanour; which perhaps might have been excused in the great Marcellus, after the conquest of Syracuse. Sometimes, indeed, these heroes undertake more arduous achievements; they visit their extates in Italy, and procure themselves, by the toil of servile hands, the amusements of the chase.40 If at any time, but more especially on a hot day, they have courage to sail, in their painted galleys, from the Lucine lake 41 to their elegant villas on the sea-coast of Puteoli and Careta,42 they compare their own expeditions to the marches of Casar

In a homily of Asterius, bishop of Amasia, M. de Valois has discovered (ad Aminian, x v. 6), that this was a new fashou, that bears wolves, i one, and i gers, woods but an interest to the more processive substituted the figure or legend of some favourite such that the more

processes substituted the figure it legend of some favourite cont

See Planck Species 1 o Times will bear over allumid and taken in the

tools, without interrupting the studies of the philosophic sportsman.

4 The change from the mauspicious word Arenas, which stands in the text, is immaterial. The two lakes, Avernus and Lucrines, communicated which each other and were fashioned by the stupendous moles of Agi ppa into the fit an poet which opened, through a narrow entrance, into the gulf of Puteol.

4 who resided on the spot, has described (Georgic II 261) this work at the moment of its execution, and his communitators, especially Catrou, have derived much light from Strabo Suctionius and Dion. Fastinguishes and volcanos have changed the face of the country, and turned the Lucrine lake, since the year 1538 into the Monte Niovo. See Camillo Pelegrino Diviorsi della Campania Fence, p. 330.

a44, &c., Antonii Saniel ea Campania, p. 13, 88

⁶ The regna Cumana et Puteolima, loca carteroqui valde expetenda, interpellantum autem munitudine poene fugienda. Cicero ad Auk. avi. 17.

and Alexander. Yet should a fly presume to settle on the salken folds of their gilded umbrellas, should a sunbeam penetrate through some unguarded and imperceptible chark, they deplore their intolerable hardships, and lament in affected language that they were not born in the land of the Conmerians, to the regions of eternal darkness. In these journers into the country " the whole body of the household marches with their master. In the same manner as the cavalry and infantry, the heavy and the light armed troops, the advanced guard and the rear, are marshalled by the skill of their multars leaders; so the domestic officers, who bear a rod as an ensum of authority, distribute and arrange the numerous train of slaves and attendants. The baggage and wardrobe move in the front, and are immediately followed by a multitude of cooks and inferior ministers employed in the service of the kitchens and of the table. The main body is composed of a promiseuous crowd of slaves, increased by the accidental concourse of idle or dependent plebeians. The rear is closed by the favourite band of cunuchs, distributed from age to youth, according to the order of semonty. Their numbers and their deformity excite the horror of the indignant spectators, who are ready to execute the memory of Semiranis for the cruel art which she invented of frustrating the purposes of nature and of blasting in the bud the hopes of future generations. In the exercise of domestic jurisdiction the nobles of Rome express an exquisite sensibility for any personal injury, and a contemptuous indifference for the rest of the human species. When they have called for warm water, if a slave has been tardy in his obedience, he is instantly chastised with three hundred lashes; but should the same slave commit wilful murder, the master will mildly observe that he is a worthless fellow; but that, if he repeats the offence, he shall not escape punishment. Hospitality was formerly the

The proverbial expression of Commercian durkness was originally horrowed from the description of Homer on the eleventh book of the Odmisey) which he applies to a create and fabulous country on the shortes of the ocean. See Example Admiss in his works from a not not the levelen edition.

Adagma, in his works tour, is p. 393, the Leyden edition.

At We may learn from Science, epist, ever it, three currous cucumstances relative to the journess of the Romans.

I. They were preceded by a troop of Namadar light horse, who announced by a cloud of dust the appreciate of a great name 2. Then beingage mules transported test only the precious wases but even the fragile vesses of crystal and sources, which last in almost proved by the largest French translator of Seneca (tour, in, pp. 402-422) to mean the porcelain of Chris and Japan.

3. The beautiful faces of the young slaves were covered with a need cated crust or outment, which secured them against the effects of the size and frost.

virtue of the Romans; and every stranger who could plead either merit or mixfortune was relieved or rewarded by their generouty. At present, if a foreigner, perhaps of no contemptible rank, is introduced to one of the proud and wealths senstors, he is welcomed indeed in the first audience, with such warm professions and such kind inquiries that he retires, enchanted with the alfability of his illustrious friend, and full of regret that he had so long delayed his journey to Rome, the native seat of manners as well as of empire. Secure of a favourable reception, he repeats his visit the ensuing day, and is mortified by the discovery that his person, his name, and his country are already forgotten. If he still has resolution to persevere, he is gradually numbered in the train of dependents, and obtains the permission to pay his assiduous and unprofitable court to a haughty patron, incapable of gratitude or friendship; who scarcely deigns to remark his presence, his departure, or his return. Whenever the rich prepare a solemn and popular entertainment; 46 whenever they celebrate, with profuse and permicious luxury, their private banquets; the choice of the guests is the subject of anxious deliberation. The modest, the sober, and the learned are seldom preferred; and the nomen-clators, who are commonly swayed by interested motives, have the address to insert, in the list of invitations, the obscure names of the most worthless of munkind. But the frequent and familiar companions of the great are those parasites who practise the most useful of all arts, the art of flattery; who cagerly appland each word and every action of their immortal patron; gaze with rapture on his marble columns and variegated pavements; and strenuously praise the pomp and elegance which he is taught to consider as a part of his personal merit. At the Roman tables the birds, the squirrels, of or the fish, which (Across)

"The wait of the half in name obliges me to refer to the common genus of squireds tog Latin 2011, the French dark a little animal who inhalits the woods, and remains tog if in cold weather. (See Plan Hist. Nature is 2. Buffon, Hist. Nature it come an p. 1. 3. Pennant's Symposis of Quadenpeds, p. 284.)
The art of rearing and fattering great numbers of glices was inactived in Romas

Distributio solemnium sportularium. The sportular, or sportular, were similibraniets, supposed to contain a quantity of hot provisions of the value of tota quantities, or twelvepence halfpenny which were ranged in order as the hall, and ostentationally distributed to the langry or service crowd who water at the door. This independs is very frequently mentioned in the epigrams of Martial and the same of firemail. See I knows Suction us in Claud. C. 21, in Neron C. 10, in The time C. 4.7. These lands to of previous were afterwards converted into large pieces of gold and silver con or plate which were mutually given and accepted even by the persons of the highest care sport have Systemach, epist in C. (2). A. 124, and 3 seell [2, 250] on solemn occasions of consultables, marriages, &c.

appear of an uncommon size, are contemplated with curious attention a pair of scales is accurately applied to excertain they real weight; and, while the more rational guests are disgusted by the rain and tedious repetition, notaries are summoned to attest by an authentic record the truth of such a nsurvellous event. Another method of introduction into the houses and society of the great is derived from the profession of gaming, or, as it is more politely styled, of play. tesierates are united by a strict and industolable bond of friend slip, or rather of conspiracy; a superior degree of skill in the I wenteus art (which may be interpreted the game of dice and tables to a sure road to wealth and reputation. A master of that sublime science, who in a supper or assembly is placed below a magistrate, displays in his countenance the surprise and indigitation which Cato might be supposed to feel when he was refused the practorship by the votes of a capricious people. The acquisition of knowledge seldom engages the curiosity of the nobles, who abhor the fatigue and disdain the advantages of study; and the only books which they peruse are the satures of Juveral, and the verbose and fabulous histories of Marius Mantous.45 The libraries which they have inherited from their fathers are secluded, like dreary sepulchres, from the light of day." But the costly instruments of the theatre, flutes, and enormous lyres, and hydraulic organs, are constructed for their

mate as a numberable arricle of rural economy (Varro, de Re Rustica, v. 10) The excessive demand of them for luxur our tables was increased by the fortest productions of the Conserva, and it is imported that they are start intermed a modern Rome, and are translationary as presents to the colories princes of the test edit of Point, too. In p. 400 appet there a 1770 at 1880 and 1880 are translated by the more for any cames of training

or to games the about the content of the grant hours, and of the grant hours, and of the second of the grant hours in the second of the led the others a , or to see the their the two waves the sale to and the final and country a first met or area were regularly placed, and altertalely moved according to the laws of the game, and the changes of the leaves of that In It do who ! . By traces the latters and sources of the new factor (a same of Lorse etch. go from feeland to Japan pours forth on this tring subject a copious torsent of classic and Oriental searning. See Syntagina ilpertug total . In ser 400

" Man as Mas mas homo omnum verbousamus, qui el mitiliatorios se relamakes the experienteen Transplanter Several See Gerard Voca-

de Hater as Latz. I I e to de his works are as to see as Macrobius and the Episties of Jeromi afford substantons proofs that Christian through and a second titeral in were studiosomy custivated by several Russians of both seases and of the highest runk,

use; and the harmony of vocal and instrumental music is in cessantly repeated in the palaces of Rome. In those palaces sound is preferred to sense; and the care of the body to that of the mind. It is allowed as a salutary maxim that the light and frivolous suspecion of a contagious malady is of sufficient weight to excuse the visits of the most intimate friends; and even the servants who are dispatched to make the decent mquiries are not suffered to return home till they have undergone the ceremony of a previous ablution. Yet this selfish and unmanly delicacy occasionally yields to the more imperious passion of avance. The prospect of gain will arge a rich and gouty senator as far as Spoleto; every sentiment of arrogance and dignity is subdued by the hopes of an inheritance, or even of a legacy; and a wealthy, childless citizen is the most powerful of the Romans. The art of obtaining the signature of a favourable testament, and sometimes of hastening the moment of its execution, is perfectly understood; and it has happened that in the same house, though in different apartments, a husband and a wife, with the laudable design of over-reaching each other, have summoned their respective lawyers, to declare, at the same time, their mutual but contradictory intentions. The distress which follows and chastises extravagant luxury often reduces the great to the use of the most humilating expedients. When they desire to borrow, they employ the base and supplicating style of the slave in the comedy; but, when they are called upon to pay, they assume the royal and tragic declamation of the grandsons of Hercules. If the demand is reneated, they readily procure some trusty sycophant, instructed to maintain a charge of poison or magic against the insolent creditor; who is seldom released from prison till he has signed a discharge of the whole debt. These vices, which degrade the moral character of the Romans, are mixed with a puerile superstition that disgraces their understanding. They listen with confidence to the predictions of haruspices, who pretend to read in the entrails of victims the signs of future greatness and prosperity; and there are many who do not presume either to bathe, or to dine, or to appear in public, till they have diligently consulted, according to the rules of astrology, the situation of Mercury and the aspect of the moon. " It is singular enough that this vain credulity may often be discovered among the profane sceptics,

²⁰Macrobius the friend of these Roman nobles considered the stars as the curve, or at least the signs, of future events (de Somn heipium 1 . e. 19 p. 68).

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who imprously doubt or deny the existence of a celestial

power.

In populous cities which are the seat of commerce and mannfactures, the middle minks of inhabitants, who denve their subsistence from the dexterity or labour of their hands, are commonly the most prolific, the most useful, and in that sense the most respectable part of the community. But the plelicous of Rome, who disdained such sedentary and service arts, had been oppressed from the earliest times, by the weight of debt and usury; and the husbandman, during the term of his military service, was obliged to abandon the cultivation of his farm ! The lands of Italy, which had been originally divided among the families of free and indigent proprietors, were insensibly our chased or usurped by the avance of the nobles; and in the age which preceded the fall of the republicit was computed that only two thousand citizens were possessed of any independent substance 53 Yet, as long as the people bestowed, by their suffrages, the honours of the state, the command of the legions, and the administration of wealthy provinces, their conscious pride alleviated, in some measure, the hardships of poverty; and their wants were seasonably supplied by the ambitious liberality of the candidates, who aspired to secure a venal majority in the thirty-five tribes, or the hundred and ninety three centuries of Rome. But, when the produgal commons had impredently alienated not only the use, but the inheritance, of power, their sunk, under the reign of the Casars, into a vile and wrotched populace which must, in a few generations, have been totally extinguished, if it had not been continually recruited by the manumission of slaves and the influx of strangers. As early as the time of Hadrian it was the just complaint of the ingenuous natives that the capital had attracted the vices of the universe and the manners of the most opposite nations. The intemperance of the Gauls, the cunning and levity of the Greeks, the savage obstinacy of the Egyptians and Jews, the service temper

If The histories of Lay, {see parties harby vs. 26) are full of the extentions of the rich, and the sufferings of the poor debeurs. The non-nebula start of a cours, of soldier Dimins. Has, bear of p. 347, edit. Hadden and There is an invention been frequently repeated in those print time times which have been so undergrands praised.

²¹ Non-esse in cristate due millia bominium qui rem haberent. I neve e tring a 21 a 21 comment. Paul Mariet in estit come. This cape comment is the Comment of the tringger Phi ppura and it was his object as mediate that if the Common people.

of the Asiatics, and the dissolute, effeminate prostitution of the Syrians, were mingled in the various multitude, which, under the proud and false denomination of Romans, presumed to despise their fellow-subjects, and even their sovereigns, who

dwelt beyond the precincts of the ETERNAL CITY 58

Yet the name of that city was still pronounced with respect : Public 64 the frequent and capricious tumults of its inhabitants were in dulged with impunity; and the successors of Constantine, instead of crushing the last remains of the democracy by the strong arm of military power, embraced the mild policy of Augustus, and studied to relieve the poverty, and to amuse the idleness, of an innumerable people. I For the convenience of the lazy pleberans the monthly distributions of corn were converted into a daily allowance of bread; a great number of ovens was constructed and maintained at the public expense; and at the appointed hour each citizen who was furnished with a ticket ascended the flight of steps which had been assigned to his pecuhar quarter or division, and received, either as a gift or at a very low price, a loaf of bread of the weight of three pounds for the use of his family. II. The forests of Lucania, whose acorns fattened large droves of wild hogs, to afforded, as a species of tribute, a plentiful supply of cheap and wholesome meat. During five months of the year a regular allowance of bacon was distributed to the poorer citizens; and the annual consumption of the capi tal, at a time when it was much declined from its former lustre, was ascertained by an edict of Valentinian the Third, at three

* See the third Satire (60-123) of Javenal, who indignantly complains Quarters que to port of wes A harr Jampridem Nyrus n'I berim defluxit Orontes. Et Inguam et mores de.

Sense, when he proposes to comfort his mother (Consolst, ad. Hels, c. 6) by the reflection that a great part of mankind were in a state of exile, reminds her how

lew of the ababitants of Rome were born at the case

I threat al, that is said of the bread boron of wine, &c may be found in the fourteent book of the Phendosian Code, which expressly treats of the police of the great offset. See particularly the tries on it is an average. The collaborational residence are produced in Godeless's Commentary and it is needless to trapy ribe them. According to a law of Theoders us which appreciates in money be in any allowance, a pose of good release in the next up previous in mosepounds of bacon or to eight; pre-inds of oil, or to twelve mod for peckin of salt
and Third I vis tit v leg 17). This equation, compared with another of
connext pounds of bacon for an associated (all Theod I viv tit, iv leg 4), these

the or ce of a ne at about system pence the grain,

If the anonymous author of the Description of the World op 14 in tow iii.

Geograph Minor Hudson) observes of I mania, in (18 hindstrous Lattin, Regional actions of the pea original habitations et land in multium focas emittir. Proper

quod est in montibus, cujus sescam animalium variam, &c.

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millions six hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds. III. In the manners of antiquity the use of oil was indespensable for the lamp as well as for the bath; and the annual tax, which was unposed on Africa for the benefit of Rome, amounted to the weight of three millions of pounds, to the measure, perhaps, of three hundred thousand English gallons. IV. The anxiety of Augustus to provide the metropolis with sufficient plenty of corn was not extended beyond that necessary article of human subsistence; and, when the popular clamour accused the dearness and scarcity of wine, a proclamation was issued by the grave reformer to remind his subjects that no man could reasonably complain of thirst since the aqueducts of Agrippa had introduced into the city so many copious streams of pure and galubrious water. 57 This rigid sobriety was insensibly relaxed, and, although the generous design of Aurelian 38 does not appear to have been executed in its full extent, the use of wine was allowed on very easy and liberal terms. The administration of the public cellars was delegated to a magistrate of honourable rank; and a considerable part of the vintage of Campania was reserved for the fortunate unhabitants of Rome.

Two of the

The stupendous aqueducts, so justly celebrated by the praises of Augustus himself, replenished the Thermae, or boths, which had been constructed in every part of the city, with Imperal magnificence. The boths of Antonius Carsonlla, which were open, at stated hours, for the indiscriminate service of the senators and the people, contained about sixteen hundred seats of marble; and more than three thousand were reckoned in the boths of Diocletian. The walls of the lofty apartments were covered with curious mosaics, that initiated the art of the pencil in the elegance of design and the variety of colours. The Egyptian granite was beautifully incrusted with the precious green marble of Numidia; the perpetual stream of hot water was poured into the capacious basons, through so many wide mouths of bright and massy silver; and the meanest Roman could purchase, with a small copper coin, the daily enjoyment of

55 See Novell ad calcem Cod Theod D Valent, I s. pt. sv. This haw was

77 Torrent us ad loc and Arbuttania a Tames, p. ox.
M. H. design was to plant vineyards along the sea coast of Firitin (Vopiscus.
in H. st. Aug. 28, p. 224, "xxvi. 48, o]), the dreamy, unwholesome, uncultivated
V modern Tipe int.

dor appd Phot p 197 [fr 43].

pub shed at Rome 20th June, A to 452

** Sueron in August c 42. The utmost debauch of the emperor himself in his favourite wine of Rhætia, never exceeded a surgerian (an English pint) lid c 77. Torrent its addice, and Arbuthant's Tables, p. 86.

a scene of pomp and luxury, which might excite the envy of the kings of Axia. From these stately palaces issued a swarm of dirty and ragged plebeians, without shoes, and without a mantle; who loitered away whole days in the street or Forum, to hear news, and to hold disputes; who dissipated, in extravagant gaming, the inserable pittance of their wives and children; and spent the hours of the night in obscure taverns and brothels in the indulgence of gross and vulgar

sensuality.G

But the most lively and splendid amusement of the idle a multitude depended on the frequent exhibition of public games and spectacles. The piety of Christian princes had suppressed the inhuman combats of gladiators; but the Roman people still considered the Circus as their home, their temple, and the seat of the republic. The impatient crowd rushed at the dawn of day to secure their places, and there were many who passed a sleepless and anxious night in the adjacent portices. From the morning to the evening, careless of the sun or of the rain, the spectators, who sometimes amounted to the number of four hundred thousand, remained in eager attention; their eyes fixed on the horses and charioteers, their minds agitated with hope and fear, for the success of the colours which they espoused; and the happiness of Rome appeared to hang on the event of a race.62 The same immoderate ardour inspired their clamours and their applause, as often as they were entertained with the hunting of wild heasts and the various modes of theatrical representation. These representations in modern capitals may deserve to be considered as a pure and elegant school of taste, and perhaps of virtue. But the Tragic and Comic Muse of the Romans, who seldom aspired beyond the

Seneca (epistol, Izazvi.) compares the baths of Serpio Africanus, at his villa of Liternum, with the magnificence (which was continued in treasurable) of the public baths of Rome, long before the stately Thermae of Antonious and Dioclet an were erected. The *quadrani* paul for admission was the quarter of the *six* about one eighth of an English penny.

Ammunus (1 siv c. 6, and l. xxviii. c. 4), after describing the luxury and pride of the nobles of Rome, exposes, with equal indignation the vives and follies of the common people.

^{**} Juvenal, Satir xi 191, &c. The expressions of the historian Ammianus are not less strong and animated than those of the satirist, and both the one and the other painted from the life. The numbers which the great Circus was capable of receiving are taken from the inviginal Acutine of the cits. The differences between them prove that they did not transcribe each other, but the sum may appear incredible, though the country on these occasions focked to the city. [On this question cp. Lanciani, Ruins and Eucavations of Ancient Rome, p. 92–381.]

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imitation of Attie gensus.65 had been almost totally silent since the fall of the republic; 44 and their place was unworthily occupied by licentious farce, effeminate music, and aplendid pageantry. The pantomimes, who maintained their reputation from the age of Augustus to the sixth century, expressed, without the use of words, the various fables of the gods and heroes of antiquity; and the perfection of their art, which sometimes disarmed the gravity of the philosopher, always excited the applanse and wonder of the people. The vast and magnificent theatres of Rome were filled by three thousand female dancers, and by three thousand singers, with the masters of the respective choruses. Such was the popular favour which they enjoyed that, in a time of scarcity, when all strangers were banished from the city, the ment of contributing to the public pleasures exempted them from a law which was strictly executed against the professors of the liberal arts,66

It is said that the foolish curiosity of Elagabalus attempted to discover, from the quantity of spiders' webs, the number of the inhabitants of Rome. A more rational method of inquiry might not have been undeserving of the attention of the wisest princes, who could easily have resolved a question so important for the Roman government and so interesting to succeeding ages. The births and deaths of the citizens were duly registered; and, if any writer of antiquity had condescended to mention the annual amount, or the common average, we might now produce some

Sometimes indeed they composed original pieces. Vest gui Graca

Auss deserere et celebrare domestica facta

Hornt. Epistol, ad Pisones, 185, and the learned, though perplexed, note of Decer, who might have allowed the name of tragedes to the Bristal and the Decess of Pacifics, or to the Cafe of Materias. The Origin, as orbed to cool the Senecas, still remains a very unfavourable specimen of Roman tragedy. The play has not the work of one of the Senecas as a contains a reference to the dead of Nero, but it was probably written soon after that event]

** In the time of Quintilan and Play a trage port was reduced to the inperfect method of hinns a great room and reading his play to the company

whom he invited for that purpose (see Dialog, de Oratonbus, c. 9, 11, and Pin

Epistol. vo. 17).

See the Dialogue of Lucian, intified, De Salintione, tom n. p. 265-317, eds. Reitz. The pantom mes obtained the honourable name of anadoods, and the recurred that they should be conversant with aimost every art and sewer-Burette (in the Mem de l'Arad, des Inscrip. tom. 1. p. 127, &c.) has given a short history of the art of pantomines.

"Ammianus, I am c. 6. He complains, with decent extension, that the streets of Rome were filled with crowds of females, who or glit have given charles to the state, but whose only occupation was to curl and dress their han, and facture volubilibus gyris, dum exprimuta innumera simulacea, que finxere lababe theutrales.

satisfactory calculation, which would destroy the extravagant assertions of critics, and perhaps confirm the modest and probable conjectures of philosophers. The most diligent researches have collected only the following circumstances; which, slight and imperfect as they are, may tend, in some degree, to illustrate the question of the populousness of ancient Rome. 1. When the capital of the empire was besieged by the Goths, the circuit of the walls was accurately measured by Ammonius, the mathematician, who found it equal to twenty-; anomal one miles.66 It should not be forgotten that the form of the city was almost that of a circle, the geometrical figure which is known to contain the largest space within any given circumference. II. The architect Vitravius, who flourished in the Augustan age, and whose evidence on this occasion has peculiar weight and authority, observes that the innumerable habitations of the Roman people would have spread themselves far beyond the narrow limits of the city; and that the want of ground, which was probably contracted on every side by gardens and villas, suggested the common, though inconvenient, practice of mising the houses to a considerable height in the air. But the loftmess of these buildings, which often consisted of hasty work and insufficient materials, was the cause of frequent and fatal accidents; and it was repeatedly enacted by Augustus, as well as by Nero, that the height of private edifices within the walls of Rome should not exceed the measure of seventy feet from the ground. 10 III. Juvenal 11 laments, as it should seem from

⁶⁷ Lepons (tom ut p. 423, de Magnitud Romant, 1 m. e. 3) and Isaac Vossus (Observat Vat p. 26-34) have included strange dreams of four eight or fourteen malons in Rome. Mr. Hame (Possys, vot s. p. 450-487) with admirable good sense and scepticism, betrays some secret disposition to extenuate the populous-tessyol amount times.

[&]quot;Olympiodor ap. Phot. p. 197 [fr. 43]. See Fabricus Bibl. Greec tom a p.

^{400.}Wh et autem majestate turbis et croum infinith frequentit innumerables habitationes opus fur explicare. Ergo, cum rec pere non posset area planu tant an multitudinen [ad habitandum] in urbe a l'aux loim alt indias architesorum rea span congit devenire. V trius, it & This passage, which I over to Vosaius, it clear, strong and comprehens ve

strong and comprehensive 79 The successive test-monies of Pliny, Aristides, Claudian, Rutifius &c. prove the manifecency of these restrictive edicts. See Lipsim, de Magnitud Romana I it of 4

[—] Tabulata tibi jam tertin fumant, Tu nescis; nam v grad bus trep datur ali unia, t i nu ardebit quem tegula sola tuetur A pluvid.

Juvenal, Satur 10, 199,

P Read the whole third sature, but particularly 166, 223, &c. The description of a crowded ratio or lodging house in letromus ic 95, 97) perfectly tallies with the complaints of Juvenal, and we learn from legal authority that in the time of

his own experience, the burdships of the poorer citizens, to whom he addresses the salutary advice of emigrating, without delay, from the smoke of Rome, since they might purchase, in the little towns of Italy, a cheerful, commodious dwelling, at the same price which they annually paid for a dark and unserable lodging. House-rent was therefore immoderately dear; the nelacquired, at an enormous expense, the ground, which they covered with palaces and gardens; but the body of the Roman people was crowded into a narrow space; and the different floors and apartments of the same house were divided, as it is still the custom of Paris and other cities, among several families of plebeians. IV. The total number of houses in the fourteen regions of the city is accurately stated in the description of Rome composed under the reign of Theodosius, and they amount to forty-eight thousand three hundred and eighty-two.72 The two classes of domus and of insulæ, into which they are divided. melude all the habitations of the capital, of every rank and condition, from the marble palace of the Anien, with a numerous establishment of freedmen and slaves, to the lofty and narrow lodging-house, where the poet Codrus and his wife were permitted to hire a wretched garret immediately under the tiles-If we adopt the same average which, under similar circumstances, has been found applicable to Paris,73 and indifferently allow about twenty-five persons for each house of every degree, we may fairly extinuate the inhabitants of Rome at twelve hundred thousand: a number which cannot be thought excessive for the capital of a mighty empire, though it exceeds the populousness of the greatest cities of modern Europe. 76

Augustus (Hemeccius, Hist Juris Roman, c. iv. p. 181) the ordinary rent of the severa revious, or accitments of in results, annually produced forty thousand sesterces, between three and four bundred pounds steeling. Publical I aid at a No. 10) a sum which proves at once the large extent and high value of these common bull ngc

This sum total is composed of 1780 [1790 dense, or great Aware, of 40 to: animin, or plehenin habitations (see Nardin Roma Annex I = p. 85) and they numbers are ascertained by the agreement of the texts of the different Vertical

Nard n , I. vi., p 498, 500.

73 See that accurite writer M. de Messance. Recherches sur la Population p. 175 thy brom probable or certain grounds he assigns to Parts 23,55t house

71,114 families, and 576 630 inhabitants

74 This computation is not very different from that which M. Brotser, the lar editor of Trestus (tom a. p. 380) has assumed from similar principles, though he seems to min at a degree of precision which it is neither possible nee impaction to obtain. This composition dies not differ much from that of Bankin, for > age of Augustus 1 300 000 and that of von W etersheim (1 35 2000). Gregoror in principal and allow as 300 000 by an at about 1 000,000, ep. Italy and her Invaders, 1 p. 814.]

Sec. 5981

Such was the state of Rome under the reign of Honorus; at Piret ale of Rome the time when the Gothic army formed the siege, or rather the i blockade, of the city.75 By a skilful disposition of his numerous forces, who impatiently watched the moment of an assault, Alarie encompassed the walls, commanded the twelve principal gates, intercepted all communication with the adjacent country, and vigilantly guarded the navigation of the Tiber, from which the Romans derived the surest and most plentiful supply of provisions. The first emotions of the nobles and of the people were those of surprise and indignation, that a vile Barbarian should dare to insult the capital of the world; but their arrogance was soon humbled by misfortune; and their unmanly rage, instead of being directed against an enemy in arms, was meanly exercised on a defenceless and innocent victim. Perhaps in the person of Serena the Romans might have respected the niece of Theodosius, the aunt, may even the adopted mother, of the reigning emperor: but they abhorred the widow of Stilicho; and they betened with credulous passion to the tale of calumny which accused her of maintaining a secret and criminal correspondence with the Gothic invader. Actuated, or overawed, by the same popular frenzy, the senate, without requiring any evidence of her guilt, pronounced the sentence of her death. Serena was ignominously strangled; and the infatuated multitude were astonished to find that this cruel act of ministice did not immediately produce the retreat of the Barbarians and the deliverance of the city. That unfortunate city gradually ex-ranso perienced the distress of scarcity, and at length the horrid calaimties of famine. The daily allowance of three pounds of bread was reduced to one-half, to one-third, to nothing; and the price of corn still continued to rise in a rapid and extravagant proportion. The poorer citizens, who were unable to purchase the necessaries of life, solicited the precarious chanty of the rich; and for a while the public misery was alleviated by the humanity of Leta, the widow of the emperor Gratian, who had fixed her residence at Rome, and conscented to the use of the indigent the princely revenue which she annually received from the grateful successors of her husband 18. But these private and temporary donatives were insufficient to appeare the hunger of

7 For the events of the first siege of Rome which are often confounded with those of the second and that see Zosamus 1. p to take a bay? J. Soziamen, 1. x c, 6. Olympioclatin as Phot p 180 [fe 3, F H G, iv]. Philostory us, 1. xii c 3, and Godelioy, Desertic p 107.745.

The member of 1 cca was nowed P. onen. Her father, family, and country

are unknown. Ducange Fam. Byzantin, p. 59.

a numerous people; and the progress of famine invaded the marble palaces of the senators themselves. The persons of both sexes, who had been educated in the enjoyment of ease and luxury, discovered how little is requisite to supply the demands of nature; and lavished their unavailing treasures of gold and silver, to obtain the coarse and scanty sustenance which they would formerly have rejected with disdain. The food the most repugnant to sense or imagination, the aliments the most unwholesome and permesons to the constitution, were eagerly devoured and hereely disputed by the rage of hunger. A dark suspicion was entertained that some desperate wretches fed on the bodies of their fellow-creatures, whom they had secretly murdered; and even mothers (such was the hornd confict of the two most powerful instincts implanted by pature in the human breast) - even mothers are said to have tasted the flesh of their slaughtered infants! " Many thousands of the inhabtants of Rome expired in their houses, or in the streets, for want of sustenance; and, as the public sepulchres without the walls were in the power of the enemy, the stench which arose from so many putrid and unburied careases infected the air, and the miseries of famine were succeeded and aggravated by the contagion of pestilential disease. The assurances of speedy and effectual relief, which were repeatedly transmitted from the court of Ravenna, supported for some time the fainting resolution of the Romans, till at length the despair of any human aid spession tempted them to accept the offers of a praternatural deliverance. Pompenanus, practect of the city, had been persuaded, by the art or fanaticism of some Tuscan diviners, that, by the mysterious force of spells and sacrifices, they could extract the lightning from the clouds, and point those celestial fires against the camp of the Barbarians.18 The important secret was communicated

17 Ad nefandos cibes empit exacientina rabies, et sus invents membra faniarus.

dun mater non porc't lacter ti infant e, et rec pit uter s quen pica lo unte effuderat forom ad Principality, tous a press [ep. 127. Mg m. in p. 1002]. The same horrid creumstance in Ukraine told of the arges of Jerusa era and Press. For the latter, compare the tenth book of the Henride, and the Lucinal de Henri FV.

tom. p. 47.81; and observe that a 1 to normative of facts in much more pathetic than the most laboured describers of type poetro.

3 Normal (L.) p. 355–356 c. 41 speaks of these commones like a Greek unacqua sted with the national supercitive of Recize and L. 2018. I suspect that they assisted of two parts, the secret and the paide, the secret were per-bably an in tation of the arts and spells by which Numa had drawn flown Jupon and his thunder on Mount Aventine,

Qu'd agent laquets, que com na dicant Qualque tealment a speria seil. base acte i mesu cirr nefas homir

The ancies, or shields of Mars, the pignora furgerss, which were carried in sowing

to Innocent, the bishop of Rome; and the successor of St. Peter is accused, perhaps without foundation, of preferring the safety of the republic to the rigid severity of the Christian worship. But, when the question was agitated in the senate; when it was proposed, as an essential condition, that those sacrifices should be performed in the Capitol, by the authority, and in the presence of the magistrates; the majority of that respectable assembly, apprehensive either of the Divine or of the Imperial displeasure, refused to join in an act which appeared almost equivalent to the public restoration of Paganism. 19

The last resource of the Romans was in the elemency, or at annual acceptance least in the moderation, of the king of the Goths. The senate, a cannot be who in this emergency assumed the supreme powers of govern-inhorms

ment, appointed two ambassadors to negotiate with the enemy. This important trust was delegated to Basilius, a senator, of Spanish extraction, and already conspicuous in the administration of provinces; and to John, the first tribune of the notaries, press who was peculiarly qualified by his dexterity in business as well es by his former intimacy with the Gothic prince. When they were introduced into his presence, they declared, perhaps in a more lofty style than became their abject condition, that the Romans were resolved to maintain their dignity, either in peace or war; and that, if Alaric refused them a fair and honourable capitulation, he might sound his trumpets, and prepare to give battle to an innumerable people, exercised in arms and animated by despair. "The thicker the hay, the easier it is mowed, was the concise reply of the Barbarian; and this rustic metaphor was accompanied by a loud and insulting laugh, expressive of his contempt for the menaces of an unwarlike populace, enervated by luxury before they were emaciated by famme. He then condescended to fix the ransom, which he would accept as the price of his retreat from the walls of Rome; all the gold and silver in the city, whether it were the property of the state or of individuals; all the rich and precious moveables; and all the

procession on the calenda of March, derived their origin from this mysterious event Orad Past in 259 9/8). It was probably designed to revive this ancient festival, which had been a pressed by Theodorus. In that case we recover a channo logical date (March the 1st A.D. 409) which his not hitherto been observed. [An improbable guess. The siege of Rome was certainly raised in A 1, 408.]

To Sewomen (Line, c. 6) assumates that the experiment was actually, though unsecond as, made; but he do your mention the name of Innocent and I demont (Max. Lavies, teen, s. p. 645) a determined not to be even that a populated be guite of such majoris eventual exemption. The episode of Pompetanes seems to have taken place after the embassy of Basalius and John.

slaves who could prove their title to the name of Barbarrans The ministers of the senate presumed to ask, in a modest and suppliant tone, "If such, O king ' are your demands, what do you intend to leave us?" "Your LIVES," replied the haughts conqueror; they trembled and retired. Yet, before they retired. a short suspension of arms was granted, which allowed some time for a more temperate negotiation. The stern features of Alarie were insensibly relaxed; he abated much of the rigour of his terms; and at length consented to raise the siege, on the immediate payment of five thousand pounds of gold, of thirty thousand pounds of silver, of four thousand robes of silk, of three thousand pieces of fine scarlet cloth, so and of three thousand pounds weight of pepper.51 But the public treasury was exhausted; the annual rents of the great estates in Italy and the provinces were intercepted by the calamities of war; the gold and gems had been exchanged during the famine for the vilest sustenance; the heards of secret wealth were still concealed by the obstinacy of avance; and some remains of consecrated spoils afforded the only resource that could avert the impending run of the city. As soon as the Romans had satisfied the rapacions demands of Alarie, they were restored, in some measure, to the enjoyment of peace and plenty. Several of the gates were cautiously opened; the importation of provisions from the river and the adjacent country was no longer obstructed by the Goths. the citizens resorted in crowds to the free market, which was held during three days in the suburbs; and, while the merchants who undertook this gainful trade made a considerable profit, the future subsistence of the city was secured by the ample magazines which were deposited in the public and private granaries. A more regular discipline than could have been expected was maintained in the camp of Alane; and the wise Barbaran justified his regard for the faith of treaties by the just seventy with which he chastised a party of licentious Goths, who had insulted some Roman citizens on the road to Ostia. His army enriched by the contributions of the capital, slowly advanced intethe fair and fruitful province of Tuscany, where he proposed to establish his winter-quarters; and the Gothic standard became

(Rather, hides dived scarlet.)

tique et Philosophique, de, tom x p. 457.

¹⁾ Pepper was a favourde rigitedient of the most expensive Roman cookery, are the best sort commonly sold for bifeen dearer or ter shall say the pound. So Plany Hist Nature are 14. It was brought from India, and the same country the court of Malaker as the affords the give steep plenty. but the improvement of each and manigation has a whiphed the quantity and reduced the price. See Haggin

the refuge of forty thousand Barbarian slaves, who had broke their chains, and aspired, under the command of their great deliverer, to revenge the injuries and the disgrace of their cruel servitude. About the same time, he received a more honourable reinforcement of Goths and Huns, whom Adolphus, it the brother of his wife, had conducted, at his pressing invitation, from the hanks of the Danube to those of the Tiber, and who had cut their way, with some difficulty and loss, through the superior numbers of the Imperial troops. A victorious leader, who mitted the daring spirit of a Barbarian with the art and discipline of a Roman general, was at the head of an hundred thousand fighting men; and Italy pronounced, with terror and respect, the formidable name of Alanc. 13

At the distance of fourteen centuries, we may be satisfied remain with relating the military exploits of the conquerors of Rome non an without presuming to investigate the motives of their political La m conduct. In the midst of his apparent prosperity, Alarie was conscious, perhaps, of some secret weakness, some internal defect; or perhaps the moderation which he displayed was intended only to deceive and disarm the easy credulity of the ministers of Honorius. The king of the Goths repeatedly declared that it was his desire to be considered as the friend of peace and of the Romans. Three senators, at his carnest request, were sent ambassadors to the court of Ravenna, to solicit the exchange of hostages and the conclusion of the treaty; and the proposals, which he more clearly expressed during the course of the negotiations, could only inspire a doubt of his sincerity, as they might seem inadequate to the The Barbarian still aspired to the rank state of his fortune. of master-general of the armies of the West; he stipulated an annual subsidy of corn and money; and he chose the provinces of Dalmatia, Noricum, and Venetia, for the seat of his new kingdom, which would have commanded the important communication between Italy and the Danube. If these modest terms should be rejected. Alaric shewed a disposition to relinquish his pecuniary demands, and even to content himself

This Gothic chieftain is called, by formandes and Isidore Afhanfisher, by Zimmas and Ottorias, Afranghan, and by Ob is actionia Afranghan. I have used the colder, of name of Afranghan, which womes to be authorized by the practice of the burdes, the wins or bechers of the account faith.

The treaty between A are and the Romans Ac., is taken from Zisimses, I v 2 344 345 348 359 302 303 431 42]. The additional control need are too few and to flong to require only other quotation. [Mr. Hodgen conjectures that Alane's army at this time—ranged between 50 000 and 100 000 nien. 5 p. 812.]

with the projection of Noncom an exhausted and impoverished country perpetual's expansed to the opposits of the Barbanans of Germany " But the hopes of peace were disappointed by the weak obstance, or interested views, of the minister Olympius. Without Intening to the solutary rememstrances of the senate, he desinessed their ambiguidors under the conduct of a mattery escret, too numerous nor a retinue of honour and too feeble for an army of defence. Six thousand Dalmatians, the flower of the Imperial legions were ordered to march from Ravenna to Rome, through an open country, which was occumed by the formulable marging of the Burtumans. These brave legionaries, encompassed and betraved, fell a sacrifice to thunsternal folly; their general, Valens, with an hypothed soldiers, escaped from the field of buttle, and one of the embassadors, who could no longer claim the protection of the law of nations, was obliged to purchase his freedom with a ransom of thirty thousand pieces of gold. Yet Alarie, instead of resenting this act of impotent hostility, immediately renewed his proposals of peace; and the second embassy of the Roman senate, which derived weight and dignity from the presence of Innocent, bishop of the city was guarded from the dangers of the road by a detachment of teother solthers

Olympus " might have continued to insult the just resentment of a people who loudly accused him as the author of the public calamities but his power was undermined by the secret integers of the palace. The favourte cunuchs transferred the government of Honorous and the empire to Jorus, the Pratonan prefect an unworthy servant, who did not atone by the ment of personal attachment for the errors and misfortunes of his The exile or escape of the guilty Olympus edininistration. reserved him for more viewsitudes of fortune he experienced the adventures of an obscure and wandering life, he again rese to power, he fell a second time into disgrace, his ears were cut of , he expired under the lash; and his ignormituous death afforded a grateful spectacle to the friends of Stalicho. the removal of Olympus, whose character was deeply tainted with religious fanat.cism, the Pagans and heretics were delivered

^{*} Lowering, to profe you could be below note no.

**Zer or to profe the way as? The to apply termining at Resemble the could be apply to the country of the country of the country you profe you go you you got [45 pp.] and Ohmpooker app. Phot. p. 180, shy

from the impolitic proscription which excluded them from the dignities of the state. The brave Genneral, it a soldier of Barbanan origin who still adhered to the worship of his ancestors. had been obliged to lay aside the military belt; and, though he was repeatedly assured by the emperor himself that laws were not made for persons of his rank or merit, he refused to accept any partial dispensation, and persevered in honourable disgrace till he had extorted a general act of justice from the distress of the Roman government. The conduct of Gennerid in the important station, to which he was promoted or restored, of master general of Dalmatia, Pannonia, Novicum and Rhætia is seemed to 1808 Mag revive the discipline and spirit of the republic. From a life of of hyperan idleness and want his troops were soon habitoated to severe exercise and plentiful subsistence; and his private generosity often supplied the rewards which were denied by the avance or poverty of the court of Havenna. The valour of Genneral, formulable to the adjacent Barbarians, was the firmest bulwark of the libran frontier; and his vigilant care assisted the empire with a reinforcement of ten thousand Huns, who arrived on the confines of Italy, attended by such a convoy of provisions and such a numerous train of sheep and oxen as might have been sufficient not only for the march of an army but for the settlement of a colony. But the court and councils of Honorius still remained a scene of weakness and distraction, of corruption and anarchy. Instigated by the prefect Jovius the guards rose in furious mutiny, and demanded the heads of two (at them) generals, and of the two principal cumuchs. The generals, under a perficious promise of safety, were sent on shipboard, and privately executed; while the favour of the ennuchs procured them a mild and secure exile at Milan and Constantinople. Eusebius the cunuch and the Barbarian Allobich succeeded to the command of the bedchamber and of the guards; and the mutual jealousy of these subordinate ministers was the cause of their mutual destruction. By the insolent order of the count of

Thomas fly p. 364[46] relates this circumstance with stable combinency, and or cleates the character of General as the last glory of expang pages in Very different were the vertice of the council of Cartingo who depends to do not be able to the court of Rasenna to complain of the law which had just been enacted that all conversions to character by should be free and robustary. See Baron us, Annal and A.D. 400, No. 43, A.D. 410, No. 47, 48.

The oppositions may be wreal to correct the text of Zoomers, v. 40 where

The region to its may her to red to correct the test of Zosimirs, it about the thir Validation asking are, here expensioned to red new day who also the red Persons of the expension of the red to the for adder, but we about their products and read, say the adder the each Business to took seem not a thirty about the product the red adder, and the adder the each Business to took seem not a thirty about the each Business to took seem not a thirty and the each Business to took seem not a thirty and the each Business to took seem not a thirty and the each Business to took seem not a thirty and the each th

the domestics the great chamberlain was shamefully heaten to death with sticks before the eyes of the astonished emperor; and the subsequent assassination of Allobich in the midst of a public procession is the only circumstance of his life in which Honorius discovered the faintest symptom of courage or resentment. Yet, before they fell, Eusebius and Allobich had contributed their part to the rum of the empire by opposing the conclusion of a treaty which Joynus, from a selfish and perhaps a eriminal motive, had negotiated with Alaric in a personal interta missing view under the walls of Rimini. During the absence of Jovius the emperor was persuaded to assume a lofty tone of inflexible dignity, such as neither his situation nor his character could enable him to support and a letter signed with the name of Honorus was immediately dispatched to the Pretorian præfect, granting him a free permission to dispose of the public money, but sternly refusing to prostitute the military honours of Rome to the proud demands of a Barbarian. This letter was imprudently communicated to Alaric himself; and the Goth, who in the whole transaction had behaved with temper and decency. expressed in the most outrageous language his lively sense of the insult so wantonly offered to his person and to his nation, The conference of Rimini was hastily interrupted; and the prefect Joyus on his return to Ravenna was compelled to adopt, and even to encourage, the fashionable opinions of the court. By his advice and example the principal officers of the state and army were obliged to swear that, without listening, in any circumstances, to any condition of peace, they would still persevere in perpetual and implacable war against the enemy of the republic. This rash engagement opposed an insuperable bar to all future negotiation. The ministers of Honorius were heard to declare that, if they had only invoked the name of the Deity, they would consult the public safety and trust their souls to the mercy of Heaven; but they had sworn by the sacred head of the emperor himself; they had touched an solemn ceremony that august seat of majesty and wisdom; and the violation of their oath would expose them to the temporal penalties of sacrilege and rebellion.40

²⁰s, 1. v p 3/2 368 369 [48 40 This custom of swearing by the head or life, or safety, it gen ne of the sovereign was of the highest intights, both in Figupt (General, who ray and Septima. It was soon transferred by flattery to the Carsers, and Tertall to complains that it was the one outbooks in the Rose insight his time affected to reverence. See in eleg at Dissert to roof the Able Massier on the Oaths of the Ancients, in the Mem de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom, i ps. 208, 20%

While the emperor and his court enjoyed, with sallen pride, the security of the marshes and fortifications of Ravenna, they had abandoned Rome almost without defence to the resentment of Yet such was the moderation which he still preserved or affected that, as he moved with his army along the Flaminian way, he successively dispatched the bishops of the towns of Italy to resterate his offers of peace and to conjure the emperor that he would save the city and its inhabitants from hostile fire and the sword of the Barbanans. These impending calamities were however averted, not indeed by the wisdom of Honorius, but by the prudence or humanity of the Gothic king; who employed a milder, though not less effectual, method of conquest. Instead of assaulting the capital, he successfully directed his efforts against the Port of Ostin, one of the boldest and most stupendous works of Roman magnificence 91. The accidents to which the precanous subsistence of the city was continually exposed in a winter-navigation and an open road had suggested to the genius of the first Cæsar the useful design which was executed under the reign of Claudius. The artificial moles which formed the narrow entrance advanced far into the sea and firmly repelled the fury of the waves, while the largest vessels securely rode at anchor within three deep and capacious basons, which received the northern branch of the Tiber, about two miles from the ancient colony of Ostia. The Roman I or insensibly swelled

20s.mus, I, v. p. 368-369 [50]. I have softened the expressions of Alaric, who expertitives in too flored, manner on the history of Rome. [It was now that Anaric obtained to be content with Noricom, see above, note 84.]

We See Section in Claud, c. 20, Dion Cassius, I. ix. p. 949, echt. Reimar [c. 11], and the lively description of Jurenal, haut are 75, &c. In the extremely century when the runn as of this Augustan port were still visible, the antiquarians sketched the plan feed Annile. Men. del I. idenie are Inscriptions tom, xxx. p. 1989 and declared both configurations are that all the monarchy of lamper would be mable to execute so go at a work (Firgiet, II st. des grands here as des Konauns, tom, is p. 350).

In Dotts Priceron (see Given Italia Ania), In. p. 870.879 in the plural number, the two mouths of the Ther, were separated by the filoly I dand an equilated triangle, whose sides were each of them computed at about two mies. The corony of Ortiz was founded immediately beyond the left or southern, and the Part nimediately beyond the right or northern, branch of the river, and the distance between their remains measures something more than two miles on Cinterse between their remains measures something more than two miles on Cinterse between their remains measures something more than two miles on Cinterse between their remains measures something more than two miles on Cinterse between their remains of Stratos, the same cause has added much to the size of the Holy Island, and gradually with both Osta and the Fort at a considerable distance from the shore. The disjectance of finan morth) and the large estuaries (stagno di Ponente, di Levante) mark the changes of the river and the efforts of the sea. Consult, for the present state of this desary and desolute tract, the excellent map of the recleasastical state by the mathematicans of Benediat XIV, an actual surrey of the Agra Rossana, in six sheets, by Cingolani, which contains it if \$19.75 and the large topographed map of Amet in eight sheets. (p. Pricapius B. 15., 50. Casadorius, vs. 9; and the description of Gregoromus, Rome in the Middle Ages, Eng. 17., i. p. 400.)

to the size of an episcopal city, 93 where the corn of Africa was deposited in spacious granaries for the use of the capital soon as Alarie was in possession of that important place he summoned the city to surrender at discretion, and his demandwere enforced by the positive declaration that a refusal or even a delay should be instantly followed by the destruction of the magazines, on which the life of the Roman people depended. The clamours of that people and the terror of famine subdued the pride of the senate; they listened without reluctance to the proposal of placing a new emperor on the throne of the unworthy Honorus; and the suffrage of the Gothic conquerer bestowed the purple on Attalus, prefect of the city. The grateful monarch immediately acknowledged his protector as mastergeneral of the armies of the West; Adolphus, with the rank of count of the domestics, obtained the custody of the person of Attalus; and the two hostile nations seemed to be united in the closest bands of friendship and alliance *

The gates of the city were thrown open, and the new emperor of the Romans, encompassed on every side by the Gothe arms, was conducted in tunultuous procession, to the palace of Augustus and Trajan. After he had distributed the civil and military dignities among his favourites and followers, Attalus convened an assembly of the senate; before whom, in a formal and florid speech, he asserted his resolution of restoring the majesty of the republic, and of uniting to the empire the provinces of Egypt and the East, which had once acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. Such extravagant promises inspired every reasonable citizen with a just contempt for the character of an unwarlike usurper; whose elevation was the deepest and most ignominious wound which the republic had yet sustained from the insolence of the Barbarians. But the populace, with their usual levity, applauded the change of masters. The public discontent was favourable to the rival of Honorius; and the sectaries, oppressed by his persecuting edicts, expected some

Custome d. Roma et dell. Agro Romano. p. 3.8.

The for the elevation of Attalus consult. Zos mus. l. v. p. 377 350 [7.394]. Some l. v. c. 8.4. O'tall side up. Phot. p. (84.181 [fr. 13]). Philostopy, f. va. 6.3. and Godetro. Desertat. p. 470.

⁸⁰ As early as the third (Lardner's (redibility of the Gospel, part in vol. in p. 80-02), or at least the fourth century (and a Sancto Pamo, Notic Eccles p. 47) the Port of Rome was an en stopal city which was described as it should been in the onth century, by Pope Gregory IV. Lie agithe nearest most the lades It is now exhibited to an one a chareft and the house or palace of the bishop, whe ranks as one of six card hal bishops of the Romish church. See Eschinard, De-

degree of countenance, or at least of toleration, from a prince who, in his native country of loma, had been educated in the Pagan superstition, and who had since received the sacrament of haptism from the hands of an Arian bishop to The first days of the reign of Attalus were fair and prosperous. An officer of confidence was sent with an inconsiderable body of troops to secure the obedience of Africa; the greatest part of Italy submitted to the terror of the Gothic powers; and, though the city of Bologna made a vigorous and effectual resistance, the people of Milan, dissatisfied perhaps with the absence of Honorius, accepted, with loud acclamations, the choice of the Roman senate. At the head of a formidable army Alarie conducted his royal captive almost to the gates of Ravenna; and a solemn embassy of the principal ministers, of Jovius, the Principal unit torian præfect, of Valens, master of the cavalry and infantry, of the questor Potamius, and of Juhan, the first of the notaries, was introduced with martial pomp into the Gothic camp. In the name of their sovereign they consented to acknowledge the lawful election of his competitor, and to divide the provinces of Italy and the West between the two emperors. Their proposals were rejected with disdain; and the refusal was aggravated by the insulting elemency of Attalus, who condescended to promise that, if Honorius would instantly resign the purple, he should be permitted to pass the remainder of his life in the peaceful exile of some remote island.90 So desperate indeed did the situation of the son of Theodosius appear to those who were the best acquainted with his strength and resources, that Jovius and Valens, his minister and his general, betrayed their trust, infamously deserted the sinking cause of their benefictor, and devoted their treacherous allegiance to the service of his more Astonished by such examples of domestic fortunate rival. treason, Honorius trembled at the approach of every servant, at the arrival of every messenger. He dreaded the secret enemies, who might lurk in his capital, his palace, his bed-chamber; and some ships lay ready in the harbour of Ravenna to transport the

We may admit the evidence of Sozomen for the Arinn buptism, and that of Philosocogius for the Phigan education of Attalas. The visible joy of Zosomia, and the discontent which he migutes to the Animan family, are very unfavourable to the Christonety of the new emperor.

He carried is insolence so far as to declare that he should mutilate Homoreus before he sent him into each. But this assertion of Zon and is destroyed by the more impactful testimony of Olyspistorus, who attributes the ungenerous proposal twhich was absolutely rejected by Attalas) to the baseness, and pessings the treachery, of Jovius.

abdicated monarch to the dominions of his infant nephese, the

Rais degraded by Alecte A.D. 400

But there is a Providence (such at least was the opinion of the historian Procopius 97) that watches over innocence and folly; and the pretensions of Honorius to its peculiar care cannot reasonably be disputed. At the moment when his despair, incapable of any wise or manly resolution, meditated a shameful flight," a seasonable reinforcement of four thousand veterans unexpectedly landed in the port of Ravenna. To these valiant strangers, whose fidelity had not been corrupted by the factions of the court, he committed the walls and gates of the city, and the slumbers of the emperor were no longer disturbed by the apprehension of imminent and internal danger. The favourable intelligence which was received from Africa suddenly changed the opinions of men, and the state of public affairs, The troops and officers whom Attalus had sent into that province were defeated and slam; and the active zeal of Hernchan maintained his own allegiance and that of his people. faithful count of Africa transmitted a large sum of money, which fixed the attachment of the Imperial guards; and his vigilance, in preventing the exportation of corn and oil, introduced famine, tumult, and discontent into the walls of Rome. The failure of the African expedition was the source of mutual complaint and recrimination in the party of Attalus; and the mind of his protector was insensibly abenated from the interest of a prince who wanted spirit to command or docility to obey. The most imprudent measures were adopted, without the knowledge, or against the advice, of Alarie; and the obstinate refusal of the senate to allow, in the embarkation, the mixture even of five hundred Goths betrayed a suspicious and distrustful temper. which, in their situation, was neither generous nor prudent. The resentment of the Gothic king was exasperated by the malicious arts of Jovius, who had been ruised to the rank of patrician, and who afterwards excused his double perfidy by declaring, without a blush, that he had only seemed to abandon the service of Honorius, more effectually to run the cause of the In a large plain near Rimini, and in the presence usurper. of an innumerable multitude of Romans and Barbarians, the wretched Attalus was publicly despoiled of the dodern and purple; and those ensigns of royalty were sent by Alarie, as the

[#] Procop. de Bell. Vandal. L. t. c. 2

** So Sommer but the text of Zosimar gives to divisions amounting to 40,000, a number accepted by Mr. Hodgle.

pledge of peace and friendship, to the son of Theodosius." The officers who returned to their duty were reinstated in their employments, and even the ment of a tardy repentance was graciously allowed; but the degraded emperor of the Romans, desirous of life and insensible of disgrace, implored the permission of following the Gothic camp in the train of a haughty

and capricious Barbarian 100

The degradation of Attalus removed the only real obstacle to not see the conclusion of the peace; and Alarie advanced within three none by miles of Ravenna, to press the irresolution of the Imperial An ministers, whose insolence soon returned with the return of And His indignation was kindled by the report that a rival chieftain, that Sarus, the personal enemy of Adolphus and the hereditary foe of the house of Balts, had been received into the palace. At the head of three hundred followers, that fearless Barbarian immediately sallied from the gates of Ravenna; surprised, and cut in pieces, a considerable body of Goths; reentered the city in triumph; and was permitted to insult his adversary by the voice of a herald, who publicly declared that the guilt of Alarie had for ever excluded hun from the friendship and alliance of the emperor. 101 The crime and folly of the court of Ravenna was expeated a third time by the calamities of Rome. The king of the Goths, who no longer dissembled his appetite for plunder and revenge, appeared in arms under the walls of the capital; and the trembling senate, without any hopes of relief, prepared, by a desperate resistance, to delay the ruin of their country. But they were unable to guard against the secret conspiracy of their slaves and domestics; who, either from birth or interest, were attached to the cause of the enemy. At the hour of midnight, the Salarian gate was identify opened, and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous sound of the Gothic trumpet. Eleven hundred and sixty-three years after the foundation of Rome, the Imperial city, which had subdued and civilized so considerable a part of mankind, was

P See the cause and creamstances of the full of Attalus in Zosimus l vi. p. \$50.83 122 Seromen l x c 8. Philosong l xn c 3. The two acts of indianary in the Develocan Code l is tot xxxvi leg 11, 12, which were publical. tished the 12th of February and the 8th of August, A.D. 410, evidently relate to this

usi, per im in hoc Alaneus, imperatore facto infecto refecto, ac defecto.

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rish et lid in spectasit imper. Oros us I vii c. 42 p. 502.

1th Zon — I vi p 324 c3 Sozianon, I w c g. Pe lostog us I, sit c g.
In this prace the text of Zonor us is millaind, and we have lost the coma note of his with and tast book which en Sed with the sack of Rome. Creduleus and part all as he is, we must take our leave of that historian with some regret.

delivered to the licentious fury of the tribes of Germany and

Scythia. 103

Respect of the Gotha for the Christian religion

The proclamation of Alaric, when he forced his entrance into a vanquished city, discovered, however, some regard for the laws of humanity and religion. He encouraged his troops holdly to seize the rewards of valour, and to enrich themselves with the spoils of a wealthy and effeminate people; but he exhorted them at the same time to spare the lives of the unresisting citizens, and to respect the churches of the aposties St. Peter and St. Paul, as holy and inviolable sanctuaries. Amidst the horrors of a nocturnal tunult, several of the Christian Goths displayed the ferrour of a recent conversion; and some instances of their uncommon picty and moderation are related, and perhaps adorned, by the zeal of ecclesiastical writers, 103 While the Barbarians roamed through the city in quest of prey, the humble dwelling of an aged virgin, who had devoted her life to the service of the altar, was forced open by one of the powerful Goths. He immediately demanded, though in civil language, all the gold and silver in her possession; and was astomshed at the readmess with which she conducted him to a splendid hoard of massy plate, of the richest materials and the most curious workmanship. The Barbanan viewed with wonder and delight this valuable acquisition, till he was interrupted by a serious admonition, addressed to him in the following words: "These," said she, "are the consecrated vessels belonging to St. Peter; If you presume to touch them, the sacrilegious deed will remain an your conscience. For my part, I dare not keep what I am unable to defend." The Gothic captain, struck with reverential awe, dispatched a messenger to inform the king of the treasure which

107 Adest Alaricus, trep dam Romam obsidet, turbat, triumpit. Oronius I in c. 30, p. 575. He disamines it is great earnt in seven words, but he employ whole pages in celebrating the devotion of the Gerby. I have extracted from an improbable story of Procopius the cucumstances which had an a 1 of probability processed by Vandal 1 i c. 2. He suppress that the city was wurprissed while the senators slept in the afternoon; but Jerom with more numberary and compression affirms that it was a the right noce Meab captaest, note conditionally to the conditional pages of the suppression of the story of the story of the suppression of treathers, 1 764.

Im Oros us (1 vii. c. 39, p. 571 576) appliands the piety of the Christian Gotts without seeming to perceive that the greatest part of them were A- an heretical Johnson of the properties of the Great in the were both attached to the Gott- cause have repeated and en believed their delivery and the cause have repeated and en believed them was with the Romina and not with the Apostes. Such was the state of the seventh century, two hundred twits before, the fame and most had been ascribed

not to the apostles, but to Christ.

he had discovered; and received a peremptory order from Alaric that all the consecrated plate and ornaments should be transported, without damage or delay, to the church of the apostic. From the extremity, perhaps, of the Quirmal hill to the distant nuarter of the Vatican, a numerous detachment of Goths, marching in order of battle through the principal streets, protected, with glittering arms, the long train of their devout companions, who bore aloft, on their heads, the sacred vessels of gold and solver; and the martial shouts of the Barbarians were mongled with the sound of religious psalmody. From all the adjacent houses, a crowd of Christians hastened to join this edifying procession; and a multitude of fugitives, without distinction of age, or rank, or even of sect, had the good fortune to escape to the secure and hospitable sanctuary of the Vatican. The learned work, concerning the City of God, was professedly composed by St. Augustin, to justify the ways of Providence in the destruction of the Roman greatuess. He celebrates with peculiar satisfaction this memorable triumph of Christ; and insults his adversaries by challenging them to produce some similar example of a town taken by storm in which the fabulous gods of antiquity had been able to protect either themselves or their deluded votaries. 184

In the sack of Rome, some rare and extraordinary examples of processed Barbarian virtue have been deservedly applicated. But the holy precincts of the Vatican and the apostolic churches could receive a very small proportion of the Roman people, many thousand warriors, more especially of the Huns, who served under the standard of Alaric, were strangers to the name, or at least to the faith, of Christ; and we may suspect, without any breach of charity or candour, that in the hour of savage licence, when every passion was inflamed and every restraint was removed, the precepts of the gospel seldom influenced the behaviour of the Gothic Christians. The writers, the best disposed to exaggerate their elemency, have freely confessed that a cruel slaughter was made of the Romans; 105 and that the streets of the city were

10d See Augustin de Civitat Dei U. c. 16. He particularly appeals to the example of Troy. Syracuse and Tarentum.

100 Jerom (torn 1 p. tar, ad Principani (ep. 16)) bas applied to the sack of Rome all the strong expressions of Virgil

On welastem illus noctus quis funera fando. Explices &c

Proceeding (I. t.c. a) postissely affirms that great numbers were slain by the Coths. August 1 (de Civ. De. 1.), c. 12. 131 iffers Christian comfort for the death of those weone bodies. milita corporal had remained from factof stragge, unburied. Baronius, from the 1 flerent willings of the Fathers has thrown some light on the sack of Roma. Annal. Eccles. A D. 410, No. 10.44.

and with dead bodies, which remained without burnel during the gracial contemperation. The desput of the citizens was more the same and the for , and, whenever the Barbarus were promised by exposition, they extended the promiseson manage to the femile the innocent, and the helpless. present revenue of tem thousand states was exercised without now at requirer, and the grammons lashes, which they had home to received, were wooded away in the blood of the guilti are names, resolver. The matrices and virgins of Rome were crowses to insures more dreaded in the apprehension of chastiti They death itself; and the ecclesiastical historian has selected ex example of female virtue, for the admiration of future ages. " t toman lady of singular beauty and orthodox faith had excited The expanient desires of a young both, who, according to the egacious remark of Sozomen, was attached to the Arian herest becomented by her obstinate resistance, he drew his sword, and with the anger of a lover, slightly wounded her neck. The beeding become still continued to brive his resentment and to tepel his love, till the rayisher desisted from his unavailing effects, respectfully conducted her to the sanctuary of the Vatican, and gave six preces of gold to the guards of the church. on condition that they should restore her inviolate to the arms of her husband. Such instances of courage and generosity were not extremely common. The brutal soldiers satisfied their sensual appetites, without consulting either the inclination or the duties of their female captives; and a nice question of casustry was senously agitated. Whether those tender victims who had inflexibly refused their consent to the violation which they sustained had lost, by their misfortune, the glorious crown of virginity.167 There were other losses indeed of a more sub-

100 Someon Lix c. so. Augustin de Civitat. Des. 1 v. c. 271 entimates that some visc us or matrices actually k. sed themselves to escape moutubes, and though he admitted then spirit he is obliged by his theology to a rule in their rash persons the administration specifies a soligation has thesing to continue their rash presentation. Perhaps the good bishop of H most wis too easy as the heart, as we as too a god in the censure of the act of female here with. The takens maders (...the ever existed) who threw themselves no the E the when Migheling was extend by stoom, have been mally led to the number of tweeter bundred. See Hartes History of tentavia Administration of a 1 to 18. He treats the unique with remarkable accuracy; and, after identiting that there winds the and crone when there is no constant he adds seed quit non-school, and additionates a very existence of the seed of the see

quod ad libid nem, pert net in corpore a who presenting potent, qualquid turfaction factul, etco retentam constant is mounimule distrum non-excuted puderal tamen rout I be confirm factors comments of my voluntate quad for) fortune one carn's all qual voluntate non-potent. In c. 18 be makes some currous distance none between moral and physical surgenty.

stantial kind and more general concern. It cannot be presumed that all the Barbarians were at all times capable of perpetrating such amorous ontrages; and the want of youth or beauty or chastity protected the greatest part of the Roman women from the danger of a rape. But avariee is an insatiate and universal passion; since the enjoyment of almost every object that can afford pleasure to the different tastes and tempers of mankind may be procured by the possession of wealth. In the pillage of Rome, a just preference was given to gold and jewels, which contain the greatest value in the smallest compass and weight; but, after these portable riches had been removed by the more diligent robbers, the palaces of Rome were rudely stripped of their splended and coatly furniture. The sideboards of massy plate, and the variegated wardrobes of silk and purple, were pregularly piled in the waggons that always followed the march of a Gothic army. The most exquisite works of art were roughly handled or wantonly destroyed: many a statue was melted for the sake of the precious materials; and many a vase, in the division of the spoil, was shivered into fragments by the stroke of a battle-axe. The acquisition of nehes served only to stimulate the avarice of the rapacious Burbarians, who proceeded by threats, by blows, and by tortures, to force from their prisoners the confession of hidden treasure.168 Visible splendour and expense were alleged as the proof of a plentiful fortune; the appearance of poverty was imputed to a parsimonious disposition; and the obstinacy of some misers, who endured the most eruel torments before they would discover the secret object of their affection, was fatal to many unhappy wretches, who expired under the lash for refusing to reveal their imaginary treasures. The edifices of Rome, though the damage has been much exaggerated, received some miury from the violence of the Goths. At their entrance through the Salarian gate, they fixed the adjacent houses, to guide their march and to distract the attention of the citizens; the flames, which encountered no obstacle in the disorder of the night, consumed many private and public buildings; and the runs of the palace of Sallust 109

100 The Interum Su at who usefully practised the vices which he has so eloquently covaried on by hard the plander of Named a to adoen his palace and gardens on the Quirmat hill. The spot where the hoose stood is now marked by

¹⁰⁰ Marceila a Roman lady equally respectable for her mark, her age and her party wanthrown on the ground and crue's bruner and whapped cassum fact businguellaque dec. Jerom, tona u. p. 121 and Principian [ep. 16] See Augustin, de tive Dei k. c. to. The modern Sacco d. Roma p. 208, given an idea of the various methods of torrising processors for gold.

remained in the age of Justinian, a stately monument of the Gothic conflagration. 110 Yet a contemporary historian has observed that fire could scarcely consume the enormous beams of solid brass, and that the strength of man was insufficient to subvert the foundations of ancient structures. Some truth may possibly be conscaled in his devout assertion that the wrath of Heaven supplied the imperfections of hostile rage, and that the proud Forum of Rome, decorated with the statues of so many gods and heroes, was levelled in the dust by the stroke of

lightning.111

Whatever might be the numbers, of equestrian or plebeian rank, who perished in the massacre of Rome, it is confidently athrmed that only one senator lost his life by the sword of the enemy. 112 But it was not easy to compute the multitudes, who, from an honourable station and a prosperous fortune, were suddenly reduced to the inserable condition of captives and exiles. As the Barbarians had more occasion for money than for slaves, they fixed at a moderate price the redemption of their indigent prisoners; and the ransom was often paid by the benevolence of their friends or the charity of strangers. 113 The captives, who were regularly sold, either in open market or by private contract, would have legally regained their native freedom, which it was impossible for a citizen to lose or to

the church of St. Susanna, separated only by a street from the battis of Diocleran, and not condition from the Samusan gate. See Nardini, Rossia Anticu. p. 192, 193, and the creat Plan of Modern Rome. by Noth

193, and the great Plan of Modern Rome by Nolling Bay expressions of Procopius are distinct and moderate (de Bell Vandal L. c. g.). The Chronicle of Marcellinus speaks too strongly, partem whis Rome cremavil; and the words of Philostory us for samples by the composed a puricular dissertation (see tom in Various, Rome Green) to prove that the eddices of Rome were not subserted by the Goths and Vanda's. [On the forbearance of the Goths to Rome, see Gregorovius, Rome in the Middle Ages, i. p. 118 379 (Eng. tr.).

11 Occous, Lin. c. 19, p. 143. He speaks as if he disapproved off statues; see Demin vel hommen mentunities. They consisted to the kings of Alfa and Rome from America the Romano, Illustrous ender in array or arise and the deaffed Common

from Finers, the Romans, illustratus either in arms or arts, and the defined Courts The expression which he uses of For verits somewhat ambiguous, a new there existed five principal F. ... but, as they were all configuous and adjacent, in the plan which is surrounded by the Capitoine the Quirant, the Esquire, and the Pulatine hills, they is ght tan'y be considered as one. See the Roma Art; is of Donatos, p. 162-201, and the Roma Art is of Virian, p. 212-273. The femer is more useful for the ancient descriptions, the latter for the actual topography.

The Orosius (t. it. c. 19, p. 142) compares the cruelty of the Gar a and the elemency of the Goths. The vix quemquam eventum secutions, on vel absence the vix quemquam request, que focte to latens persent. It there is an air of rhetoric, and perhaps of falsehood in this and thesis, and borrates (L. m. e. to) affirms, perhaps by an opposite exaggeration, that many senators were pinto death with various and exquisite fectures.

118 Multi . . Christians in captostatem docti sunt. Augmitin, de Civ. Dei, L.L. . 14, and the Christians experienced no peculiar hardsh ps.

alienate.134 But, as it was soon discovered that the vindication of their liberty would endanger their lives, and that the Goths. unless they were tempted to sell, might be provoked to murder, their useless prisoners, the civil jurisprudence had been already qualified by a wise regulation that they should be obliged to serve the moderate term of five years, till they had discharged by their labour the price of their redemption. 116 The nations who invaded the Roman empire had driven before them, into Italy, whole troops of hungry and affrighted provincials, less apprehensive of servitude than of famine. The calamities of Rome and Italy dispersed the inhabitants to the most lonely, the most secure, the most distant places of refuge. While the Gothic cavalry spread terror and desolation along the sea-coast of Campania and Tuscany, the little Island of Igilium, separated by a narrow channel from the Argentarian promontory, repulsed, or cluded, their hostile attempts; and, at so small a distance from Rome, great numbers of citizens were securely concealed in the thick woods of that sequestered spot.116 The ample patrimonies, which many senatorian families possessed in Africa, invited them, if they had time and prudence, to escape from the rum of their country, to embrace the shelter of that hospitable province. The most illustrious of these fugitives was the noble and mous Proba, 117 the widow of the prefect Petronius. After

134 See Honeccus, Antiquitat Juris Roman, tom, t. p. 96.

135 Appendix Cod. Theodis, xvi. in Sirmond Opera tom, t. p. 235. This edict was published the 11th December, A 5. 408, and is more reasonable than properly belonged to the ministers of Honorus.

Liminus Ig la advosa cacumina miror;

Quem fraudare ne as l'audis honore sure.

Hace propros nuper tutata est insula salitus,
Sive loci ingenio seu Dimini genio.

Gurgite cum modico victrinibus obstitut armis
Languam conginguo dissociata mari

Hace multos lacera suscepti ab urbe lugatos,
Hic fessis pos to certa i more salius.

Plurima terrerio populaverat sequens bello,
Contra naturam classe timendus eques
Unum mara lides, vario discrimine portum?

Tam prope Romann, l'um procul esse Grèis.

Ruti insi in li nerar la 195.

The island is now called G glas. See Cluver Ital. Aut.q. l. in. p. 502.

117 As the adventures of Proba and her fact ly are connected with the life of St. Augustin, they are diagently instracted by life enough, Merc. Excels from xin p. 600 65. Some time after their arrival in Africa. Democras took the wall, and made a vow of ving rate, an owned which was considered as of the highest importance to Rome and to the world. All the Square wrote congrutulating letters to be; that of from its stall extent income a p. 6275, ad Democratic deservanda Ving chat had contains a mixture of absurd reasoning spirited declaration, and carbons facts some of which relate to the singe and tack of Rome [cp. 130]. Magne, L. 1407.

we much at her assumed, the most namedia achieve of Rome, or he waster a to make the American high and memory which has he proud before the expense of The second of the second of the second on brought on the other way appeared with Christian THE RESERVE THE PROPERTY OF THE PARTY OF A SHALL want, and whenever the propert of war the factors of her were more and that was not described both, and her providthe second in the second secon By processors professors with which the nation enterinted the term of the Mary, it her extens non-money to allegate the market of our sal out to But one the beady of The property was not exempt their the meanway of contrast of were remained who separate the section of presidents of the housest considered of former to the lock or everyoned the Syrun persons for hairs incline one incomes through the per-more, using the most of figures and here, so her as Constantsment and Jerument and the volume of Bethook the wilters residence of Mr. Jerson and his ference converts, was crowded with another begins of other ore and even age, who excited the purper empresses by the repersioners of their part furtime. This away option one of home Field the astonished coupers with graf and become no externating a contract of greatures and was disposed the front arealists of the people to depute, and even to exaggerate the afternoon of the queen of other. The cierry, who around to recent events the lofts metaphons of themtal prophers, were accretimes tempted to conforms the destruction of the capital and the dissolution of the gaste.

There exists is because nature a strong properies to depreciate the advantages, and to magnife the evils, of the present times, let, when the first emotia is had subsided, and a fair estimate was made of the real damage, the more learned and judicious contemporaries were freeed to confess that infant Rome had formerly received more essential injury from the Ganis than she had now sustained from the Goths in her declining age 10. The experience of eleven centuries has enabled posterity to produce

128 See the pathetic compliant of leton (ton), on p. 400), in his preface to the record base of his compensation in his , in less Lacket

a ty p 144, I i d 39 p 500 Pu tow tony of the comparison, a c ty p 144, I i d 39 p 500 Pu tow tony of the taxing of Record to the taxing to taxing to taxing to taxing to taxing the taxing to taxing the taxing to taxing the taxing to taxing the taxing to taxing to taxing the taxing taxing to taxing the taxing taxing to taxing tax

a much more singular parallel; and to affirm with confidence that the ravages of the Barbanans, whom Alarie had led from the banks of the Danube, were less destructive than the hostilities exercised by the troops of Charles the Fifth, a Catholic prince, who styled himself Emperor of the Romans. 130 The Goths evacuated the city at the end of six days, but Rome remained above nine months in the possession of the haperalists; and every hour was stained by some atrocious act of cruelty, lust, and rapine. The authority of Alarie preserved some order and moderation among the ferocious multitude, which acknowledged him for their leader and king; but the constable of Bourbon had glorously fallen in the attack of the walls; and the death of the general removed every restraint of discipline from an army which consisted of three independent nations, the Italians, the Spaniards, and the Germans. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the manners of Italy exhibited a remarkable scene of the depravity of mankind. They united the sangumary crimes that prevail in an unsettled state of society, with the polished vices that spring from the abuse of art and luxury; and the loose adventurers, who had violated every prejudice of patriotism and superstition to assault the palace of the Roman pontiff, must deserve to be considered as the most profligate of the Italians. At the same era, the Spaniards were the terror both of the Old and New World; but their high-spirited valour was disgraced by gloomy pride, rapacious avance, and unrelenting cruelty. Indefatigable in the pursuit of fine and riches, they had improved, by repeated practice, the most exquaste and effectual methods of torturing their prisoners; many of the Castillans, who pillaged Rome, were familiars of the holy inquisition; and some volunteers, perhaps, were lately returned from the conquest of Mexico. The Germans were less corrupt than the Italians, less cruel than the Spaniards; and the rustic, or even savage, aspect of those Tramoniane warmers often disguised a simple and merciful disposition. But they had unbibed, in the first fervour of the reformation, the spirit, as well

The reader who wishes to inform himself of the circumstances of this farnous event may presse an adminishe narrative in Dr. Robertson a History of Charles V vol. in p. 263, or consult the Anna. d'Italia of the learnest Marinton, tom, are p. 220-224 octavo edizion. If he is describe of reasoning the originals he may have reasonin to the eighteenth book of the great but unfinished history of Gineriantini. But the account which reast truly deserves the name of authorize to the great a little book intitled. If Nicco de Roses composed with a month after the assemble of the cits, by the breaker of the historium trunceuridini who appears to have been an able magnificate and a dispussionate writer.

as the principles, of Luther. It was their favourite amusement to usualt or destroy the consecrated objects of Catholic superstition; they indulged, without pity or remorse, a devout batred against the clergy of every denomination and degree, who form so considerable a part of the inhabitants of modern Rome; and their fanatic zeal might aspire to subvert the throne of Antichrist, to purify, with blood and fire, the abominations of the spiritual Babylon. 191

The retreat of the victorious Goths, who evacuated Rome on the sixth day, in might be the result of prudence, but it was not surely the effect of fear. 123 At the head of an army, encumbered with nich and weighty spoils, their intrepid leader advanced along the Appian way into the southern provinces of Italy, destroying whatever dared to oppose his passage, and contenting himself with the plunder of the unresisting country. The fate of Capua, the proud and luxurious metropolis of Campania, and which was respected, even in its decay, as the eighth city of the empire,124 is buried in oblivion; whilst the adjacent town of Nola 136 has been illustrated, on this occasion, by the sanctity of Paulinus, 126 who was successively a consul, a monk, and a bishop. At the age of forty, he renounced the enjoyment of wealth and honour, of society and hterature, to embrace a life of solitude and penance; and the loud applause of the clergy encouraged him to despise the reproaches of his worldly friends, who asenbed this desperate net to some disorder of the mind or body. If

on The furnous spirit of I uther the effect of temper and enthmissin, has been forcibly attacked. Bo surt, But, dev. Virtualises des Eg. see Protestantes, tire, p. 20-36, and feebly felended Neckendorf. Comment, de Lutheranismo, especially 1. No. 28 p. 120, and 1. in. No. 22a, p. 556; im. Marce limis in a toron. Orosius (1 v. s. 39, p. 575) asserts that he left Rome on the Air d day, but this difference is easily reconciled by the successive monois of great bodies of troops.

Document (1 v., c 10) pretends, without any colour of truth or reason, that Alaric fleif on the report that the armies of the Eastern empire were in full march to situack form

126 Ausonius de Claris Urbibus, p. 233, edit. Toll. The havery of Capua had formerly surpassed that of Sybuns steell. See Athenseus, Deipstanophist Lui, q.

598, edit Casauton

125 Forty-eight years before the foundation of Rome (about 800 before the Christian arra), the Tuscaus built Capua and Nola at the distance of swents three to les from each other, but the latter of the two cases never emerged from a seate

156 Policinont (Mem. Eculés tom xiv p. 1 ag6) has compiled with his usual diagence, all that relates to the life and writings of Paulous, whose retrest it relebrated by his own pen, and by the praises of St. Ambruse, St. Jerom, St. Augustin. Su perms Severus, St. his Christian friends and contemporaries.

187 Sev. the affectionate letters of Auson us (epist xiii. xiii. p. 64, 658, ed. t. Tol.) to his codeague, his friend, and his disciple Paulitus. The religion of Ausonius is

An early and passionate attachment determined him to fix his humble dwelling in one of the suburbs of Nola, near the miraculous tomb of St. Felix, which the public devotion had already surrounded with five large and populous churches. The remains of his fortune, and of his understanding, were dedicated to the service of the glorious martyr; whose praise, on the day of his festival, Paulmus never failed to celebrate by a solemn hymn; and in whose name he creeted a sixth church, of superior elegance and beauty, which was decorated with many curious pictures, from the history of the Old and New Testament. Such assiduous zeal secured the favour of the saint.155 or at least of the people; and, after fifteen years' retirement, the Roman consul was compelled to accept the bishopric of Nola, a few months before the city was invested by the Goths. During the siege, some religious persons were satisfied that they had seen, either in dreams or visions, the divine form of their tutelar patron; yet it soon appeared by the event that Felix wanted power, or inclination, to preserve the flock of which he laid formerly been the shepherd. Nola was not saved from the general devastation; 159 and the captive bishop was protected only by the general opinion of his innocence and poverty. Above four years elapsed from the successful invasion of Italy by the arms of Alaric to the voluntary retreat of the Goths under the conduct of his successor Adolphus; and, during the whole time, they reigned without control over a country which, in the reigned opinion of the ancients, had united all the various excellencies in of nature and art. The prosperity, indeed, which Italy had attained in the auspicious age of the Antonines, had gradually declined with the decline of the empire. The fruits of a long peace perished under the rude grasp of the Barbanans; and they themselves were meapable of tasting the more elegant refinements of luxury which had been prepared for the use of the soft and polished Italians. Each soldier, however, claimed an ample portion of the substantial plenty, the corn and cattle, oil and wine, that was daily collected and consumed in the Gothic camp: and the principal warriors insulted the villas and

still a problem (see Méni, de l'Acadénue des Inscriptions, tom av. p. 123-135).

I believe that it was seen in the own time, and, consequently, that in his heart he was a Pagan. [Cp. Appendix 1]

***The buildin Pindinus once premimed to say that he believed St. Felix did love h.m., at least, as a master loves his little dog

**The consider, de Rich Get c. 20 p. 653. Philostorgus, l. xii c. 3. Augustin de Civ. Det, l. t. c. 10. Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A.D. 410. No. 45.

gardens, once inhabited by Lucullus and Cicero, along the beauteous coast of Campanas. Their trembling captives, the sons and daughters of Roman senators, presented in goldets of gold and gents large draughts of Falernian wine to the haughty victors; who stretched their huge limbs under the shade of plane-trees, who artificially disposed to exclude the scorching rays and to admit the genial warmth, of the sun. These delights were enhanced by the memory of past hardships; the comparison of their native soil, the bleak and barren hills of Seyths, and the frozen banks of the Elbe and Danube, added new charms to the fehesty of the Italian climate. 181

Peaks of Augusta

Whether fame or conquest or riches were the object of Alanc, he pursued that object with an indefatigable ardour, which could neither be quelled by adversity nor satiated by success. No sooner had he reached the extreme land of Italy than be was attacked by the neighbouring prospect of a fertile and Yet even the possession of Sicily he considered peaceful island only as an intermediate step to the important expedition which he already meditated against the continent of Africa. The streights of Rhegium and Messina 142 are twelve miles in length. and in the narrowest passage about one mile and a half broad; and the fabulous monsters of the deep, the rocks of Seylla and the whirlpool of Charybdis, could terrify none but the most tund and unskilful mariners. Yet, as soon as the first division of the Goths had embarked, a sudden tempest arose, which sunk of scattered many of the transports; their courage was daunted by

the The platters, or paneliter, was a favourite of the ancients by whom it was propagated for the sake of raide from the East to Gain, Plan, Hisa Natura and 3, 4, 6. He meet one several of an enormous size one in the Imperial voltage Velatic, which Calagada culled his next, as the branches were capable of halding a large table, the proper attendants and the emperor bewelf, whom Plans quantity styles fairs a mercar, an expression which might with equal reason be appoint to Alamo.

The preserver South to the destroyer yields.

Her boasted titles, and her gorden needs.

With grim det ght the Leond of winter saw.

A bughter day and sheard name has soont the new fragrance of the opening rose,

And another here from the preserver in the con-

And qualify the jert lend vintage as a green.

See Gray's Poems published by Mr. Mason, p. 107. Instead of conspiling tables of chronology and nature, history why did not Mr. Gray apply the sewers of his general to fund the philosophic poem of which he has left such an enquire specimen?

189 For the perfect description of the Straights of Messona Scylla, Charebde he, see Clares as that, Antiq L is palace, and Same here L is particularly about the country.

the terrors of a new element; and the whole design was defeated by the premature death of Alaric, which fixed, after a short illness, the fatal term of his conquests. The ferocious character of the Barbarians was displayed in the funeral of a hero, whose valour and fortune they celebrated with mournful applause. By the labour of a cuptive multitude they foreibly diverted the course of the Busentinus, a small river that washes the walls of [Busine] Consentia. The royal sepolehre, adorned with the splendal spods and trophies of Rome, was constructed in the varant hed; the waters were then restored to their natural channel, and the secret spot, where the remains of Alane had been deposited, was for ever concealed by the inhuman massacre of the prisoners who had been employed to execute the work.145

The personal ammonities and hereditary fends of the Barba-adoparians were suspended by the strong necessity of their affines; and the brave Adolphus, the brother-in-law of the deceased be small monarch, was unanimously elected to succeed to his throne. The character and political system of the new king of the Goths AD su may be best understood from his own conversation with an illustrious citizen of Narbonne, who afterwards, in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, related it to St. Jerom, in the presence of the historian Orosius. "In the full confidence of valour and victory I once aspired" (said Adolphus) "to change the face of the universe; to obliterate the name of Rome; to erect on its rums the dominion of the Goths; and to acquire, like Augustus, the immortal fame of the founder of a new empire. By repeated experiments I was gradually convinced that laws are essentially necessars to maintain and regulate a well-constituted state, and that the fierce untractable humour of the Goths was meanable of bearing the salutary yoke of laws and civil government. From that moment I proposed to myself a different object of giory and ambition; and it is now my sincere wish that the gratitude of future ages should acknowledge the ment of a stranger who employed the sword of the Goths, not to subvert, but to restore and maintain, the prosperity of the Roman empire." 134 With these pacific views the successor of Alaric suspended the operations of war, and senously negotiated with the Imperial court a treaty of friendship and alliance the interest of the ministers of Honorius, who were now released

¹² Jornandes de Reh. Get e 30. p. 648.

12 Octobre 1. 1 v. e 43. p. 584. e85. He was sent by N. Augustin in the year.

415. from Africa to Palestine, to visit St. Jerom, and to consult with him on the pulpect of the Pelaguan controversy.

from the obligation of their extraragant outh, to deliver link from the commercial weight of the Courte powers, and they readily accepted their service against the tyrants and harbitum who infested the presences beyond the Aps. Adespen." sounding the character of a Bosses, general directed his manh from the extremity of Campuna to the southern provinces of His troops, either by force or agreement, enmediately occupied the cities of Narbonne, Touriste, and Bourdeaux, and though they were repulsed by Count Bon fore from the walls of Maneilles, they woon extended their quarters from the Medterraness to the Ocean. The oppresed provincials in this claim that the meerable remnant which the enemy had spared was cruedy ranshed by their pertended alles; yet some sperson colours were not want ag to paliente, or justify, the violence of the Goths. The cities of Gaal which they attacked might perhap be considered as in a state of rebellion against the government of Honorus; the articles of the treats, or the secret instructions of the court, might sometimes be alleged in favour of the seeming usurpations of Adolphus; and the guilt of any creequist. unsuccessful act of hostility might always be imputed, with an appearance of truth, to the ungovernable spint of a Barbarian host, impatient of peace or discipline. The luxury of Italy had been less effectual to soften the temper than to relat the courage of the Goths; and they had unlaised the vices, without imtating the arts and institutions, of civilised society. 136

with Function

The professions of Adolphus were probably sincere, and he attachment to the cause of the republic was secured by the ascendant which a Roman princess had acquired over the beart and understanding of the Barbarian king. Placedia, 137 the daughter of the great Theodosius and of Galla, his second wife, had received a royal education in the palace of Constantinople, but the evential story of her life is connected with the revolutions which agitated the Western empire under the reign of her brother Honorus. When Rome was first invested by the arms

dark and doubted. I have derived may, and took with the training of the arrient German, I, vot c ap 36 36 37 who has sustrained and connected the broken chronicles and fragments of the 1 mes.

18 See an account of Placeda in Danange, Fam Bream p 72, and Tillemont. Hist. des Empereurs, tom. 6, p. 260–380, &c. tom. vi. p. 260.

³⁵ Jornandes supposes without much probable by that Adolphus waited and plundered Rome a second time (more locustarian count). Vet he agrees with Oromus su supposing that a treaty of peace was concluded between the Gottee prince and Historiak New Oros L va. c. 43, p. 584, 585. Fornandes, de Reb. Getions c. 31 p. 654 655.

The Decretation the Goths from Italy, and their first transactions in Gain are

of Alane, Placidia, who was then about twenty years of age, resided in the city; and her ready consent to the death of her cousin Serena has a cruel and ungrateful appearance, which, according to the circumstances of the action, may be aggravated or excused by the consideration of her tender age. 136 The victonone Barbarians detained, either as a hostage or a captive, 120 the asster of Honorus; but, while she was exposed to the disgrace of following round Italy the motions of a Gothic camp, she experienced, however, a decent and respectful treatment. The authority of Jornandes, who praises the beauty of Placidia, may perhaps be counterbalanced by the silence, the expressive silence, of her flatterers; yet the splendour of her birth, the bloom of youth, the elegance of manners, and the dexterous insinuation which she condescended to employ, made a deep impression on the mind of Adolphus; and the Gothic king aspired to call himself the brother of the emperor. The ministers of Honorius rejected with disdain the proposal of an alliance so injurious to every sentiment of Roman pride, and repeatedly urged the restitution of Placidia as an indispensable condition of the treaty of peace. But the daughter of Theodosius submitted, without reluctance, to the desires of the conqueror, a young and valuant prince, who yielded to Alaric in loftmess of stature, but who excelled in the more attractive qualities of grace and beauty. The marriage of Adolphus and Placidia 140 was consummated before the Goths retired from Italy; and the solemn, perhaps the anniversary, day of their nuptials was afterwards celebrated in the house of Ingenuus, one of the most illustrious citizens of Narbonne in Gaul. The bride, attired and adorned like a Roman empress, was placed on a throne of state; and the king of the Goths, who assumed on this occasion the Roman habit, contented himself with a less honourable seat by her side. The nuptial gift, which according to the custom of his nation 10 was

To Zonm. 1 x p. 350 [38]. 1902 is mill vi p 3dd (ra). Orosius (f. vit c 40, p. cy6) and the Chronicles of Minicillinus and Idat is seem to suppose that the Goths did not carry away. Placidia and Idate the last segm of Rome.

is see the parairs of Alophus and Placidia, and the account of their marriage, in Journandes de Reb. General C. 31 p. 644, 655. With trigard to the place where the n. prais were stape ated of consumm and or celebrated, the Miss of Jernandes war between two neighbouring other cora and Impla Forum Liviand boram sair between two neighbors highest collisional mode borum Livia Ang borum (see Miscou Livia and easy to recome the Gothic historian with Olimpodorian (see Miscou Livia and but Themont grows peers hand sweath that Lis not worth while to try to concluste Johnandes with any good authors. (All the Miscoi Justime Juste Julia which the rel Hasil corrects to Livia Idatus and Olivano-odorus place the maxinge at Nation 10 The Visignaha other subjects of Adulphiasi restrained by subsequent laws the produgality of cost, again to the was illegal for a husband to make any gift or

offered to Paculia, consisted of the rare and magnificent april of her country. Fifty beautiful youths, in silken cobes carne a basin in each hand; and one of these basins was filled with pieces of gold, the other with precious stones of an inestimable abue Attalus, so long the sport of fortune and of the Cotto was arranged to lead the chorus of the Hymenical song, and the degraded emperor might aspire to the praise of a skills museran. The Barbarians enjoyed the mastence of their trough, and the provincials rejoiced in this affiance, which research by the mild influence of love and reason the fiere

wast of their Gothic lord, 142

De hundred busins of gold and gems, presented to Placidi at her naptial feast, formed an meonsiderable portion of the treasures; of which some extraordinary specimens may be species town the history of the successors of Adolphus. and costly ornaments of pure gold, enriched with jenck were wond in their palace of Nartionne when it was pillaged if be with century by the Franks : sixty cups or chalices : fiftee or plates, for the use of the communion; twenty boxes, of to hold the books of the gospel; this consecrated wealth an distributed by the son of Clovis among the churches of hi seems, and his pious liberality seems to upbraid some forms They possessed, with more security of were of the Goths. conscience, the famous missurium, or great dish for the service of the table, of massy gold of the weight of five hundred pounds and of tar superior value from the precious stones, the exquisit seconsanship, and the tradition that it had been presented in tows the patrician to Torismond king of the Goths. One the successors of Torismond purchased the aid of the French security by the promise of this magnificent gift. When it was scated on the throne of Spain, he delivered it with relact

at ement for the benefit of his will during the first year of their marriage, and his he a 's come not exceed the tenth part of his property. The Landaurit arm are his none transport, they alread the savgragers manediately after the are ing a get, and the inners git the reward of right in ght eight to be hashind a substance. Some destinate matters, indeed we will be to be historied a statute Some cast was mariens, indeed we will be cough to at more beforehind a present, which they were too size of as the second some of the last of the historian Osmandorus before the courses detailed the maps of the historian Osmandorus.

the community with rest to p type Gesta Region France of the contract of the community with an ignorance within of his times suppose ** the Chestian worshy had belonged to the temper of Science of the central searching of must be that her were found in the 2-k of Rome of R to 14 states that they were taken from Jerusalen by the Romania.

ance to the ambassadors of Dagobert; despoiled them on the road; stipulated, after a long negotiation, the inadequate ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold; and preserved the missorium as the pride of the Gothic treasury. When that treasury, after the conquest of Spain, was plundered by the Arabs, they admired, and they have celebrated, another object still more remarkable a table of considerable size, of one single piece of solid emerald, 143 encircled with three rows of fine pearls, supported by three hundred and sixty-five feet of gems and massy gold, and estimated at the price of five hundred thousand pieces of gold. 146 Some portion of the Gothic treasures might be the gift of friendship or the tribute of obedience; but the far greater part had been the fruits of war and rapine, the spoils of the empire, and perhaps of Rome.

After the deliverance of Italy from the oppression of the save to the Goths some secret counsellor was permitted, amidst the and factions of the palace, to heal the wounds of that afflicted counfactory. 147 By a wise and humane regulation the eight provinces which had been the most deeply injured, Campania, Tuacany, Picenum, Samnium, Apulia, Calabria, Bruttium, and Lucania, obtained an indulgence of five years: the ordinary tribute was reduced to one fifth, and even that fifth was destined to restore and support the useful institution of the public posts. By another law the lands which had been left without inhabitants or cultivation were granted, with some diminution of taxes, to the neighbours who should occupy, or the strangers who should solicit, them; and the new possessors were secured against the future claims of the fugitive proprietors. About the same time a general amnesty was published in the name of Honorius, to abolish the guilt and memory of all the involuntary offences.

144 Consult the following original testimonies in the Historians of France, tom.

ii. Fredegarii Scholastici Chron c 73, p 441 Fredegar Fragment in p.
402 Gesta Regis Dagobert c 29, p 687. The accession of Signature in the throne of Spain Supposed A D 631. The 200 000 pieces of gold were appropriated by Dagobert to the foundation of the chirch of St. Derive.

144 The president Geglet (Origine des Loca Sc. tom. ii. p. 230) is of opinion.

145 The throne of the chirch of St. Derive.

The president Gegret (Or gase des Loix &c tom it p. 233) is of opinion that the stupes does proces of emera d the statues and columns which anti-party has placed in Egypt at Gades, at Constantinople were in receip set final compositions of co-cited glass. The famous emerald dish which is shown at Genom is supposed to come it into the suit won.

Card e. Het Seraceaca, i p 85. Rodene Telet Hest Arab c o Card e. Het del Afri, e et de l Espagee acce les Arabes tom i p 83. It was elled the Table of Solomon accessing to the custom of the Creantals, who ascede to that price every accessing to the Arabes or magnificence.

In this there have are inserted in the Theodosian Code, I at its xxviii leg 2. L x x tit x leg 22 L xv tit xiv leg 24. The expressions of the last are very temarable, since they contain not only a pardon but no apology

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which had been committed by his unhappy subjects during the term of the public disorder and calamity. A decent and respectful attention was paid to the restoration of the capital; the citizens were encouraged to rebuild the edifices which had been destroyed or damaged by hostile fire; and extraordinary supplies of corn were imported from the coast of Africa. The crowds that so lately field before the sword of the Barbarians were soon recalled by the hopes of plenty and pleasure; and Albinus, prafect of Rome, informed the court, with some anxiety and surprise, that in a single day be had taken an account of the arnyal of fourteen thousand strangers,141 In less than seven years the vestures of the Gothic invasion were almost obliterated. and the city appeared to resume its former splendour and tranquillity. The venerable matron replaced her crown of laurei which had been ruffled by the storms of war; and was still amused, in the last moment of her decay, with the prophecies of revenge, of victory, and of eternal dominion.140

Revolt and defeat of Heresilan, count of Africa. A.D. GI This apparent tranquility was soon disturbed by the approach of an hostile armament from the country which afforded the daily subsistence of the Roman people. Herachan, count of Africa, who, under the most difficult and distressful circumstances, had supported, with active loyalty, the cause of Honorus, was tempted, in the year of his consulating, to assume the character of a rebel and the title of emperor. The ports of Africa were immediately filled with the naval forces, at the head of which he prepared to invade Italy; and his fleet, when it cast anchor at the month of the Tiber, indeed surpassed the fleets of Xexies and Alexander, if all the vessels, including the royal galley and the smallest boat, did actually amount to the incredible number of three thousand two hundred. 160 Yet with

148 Olympindorus ap. Phot p. 188 [h. 25]. Philostorgist (f. xn. c. c) observes that, when Honorus made his true uptal entry, he encouraged the Remark with his hand and soice (1999 880 phornel to robuild their city and the Unionide of Prosper commends Herachan, que in Romaine urbs reparationem strenging exhibiterat ministerium.

100 The date of the voyage of Chaidius Ruthus Numatianus Namatianus is clogged with some difficulties, but because has need seed from astronomical characters that he left Rome the 24th of September and emparked at Porto the 4th of October A.D. 416. See I llemont, I had des Empareurs tout v. p. 850. In this political limerary Rutslius (L. 115, &c.) addresses Rome in a high strain of congratulation.

Erige crinales lauros, senumque sacrativerticis in vindes Roma-recinge comas, de [Rutilius had been magneter offesorum and prief, urbs of Rome

las Occasia composed his history in Africa only two years after the event, yet his authority seems to be overbalanced by the improbability of the fact. The

such an armament, which might have subverted or restored the greatest empires of the earth, the African usurper made a very faint and feeble impression on the provinces of his rival. As he marched from the port along the road which leads to the gates of Rome, he was encountered, terrified, and routed by one of the Imperial captains; and the lord of this mighty host, deserting his fortune and his friends, ignonumously fied with a single ship 131 When Hericlian landed in the harbour of Carthage, he found that the whole province, disdaining such an unworthy ruler, had returned to their allegiance. The rebel was beheaded in the ancient temple of Memory; his consulship was abolished; 152 and the remains of his private fortune, not exceeding the moderate sum of four thousand pounds of gold, were granted to the brave Constantius, who had already defended the throne which he afterwards shared with his feeble sovereign. Honorus viewed with supine indifference the calamities of Rome and Italy; 153 but the rebellious attempts of Attalus and Herachan against his personal safety awakened, for a moment, the torpid instinct of his nature. He was probably ignorant of the causes and events which preserved him from these impending dangers; and, as Italy was no longer invaded by any foreign or domestic enemies, he peaceably existed in the palace of Ravenna, while the tyrants beyond the Alps were repeatedly vanquished in the name, and by the lieutenants, of the son of Theodosius 164 In the course of a busy and interesting narrative, I might possibly forget to mention the death of such a prince, and I shall

t brough of Murcethnus gives Herachan 700 ships and 3000 men, the latter of these numbers is adictiously corrupt, but the former would please me very much

If the Chronicle of Idatius affirms, without the least appearance of truth, that Le advanced as fir as O reculture in Umbrus, where he was overfluown in a great buttle wit the association by the respective to the control of the con

lattle with the loss of fifty thousand men. "See Cod Throid I xv to in leg 13. The legal acts performed in his name, even the manumission of slaves, were declared stould till they had been formally recognized."

formally repeated.

19 I have disdained to mention a very toolish and probably a false report (Process de Belt Visigle) h. i. c. 2) that Honoreus was alarmed by the for of R one, till he understood that it was not a favourite chicken of that name, but own the capital of the world which had been just. Yet even this more is some evidence of the public opinion.

194 The materials for the lives of all these tyrants are taken from 3.x contemporary bistorians, two Latins and four Greeks Orosaus 1 v. 1 c. 48. p. 531. 588 583. Renatus Profuturus Engeridas, apud Gregor Furon L. u. c. 9. in the storians of France tom u. p. 150. 166. Zeamus, 1. vi. p. 370. 371 [2.49]. It is torians of France tom u. p. 150. 181, 194, 185 [fr. 15-19]. Sozomen 1 ix c. 19. It improdorm apud Phot p. 180. 181, 194, 185 [fr. 15-19]. Sozomen 1 ix c. 19. 13, 14, 15, and Philostorgus 1 u. c. 5, 6, with Godefroy's Dissertations p. 477 481. Fig. treathefour chromicies of Proper Tiro, Prosper of Aquitain, Idahus, and Marcellinus.

THE REPORT OF THE PARTY OF MALE IN יו בייביי ביים החומים ביים שם שכים ו- שיביי על or the first property the terrest while to the state of temporary to the house of the CAN'T WASTER TO THE REAL PROPERTY AND AN ADMINISTRATION OF THE PARTY. the state of the second in second or desired the THE RO PROPERTY IN THE PARTY OF THE PARTY IN with the breed of the Labour of Disastra by experience the the popular language with which he will be a first the property in widestan of its pro-line taken and and the and he a minimum proposed to be over their frame to the sales wheel a lit a he help if he he and other a work with Than making his how improves air tentile whereas to to passed of bother to resource with althoughton to the tell and effectively trumph but his trainers' account to most offertipled and destroyed in the world of where we was The transmit of the generals white friends the absorber of the sec Constant a prince areas assert will the important had been and to examined in the provinces of Topics. The gove CHARGE OF WELL WAS CONTRACTED AND THE PARTY OF SHARPS the distance placed it is the tent of the front Maximum or an fred the renderer at Terrapieta, while the artist spaces where forwards through the recognition to surprise the two empress Constantion and Constants, before they mad properly his their deferrer. The sec was made provider at Vision and mentioned put the death , and the and etimate south had wrattern assure to deplace the elecation of his family which that tempted or our period him sacringiously to desert the percentil observery of the computer ofe. The father maintained a serge within the wall of Arles but those wails must have vested to the measure. had not the city been unexpectedly relieved by the approach of an Italian army. The name of Honorus, the procumutary of a lawful emperer, astempted the contending parties of the rebels Geronius, abandoned by his own troops, escaped to the cue fines of Spain, and rescued his name from oblision by the Roman courage which appeared to animate the last mements of her life. In the middle of the night, a great body of his perfollows solthers surrounded and attacked his house, which he

[&]quot;If A dependent franct. Olympociorus, fr. 10, km var amosé sulle wench chenis-

had strongly barricaded. His wife, a valuant friend of the nation of the Alam, and some faithful slaves were still attached to his person; and he used with so much skill and resolution a large magazine of darts and arrows that above three hundred of the acculants lost their lives in the attempt. His slaves, when all the missile weapons were spent, fled at the dawn of day; and Gerontius, if he had not been restrained by conjugal tenderness, might have imitated their example; till the soldiers, provoked by such obstinate resistance, applied fire on all sides to the house. In this fatal extremity, he complied with the request of his Barbarian friend, and cut off his head. The wife of Gerontius, who conjured him not to abandon her to a life of misery and disgrace, eagerly presented her neck to his sword; and the tragic scene was terminated by the death of the count himself, who, after three ineffectual strokes, drew a short dagger, and sheathed it in his heart 156. The unprotected Maximus, whom he had invested with the purple, was indebted for his life to the contempt that was entertained of his power and abilities. The caprice of the Barbarians, who ravaged Spain, once more seated this Impenal phantom on the throne; but they soon resigned him to the justice of Honorius; and the tyrant Maximus, after he had been shown to the people of Ravenna and Rome, was publicly executed.

The general, Constantius was his name, who raised by his Character and approach the siege of Arles, and dissipated the troops of Geron the coord tius, was born a Roman; and this remarkable distinction is strongly expressive of the decay of military spirit among the subjects of the empire. The strength and majesty which were conspicuous in the person of that general 157 marked him, in the popular opinion, as a candidate worthy of the throne which he afterwards ascended. In the familiar intercourse of private life his manners were cheerful and engaging; nor would he sometimes disdain, in the licence of convivial mirth, to vie with the pantomimes themselves in the exercises of their radiculous profession. But, when the trumpet summoned him to arms; when he mounted his horse, and, bending down (for such was

190 The praises which Sommen has bestored on this act of despira appears atrange and scandal ais in the mouth of an eccleration I stoman. He observes Ip 370) that the wife of Gerentus was a Christian and that ber death was mostly of been good and of immortal fasoe. [for death of Mexicus op App. 22]

BF I consider the inspiral some first order to the expension of the products which he are ment to have borrowed from "fists a teagerly of Europeles of which were tragements only are necessarily (Europele Barnes, torn as p. 43., ver 35. This ill soon easy prove that the ancient trage poets were still fam out to the Greeks of the fifth **entury**

O WEST PER AND DE TO PER SE OF COME OF THE PERSON OF CO A TOTAL OF ME WANTED IN COMPANY WITH THE PARTY. The same of the same of the THE THREE ! I THEN THE A P HAT THE REST PRINTED THE PARTY AND CONTRACTOR OF THE STATE OF THE PARTY AND ADDRESS TO STATE OF THE PARTY ADDRESS TO STATE OF T COLUMN TO A STATE OF THE PARTY the live the way or the second Free at traces at the extension force on the THE REPORT OF STREET PARTY IN COLUMN 19 IN was it with The taken grown makes a street to Charles to the said with the said to be the filter will in their the betterning the property CONTRACTOR OF THE REAL PROPERTY AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY ment the interior of constants in the party of the mineral attention are required and best many to the second the depressed I games who had secretary granted as an experient per a there was the water of the arm of hance of province to figure at entities and, and first makes except the the first of texture to the former of a business theme was to thereto enderstand that the tend of he committee good was THE REPORT OF THE DESIGNATION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE The thin erround, Constant is bringed with the manufacture of a granule floride. Novellag de lappromise event sentiment. proving, he potents ecutive edges for early and early Uses as bothe torsed with terms for the automore of taxon and sterpes citimated his commands that the come should a longer to parated to the process of an appropriate weeks who had received the laws of freed-tap and hospital to marger, who beheld from the ways of Amer the man of the lachopes, was tempted to place were confidence in so great as a conqueror. He required a stream promise for his security, and after receiving, by the imposition of hands, the sacred stare or of a Christian Presbyter, he ventured to open the gates of the esty. But he soon experienced that the principles of honour and integrity, which might regulate the ordinary conduct of Constantius, were superseded by the loose doctrines of posterior morality. The Russan general, indeed, refused to suily his laureh with the blood of Constantine; but the abbreated empene and his win Julian were sent under a strong guard into Italy, and before they reached the palace of Ravenna they met the ministers of death

At a time when it was universally confessed that almost every parette man in the empire was superior in personal ment to the princes Jonana whom the accident of their birth had seated on the throne, a see Annie rapid succession of usurpers, regardless of the fate of their predecessors, still continued to arise. This mischief was peculiarly felt in the provinces of Spain and Gaul, where the principles of order and obedience had been extinguished by war and rebellion. Before Constantine resigned the purple, and in the fourth month of the siege of Arles, intelligence was received in the Imperial camp that Jovinus had assumed the diadem at Mentz in the Upper Germany, at the instigation of Goar, king of the Alani, and of Guntiarius, king of the Burgundians; and that the candidate on whom they had bestowed the empire advanced with a formidable host of Barbarians from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Rhone. Every circumstance is dark and extraordinary in the short history of the reign of Jovinus. It was natural to expect that a brave and skilful general, at the head of a victorious army, would have asserted in a field of battle the justice of the cause of Honorus. The hasty retreat of Constantius might be justified by weighty reasons; but he resigned, without a struggle, the possession of Gaul; and Dardanus, the Prietorian priefect, is recorded as the only magistrate who refused to yield obedience to the usurper 108. When the Goths, two years after the stege of Rome, established their quarters in Gaul, it was natural to suppose that their inclinations could be divided only between the emperor Honorius, with whom they had formed a recent alliance, and the degraded Attalus, whom they reserved in their camp for the occasional purpose of acting the part of a musician or a monarch. Yet in a moment of disgust (for which it is not easy to assign a cause or a date) Adolphus connected himself with the usurper of Gaul, and imposed on Attalus the ignomimous task of negotiating the treaty which ratified his own disgrace. We are again surprised to read that, instead of considering the Gothic alliance as the firmest support of his throne, Jovings apbraided, in dark and ambiguous language, the officious importunity of Attalus; that, scorning the advice of

¹²⁹ Sidon us Apell naris (I. v. epist. 9, p. 139, and Not. Sirmond, p. 58) after stigmatizing the receiver of Constant neither factors of Jovinus, the receive of Corontais continues to observe that all the visus of these typicals were until the person of Durdamia. Yet the practice supported a respectable character in the world and even is the church, held a descar correspondence with St. Augustin and St. Jewin and was recognimiented by the latter from in. p. 66) with the epithets of Christianorum Nobilissime and Nobilium Christianissime.

his great ally, he invested with the purple his brother Sebastian; and that he most imprudently accepted the service of Sarus, when that gallant chief, the soldier of Honorus, was provoked to desert the court of a prince who knew not how to reward or punish. Adolphus, educated among a mee of warriors, who esteemed the duty of revenge as the most precious and sacred portion of their inheritance, advanced with a body of ten thousand Goths to encounter the hereditary enemy of the house of Balti. He attacked Sarus at an unguarded moment. when he was accompanied only by eighteen or twenty of his valiant followers. United by friendship, animated by despair, but at length oppressed by multitudes, this hand of heroes deserved the esteem, without exciting the compassion, of their enemies; and the lion was no sooner taken in the toils 159 than he was instantly dispatched. The death of Sarus dissolved the loose alliance which Adolphus still maintained with the usurpers of Gaul. He again listened to the dictates of love and prudence; and soon satisfied the brother of Placidia, by the assurance that he would immediately transmit to the palace of Ravenna the heads of the two tyrants, Jovinus and Selmatian The king of the Goths executed his promise without difficulty or delay; the helpless brothers, unsupported by any person. ment, were abandoned by their Barbanan auxiliaries; and the short opposition of Valentia was expeated by the ruin of one of the noblest cities of Gaul. The emperor, chosen by the Roman senate, who had been promoted, degraded, insulted, restored again degraded, and again insulted, was finally abandoned to his fate; but, when the Gothic king withdrew his protection. he was restrained by pity or contempt from offering any violence to the person of Attales. The unfortunate Attalus, who was left without subjects or allies, embarked in one of the ports of Spain, in search of some secure and solitary retreat; but he was intercepted at sea, conducted to the presence of Honorus. led in triumph through the streets of Rome or Ravenna, and publicly exposed to the gazing multitude, on the second ster of the throne of his invincible conqueror. The same measure of punishment with which, in the days of his prosperity, he was accused of menacing his rival was inflicted on Attalus him

The expression may be understood almost literally. Olympodorus says fire 17 happens of a content of the property of the particular of the

self he was condemned, after the amputation of two fingers, to a perpetual exile in the isle of Lipari, where he was supplied with the decent necessaries of life. The remainder of the reign of Honorius was undisturbed by rebellion; and it may be observed that, in the space of five years, seven usurpers had yielded to the fortunes of a prince, who was himself incapable either of counsel or of action

The situation of Spain, separated, on all sides, from the avades of enemies of Rome, by the sea, by the mountains, and by inter-unitary mediate provinces, had secured the long tranquility of that variables remote and sequestered country; and we may observe, as a decision

sure symptom of domestic happiness, that in a period of four bearing hundred years Spain furnished very few materials to the history of the Roman empire. The footsteps of the Barbanans, who, in the reign of Gallienus, had penetrated beyond the Pyrences, were soon obliterated by the return of peace; and in the fourth century of the Christian æra, the cities of Emerita, or Merida, of Corduba, Seville, Bracara, and Tarragona, were numbered with the most illustrious of the Roman world. The various plenty of the animal, the vegetable, and the inineral kingdoms was improved and manufactured by the skill of an industrious people; and the peculiar advantages of naval stores contributed to support an extensive and profitable trade.180 The arts and sciences flourished under the protection of the Emperors; and, of the character of the Spaniards was enfeebled by peace and servitude, the hostile approach of the Germans, who had spread terror and desolation from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, seemed to rekindle some sparks of military ardour. As long as the defence of the mountains was entrusted to the hardy and faithful militia of the country, they successfully repelled the frequent attempts of the Barbarians. But no sooner had the national troops been compelled to resign their post to the Honorian bands in the service of Constantine than the gates of Spain were treacherously betrayed to the public enemy, about ten months before the sack of Rome by the Goths. 161 The con-

100 Without recurring to the more ancient writers, I shall quote these respectable testing ex which belong to the fourth and seventh centuries, the Exposition to Standard price of the third subsense of Husbana's Manor Geographics), Austrana (the bases t robbus, p. 242, edd. Toil.) and Indone of Secone (Proctat ad Chron. a., Orbitism, Hist., Gorb. p. 707). Many parts also resist in to the fertility and trained Spain may be found in Notes of Hapania Illustrata, and in Huet, Hist.

the same ree des Anciens c. 40. p. 228-234.

If The date is nacurately fixed in the Fasti and the Chronicle of Idatus.

Orosius (I vii. c. 40. p. 578) empires the I iss of Sinan to the treachery of the Honorians, while Socionen it is. c. 13 accurses only their negligence.

sciousness of guilt and the thirst of rapine promoted the mercenary guards of the Pyrenees to desert their station, to myste the arms of the Suevi, the Vandala, and the Alam, and to swell the torrent which was poured with irresistable violence from the frontiers of Gaul to the sea of Africa. The may fortunes of Spain may be described in the language of its most elequent historian, who has concisely expressed the passionate. and perhaps exaggerated, declamations of contemporary writers "The irruption of these nations was followed by the most dreadful calamities; as the Barbanans exercised their indiscrimmate cruelty on the fortunes of the Romans and the Spanuards, and ravaged with equal fury the cities and the open country. The progress of famine reduced the inserable in habitants to feed on the flesh of their fellow-creatures; and even the wild beasts, who multiplied, without control, in the desert, were exasperated, by the taste of blood and the unpatience of hunger, boldly to attack and devour their human prey. Pestilence soon appeared, the inseparable companion of famine; a large proportion of the people was swept away. and the groans of the dying excited only the envy of their surviving friends. At length the Barbarians, satisfied with carriage and rapine, and afflicted by the contagious cycls which they themselves had introduced, fixed their permanent seats in the depopulated country. The ancient Gallicia, whose limits included the kingdom of Old Castille, was divided between the Snevi and the Vandals; the Alani were scattered over the provinces of Carthagens and Lusitania, from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Ocean; and the fruitful territory of Batica was allotted to the Silings, another branch of the Vandahe nation. After regulating this partition, the conquerors contracted with their new subjects some reciprocal engagements of protection and obedience; the lands were again cultivated. and the towns and villages were again occurred by a captive people. The greatest part of the Spaniards was even disposed to prefer this new condition of poverty and barbarism to the severe oppressions of the Roman government; yet there were many who still asserted their native freedom; and who refused, more especially in the mountains of Gallicia, to submit to the Barbarian yoke,"pa

¹⁰⁰ Idatius wishes to apply the prophecies of Daniel to these national calumities, and is therefore obliged to accommodate the commissances of the event to the terms of the prediction.

168 Maratha de Rebin Hispanica, lever tione e.p. e.8. Hag Comet 1735. He had read, in Orceans (I vin c. 42 p. 579), that the Eurbarmon had turned their

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The important present of the heads of Jovinus and Sebastian Adoptor had approved the friendship of Adolphus and restored Gani Gold, Bastley to the obedience of his brother Honorius Peace was incom- in France patible with the situation and temper of the king of the Goths. He readily accepted the proposal of turning his victorious arms against the Barbarians of Spain; the troops of Constantus intercepted his communication with the seaports of Ganl, and gently pressed his march towards the Pyrenees; 164 he passed the mountains, and surprised, in the name of the emperor, the city of Barcelona The fondness of Adolphus for his Roman bride was not abated by time or possession; and the birth of a son, surnamed, from his illustrious grandsire, Theodosius, appeared to fix him for ever in the interest of the republic. The loss of that infant, whose remains were deposited in a silver coffin in one of the churches near Barcelona, afflected his parents; but the grief of the Gothic king was suspended by the labours of the field; and the course of his victories was soon interrupted by domestic treason. He had imprudently received into his service one of the followers of Sarus: a Barbarran of a daring spirit, but of a diminutive stature; whose secret desire of revenging the death of his beloved patron was an death continually irritated by the sarcasms of his insolent master, Asset Adolphus was assassinated in the palace of Barcelona; the laws of the succession were violated by a tumultuous faction; 165 and a stranger to the royal race, Singeric, the brother of Surus himself, was seated on the Gothic throne. The first act of his reign was the inhuman murder of the six children of Adolphus, the issue of a former marriage, whom he tore, without pity, from the feeble arms of a venerable bishop. 166 The unfortunate Placidia, instead of the respectful compassion which she might have excited in the most savage breasts, was treated with cruel and wanton insult. The daughter of the emperor Theodosius, confounded among a crowd of vulgar captives, was compelled

swords into plougishares, and that many of the Prosincials preferred inter-literatures purpose in bestatem quant inter Romanus industriant solicisus ment

184 This mixture of force and persuasion may be fairly inferred from comparing Ores and Jerren les, the Roman and the Cotton's for an [Force the words on the same to North and copyed and segret are confirmed by Irlantius (Chron. ed.

Moments, p. 191 fai alias,]

100 According to the system of fornandes of 33, p. 655, the true hereditary right to the Genhe sceptre was veried on the fewers, but these process who were the vassely of the Huns, commanded the trades of the Ostrogoths in some distinct

parts of Germans or Scenbia.

100 12 - in order is to a 32 by Olympe dorus, but the number of children is from an epouple of suspected authority.

to march on feet above twelve miles, before the name of a Burbarian, the assessment of a husband whose Plantan laws relamented. **

But Flaredia soon obtained the pleasure of revenue , and the thew of her synomeran saferings saght more at mine people against the treat who was assumated on the a day of his usurpation. After the death of Sugerne, the To choice of the nation bestowed the Cothic sempere on Ways whose warlike and amintous temper appeared in the lagrant of his reign extremely bostile to the republic. He reserved arms from Barcelona to the shores of the Atlantac Ocean wire the ancients revered and dreaded as the boundary of the work. But, when he reached the southern promontors of spain. " on' from the rock now covered by the fortress of Labraltar, contraplated the neighbouring and fertile coast of Africa, Walliam sumed the designs of conquest which had been interest of by the death of Alane. The winds and waves again disagrees is the enterprise of the Coths, and the minds of a superstation people were deeply affected by the repeated disasters of stone and shipwreeks. In this disposition, the successor of Adolphia no longer refused to listen to a Homan ambassador, whose propossis were enforced by the real, or supposed, approach of a numerous army under the conduct of the brave Constantous 1 solemn treaty was stipulated and observed. Placidia was borone ably restored to her brother; six hundred thousand measures a wheat were delivered to the hunger Goths; 180 and Wallia co gaged to draw his sword in the service of the empire. A blood war was instantly excited among the Barbanana of Spain, and the contending princes are said to have addressed their letters their ambassadors, and their hostages, to the throne of the Western emperor, exhorting him to remain a tranquil spectator of their contest; the events of which must be favourable to the

MIThe death of Adolphus was relebrated at Constant nople with Chammaters and Coressan games. (See Chron, Mexandria.) It was expected, whether the Greeks were actuated, on this occasion, by their harrest of the Barbarians of of the Latins.

Vandalens turnes et proct. Marca A anos. Stravit, et er criment et proct. Marca A anos. Stravit, et er crimen et proct. Marca A anos. Sidoc. Apall nar in l'a egyr. Archem. 963. p. 300, edit. Sersond.

This supply was very acceptable: the Goths were involved by the Vandals of Spain with the epithet of Trivit, localize in the extreme diverse, they had a prece of gold for a 'rivita, or about had a prand of floor. O's upper april of the present had somewhat less than jed of a post.]

Romans, by the mutual slaughter of their common enemies 170 The Spanish war was obstinately supported, during three campaigns, with desperate valour and various success; and the martial achievements of Wallia diffused through the empire the superior renown of the Gothic hero. He exterminated the Silings, who had irretrievably ruined the elegant plenty of the province of Betica. He slew, in battle, the king of the Alani; and the remains of those Scythian wanderers who escaped from the field, instead of choosing a new leader, humbly sought a refuge under the standard of the Vandals, with whom they were ever afterwards confounded. The Vandals themselves and the Suevi yielded to the efforts of the invincible Goths. The promiscuous multitude of Barbarians, whose retreat had been intercepted, were driven into the mountains of Gallicia; where they still continued, in a narrow compass and on a barren soil, to exercise their domestic and implicable hostilities. In the pride of victory, Wallia was faithful to his engagements: he restored his Spanish conquests to the obedience of Honorius; and the tyranny of the Imperial officers soon reduced an oppressed people to regret the time of their Barbarian servitude the event of the war was still doubtful, the first advantages obtained by the arms of Wallia had encouraged the court of Ravenna to decree the honours of a triumph to their feeble sovereign. He entered Rome like the ancient conquerors of nations; and, if the monuments of servile corruption had not long since met with the fate which they deserved, we should probably find that a crowd of poets and orators, of magistrates and bishops, appliauded the fortune, the wisdom, and the invincible courage, of the emperor Honorius, 171

Such a triumph might have been justly claimed by the ally of now. Rome, if Wallia, before he repassed the Pyrenees, had extirpated a the seeds of the Spanish war. His victorious Goths, forty-three years after they had passed the Danube, were established, according to the faith of treaties, in the possession of the second Aquitain: a maritime province between the Garonne and the

Do Orosus inserts a copy of these pretended letters. To cum one bus pacem habe, occurantly to charles the permos nobis configures, nobis permos tibi so-cinitis, immortal every junes as cost Re-public time, is intrace persisting. The idea is just, but I cannot persoade myself that it was entertained, or expressed, by

The facts which resure to the leach of Africana and the exposts of Walla, are related from O ymposition a spot Phot p. 188 [36]. Orosas il ka c. 42 p. 584-687. Iornandes (de Rebus Geters, c. 32. 30), and the Chronicles of Idatus and Indoes.

have under the cert and erelevastical jurisdiction of Boartes. That metrocous, accompanies situated for the trade of the ment was built to a regular and a regular favour, and its names. manytams were distinguished among the feauls by their war their searches and the protenous of their mariners. The start processes, when has been for div compared to the garden of the n become with a trutted wid and a temperate clumate. the in of the country dispurved the arts and the rewards of industria and the testin, after their martin, talk, luxurously exhaused ? wh sperson of Lyana " The bother limits were enterby the adultamic get of some neighbouring thingsome, and the sorreson of Americand their manifestation at Toulouse, the principle five processor quarters or cities, within the spaces careur of its want the same time, in the last years the reach of Honoran the Corner, the Bungs North and W France obtained a permanent seat and dominion in the povinces of (sail The liberal grant of the usurper Javinus to be Burgundian allies was confirmed by the lawful emperor, the lands of the First, or Upper, Germany were resided to thus formidable Barbarians, and they gradually occupied, either by conquest or treaty, the two provinces which still retain, will the titles of Ducky and of County, the national appellatum of Burgundy 12 The Franks, the valuant and faithful ailies of the floman republic, were soon tempted to unitate the mirmen whom they had so brastely resisted. I neven, the capital of " Gaul, was piliaged by their lawless hands; and the humber colons, which they so long mountained in the district of list andria, in Brabant, insensibly multiplied along the banks of the Mease and Scheld, till their independent power filled the while extent of the Second or Lower Germany. These facts may be sufficiently justified by historic evidence, but the foundation of the French monarchy by Pharamond, the conquests, the laws and even the existence, of that hero, have been justly arranged by the impartual severity of modern criticism. 174

P2 Amonimi de Chico. Urbibos, p. agrados celebrates Bourdeaux with spepieral affection of a native. See in Sanda of conducts. The passed Plants (60.8) a fluid description of the provinces of Aquity and No expension

finite from Figure 1 (23, 44, 45). From this cheet and unpower the of the content of from the tip of people From the Montenant Chron.

The frequency of the compact of the form o constant material the origin of their knowless on the four test monotonic of the end of his tribunium. History of the amount foremation to in factors 2,2 of the English translation. [For the trib Burgardes see Appendix 2 of Mr. Beyond

The rum of the opulent provinces of Gaul may be dated from the catable of these Barburans, whose alliance was dan-deal AD and a barburans, whose alliance was dan-deal AD gerous and oppressive, and who were expresously impelled, by interest or passion, to violate the public peace. A heavy and partial ransom was imposed on the surviving provincials, who had escaped the calamities of war; the fairest and most fertile lands were assigned to the rapacious strangers, for the use of their families, their slaves, and their cattle; and the trembling natives relinquished with a sigh the inheritance of their lathers. Yet these domestic misfortunes, which are seldom the lot of a vanquished people, had been felt and inflicted by the Romans themselves, not only in the insolence of foreign conquest, but in the madness of civil discord. The Traumvirs proscribed eighteen of the most flourishing colonies of Italy; and distributed their lands and houses to the veterans who revenged the death of Clesar and oppressed the liberty of their country. Two poets, of unequal fame, have deplored, in similar circumstances, the loss of their patrimony; but the legionaries of Augustus appeared to have surpassed, in violence and injustice, the Barbarians who invaded Gaul under the reign of Honorius. It was not without the atmost difficulty that Virgil escaped from the sword of the centurion who had usurped his farm in the neighbourhood of Mantua; 171 but Paulinus of Bourdeaux received a sum of money from his Gothic purchaser, which he accepted with pleasure and surprise; and, though it was much inferior to the real value of his estate, this act of rapine was disguised by some colours of moderation and equity.176 The odious name of conquerors, was softened into the mild and friendly appellation of the guests, of the Romans; and the Barbarians of Gaul, more especially the Goths, repeatedly declared that they were bound to the people by the ties of hospitality and to the emperor by the duty of

Min. i. p. 656) the name of Planam and is never mentioned before the seventh [lith] century. The author of the Genta Francorum in the p. 5431 suggests probably enough that the choice of Pharamond or at least of a long was recommended to the Franks by his father Massenur, who who are exile in Tuscany.

12 O Lycida, vivi perven must advena nostri Quod nunquam ver ti sumus; ut possessor agelli Diceret: Hare met sunt, veterea nugnite coloni

Nune victi tristes, its

See the value of the annih belowie, with the useful Commentary of Servius. Fifteen muss of the Mantian intritory were assigned to the veterans, with a restriction in fusion of the mantiants of three mass round the city. Even in this factor they were cleated by Alfenius Virus, a famous lawyer, and one of the commissioners, who measured eight handred pages of water and memas.

178 See the remarkable passage of the Eucharisticon of Paulinus, 575, apid Mascou 1 vin c 44. [See Appendix t.,

atlegiance and military service. The title of Flonorus and his successors, their laws, and their civil magistrates, were still respected in the provinces of Gaul of which they had resigned the possession to the Barbanan allies; and the kings, who exercised a supreme and independent authority over their native subjects, ambitiously solicited the more honourable rank of mastargenerals of the Imperial armies.¹⁷⁷ Such was the involuntary reverence which the Roman name still impressed on the minds of those warmers who had home away in triumph the spoils of the Capitol

Revolt of Stritan and Atmorise. A.D. 600

Whilst Italy was ravaged by the Goths and a succession of feeble tyrants oppressed the provinces beyond the Alps, the British island separated itself from the body of the Roman empire. The regular forces, which guarded that remote province, had been gradually withdrawn; and Britain was abandoned, without defence, to the Saxon pirates and the savages of Ireland and Caledonia. The Britons, reduced to this extremity, no longer relied on the tardy and doubtful aid of a declining monarch They assembled in arms, repelled the invaders, and rejoiced in the important discovery of their own strength 178 Afflicted by similar calamities and actuated by the same spirit, the Armorican provinces (a name which comprehended the maritime countries of Gaul between the Seine and the Loure 179) resolved to imitate the example of the neighbouring island. They expelled the Roman magistrates who acted under the authority of the usurper Constantine; and a free government was established among a people who had so long been subject to the arbitrary will of a master. The independence of Britain and Armonica was soon confirmed by Honorius himself, the lawful emperor of the West; and the letters, by which he committed to the new states the care of their own safety, might be interpreted as an absolute and perpetual abdication of the excreise and rights of sovereignty. This interpretation was, in some measure, justified by the event. After the usurpers of Gaul had

This important truth is established by the accuracy of Tillemont (Hist des Emp. tom v p 641) and liv the legencity of the Abbé Dubez (1131 de l'Etablisset er t de la Monarchie Françoise dans les Galles, tom v p 250).

¹⁷⁶ Zoamus (l. vi. p. 176-313-5 and 10] relates in a few words the revolt of Britain and Armonica. Our ant quantum, even the great Canadides himself have been betrayed into many gross errors by their imperfect knowledge of the listory of the continent.

¹⁹ The limits of Armonica are defined by two national geographers, Messdeurs de Valois and d'Anville in their Voicing of Ancient Gard. The word had been used in a more extensive, and was afterwards contracted to a much narrower, signification.

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successively fallen, the maritime provinces were restored to the empire. Yet their obedience was imperfect and precations: the vain, inconstant, rebelhous disposition of the people was incompatible either with freedom or servitude, 150 and Armorica, though it could not long maintain the form of a republic, 181 was agitated by frequent and destructive revolts. Britain was irrecoverably lost, 182 But, as the emperors wisely acquiesced in the independence of a remote province, the separation was not embittered by the reproach of tyranny or rebellion; and the claims of allegiance and protection were succeeded by the mutual and voluntary offices of national friendship, 188

This revolution dissolved the artificial fabric of civil and military a government; and the independent country, during a period of forty years, till the descent of the Saxons, was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns. 184 l. Zosimus, who alone has preserved the memory of this singular transaction, very accurately observes that the letters of Honorius were addressed to the cities of Britain. 185 Under the protection of the Romans, ninety-two considerable towns had arisen in the several parts of that great province; and, among these, thirty-

three cities were distinguished above the rest by their superior

300 Gens Inter geminos notusima clauditur amnes, Armorituna prius veteri cognomine dicta. Torva, feroa ventosa, procas, incanta, rebellis Inconstana, dispurque sibi novitatia amore: Produm verborum, sed non et produm facti.

Prodign verborum, sed non et prodign facti.

Pricus Monach, in Vit St. Germani, 1. v. apud Vales. Notit. Galliarum, p. 48.

Valesus alleges several testimon es to confirm this character; to which I thall add the evidence of the presbyter Constantine (a.n. 483), who, in the life of St. Germani, calls the Armonican rebels mobilem et indisciplinatum populum. See the Bustorians of France, tom. 1. p. 642.

Historians of France, tom. 1, p. 643.

181 I thought it necessary to enter my protest against this part of the system of the Abbé Dubos, which Montesquieu has so vigorously opposed. See Esprit des

LOIR, I. KER. C. 24.

103 Spreamer prierro. Pupulor denomination observe rigor and the words of Proceedings (de Fell, Vandal, I. i. c. 2, p. 181, Louvre edition) in a very important passage which has been too much neglected. Even Bede (Hist. Gent. Anglican, I. i. c. 12, p. 50 edit. Smith) acknowledges that the Romans finally left firstain in the reign of Honorius. Yet our modern historians and antiquaries extend the term of their dom mon; and there are some who allow only the interval of a few months between their departure and the arrival of the Saxons.

Piets, and more authentic proof will hereafter be produced that the independent Britains raised 12,000 men for the service of the emperor Anthemius in Gaul.

¹²⁶ I owe it to myself, and to historic truth, to declare that some cereamitaness in the paragraph are founded only on conjecture and analogy. The stubbornness of our language has sometimes forced me to deviate from the conditional into the landstative mood.

100 Upbe rae in Borrantis odders. Zonimus, L vi. p. 383 [10].

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privileges and importance.186 Each of these cities, as in all the other provinces of the empire, formed a legal corporation, for the purpose of regulating their domestic policy; and the powers of municipal government were distributed among annual magistrates, a select senate, and the assembly of the people, accord ing to the original model of the Roman constitution. 187 The management of a common revenue, the exercise of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and the habits of public counsel and command were inherent to these petty republics; and, when they amerted their independence, the youth of the city and of the adjacent districts would naturally range themselves under the standard of the magistrate. But the desire of obtaining the advantages, and of escaping the burdens, of political society is a perpetual and inexhaustible source of discord; nor can it reasonably be presumed that the restoration of British freedom was exempt from tumult and faction. The pre-eminence of birth and fortune must have been frequently violated by bold and popular citizens; and the haughty nobles, who complained that they were become the subjects of their own servants,185 would sometimes regret the reign of an arbitrary monarch, II. The jurisdiction of each city over the adjacent country was sup-ported by the patrimonial influence of the principal senators; and the smaller towns, the villages, and the proprietors of land consulted their own safety by adhering to the shelter of these rising republics. The sphere of their attraction was proportioned to the respective degrees of their wealth and populousness; but the bereditary lords of ample possessions, who were not oppressed by the neighbourhood of any powerful city, aspired to the rank of independent princes, and boldly exercised the rights of peace and war. The gardens and villas, which exhibited some faint Imitation of Italian elegance, would soon be converted into strong castles, the refuge, in time of danger, of the adjacent country; 180 the produce of the land was applied to purchase

two cities of Britain were survectors, nine colonies, ten Latti fore dongles, two leve in personance of eminent note. This detail is taken from Richard of Circucuster, de Sita Britainnes, p. 36, and, though it may not seem probable that he wrote from the Miss of a Roman general, he shews a genuine knowledge of antiquity, very extraordinary for a monk of the fourteenth century. [The treatise is a longery of the 18th century, by one Bertram; cp. vol. 4 Appendix a.]

187 See Masse, Veroni Illustrata, part t. l. v. p. 83-106.

188 Leges restatut, l bertstemque reducit,
Rt serves famulis non sinit case said.

Itinerar, Rufil, L., 216.

Itmerar. Rutil L t. 215.

100 An inscription (apud Sirmond., Not ad Sidon, Apolimur p. 50) describes a castle, cum muris et portis, tuttont omnum, eroctod by Dardanus [Pract. Pract.

arms and horses, to maintain a military force of slaves, of peasants, and of licentious followers; and the chieftain might assume, within his own domain, the powers of a civil magistrate. Several of these British chiefs might be the genuine posterity of ancient kings; and many more would be tempted to adopt this honourable genealogy, and to vindicate their heroditary claims. which had been suspended by the usurpation of the Casars, 150 Their situation and their hopes would dispose them to affect the dress, the language, and the customs of their ancestors. If the princes of Britain relaysed into barbaram, while the cities studiously preserved the laws and manners of Rome, the whole island must have been gradually divided by the distinction of two national parties; again broken into a thousand subdivisions of war and faction, by the various provocations of interest and resentment. The public strength, instead of being united against a foreign enemy, was consumed in obscure and intestine quarrels; and the personal ment which had placed a successful leader at the head of his equals might enable him to subdue the freedom of some neighbouring cities, and to claim a rank among the tyrunts 101 who infested Britain after the dissolution of the Roman government. III. The British church might be composed of thirty or forty bishops, 197 with an adequate proportion of the inferior clergy; and the want of riches (for they seem to have been poor 100) would compel them to deserve the public esteem by a decent and exemplary behaviour. The interest, as well as the temper, of the clergy was favourable to the peace and union of their distracted country; those salutary lessons might be

of Gaul in 400 and 411-13] on his own estate near Sisterion, in the second Nurbon-noice and named by him Theope us. [See C. I. L. xi. 1524, the stone is on the road from Sisterion to St. Genies in Provence. Distribution in not stated to have given its name to the village or eastle of Theopolis (now hamlet of Thoon), but to have given

it walls and getted]

100 The establishment of their power would have been easy indeed, if we could adopt the impease while scheme of a lively and fearned antiquarian; who supposes that the British menarchs of the several tribes continued to reign, though with without the fundation, from the time of Chuidrus to that of Honorus. See Whiteart's History of Manchester, vol. 1, p. 247-257.

180 'AAA' about his engineer in siren faces. Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. 2 i.

c. 2, p. 181. Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum, was the expression of Jerom, in the year 415 (tora in p. 255 ad Ctes phant.). By the pilgrims, who reserved energy year to the Floly Land, the Moule of Bethlem received the earliest and most accurate ntell grace.

accurate mediagence.

197 See Benginer's Eccles. Antiquities, vol. i. l. iv. c. 6, p. 394. [A discret and important paper on Early Bruish Christianity by Mr. F. Haverfield appeared in Eng. Hast. Review, July, 1866. The archaeological extense is mustered.]

198 It is reported of there Bruish boliops who assisted at the council of Rimini, v.D. 339. tam purpries fitted at the formed of Rimini, v.D. 339. tam purpries fitted at their life properties. Sulpacing Newman, Hist. Sacra, l. il. p. 420 [c. 42]. Some of their breihren, however, were in better circumstances.

frequently inculcated in their popular discourses; and the episcopal synods were the only councils that could pretend to the weight and authority of a national assembly. In such councils, where the princes and magistrates sat promiseuously with the bishops, the important affairs of the state, as well as of the church, might be freely debated; differences reconciled, alliances formed, contributions imposed, wise resolutions often concerted, and sometimes executed; and there is reason to believe that, in moments of extreme danger, a Pendragon, or Dictator, was elected by the general consent of the Britons. These pastoral cares, so worthy of the episcopal character, were interrupted, however, by seal and superstition; and the British clergy incessantly laboured to eradicate the Pelagian heresy, which they abhorred as the peculiar disgrace of their native

It is somewhat remarkable, or rather it is extremely natural, that the revolt of Britain and Armonica should have introduced an appearance of liberty into the obedient provinces of Gaul. In a solemn edict, 195 filled with the strongest assurances of that paternal affection which princes so often express and so seldom feel, the emperor Honorius promulgated his intention of convening an annual assembly of the seven provinces: a name peculiarly appropriated to Aquitain, and the ancient Narbonnese, which had long since exchanged their Celtic rudeness for the useful and elegant arts of Italy, 196 Arles, the seat of government and commerce, was appointed for the place of the assembly; which regularly continued twenty-eight days, from the fifteenth of August to the thirteenth of September, of every year. It consisted of the Pratorian prafect of the Gauls; of seven provincial governors, one consular and six presidents; of the magistrates, and perhaps the bishops, of about sixty cities; and of a competent, though indefinite, number of the most honourable and opulent possessors of land, who might justly be considered as the representatives of their country. They were empowered to interpret and communicate the laws of their

184 Consult Usber, de Antiq. Eccles, Britannicar, c. 8-ta.

100 See the correct text of this edict, as individed by Sirmond (Not, ad Sédon, Apollin, p. 147). Finemar of Rheims, who assigns a place to the birloys, had probably seen (in the minth century) a more perfect copy. Dubos, Hist, Critique de la Monarchie Françoise, tom. i. p. 247-25.

100 It is evident from the Notitis that the seven provinces were the Viennensis, the massime Alps, the first and second Nurbonnese, Novempopulania, and the first and second Aquitain. In the room of the first Aquitain, the Abbe Dubos, on the authority of Hingary designs to authority of Hingary designs to authority of Hingary.

on the authority of Hinemar, desires to introduce the first Lugdinesses, or Lyonnese. [The Seven Provinces are not to be confused with Septimania; cp. Appendix 23.]

covereign; to expose the grievances and wishes of their constituents; to moderate the excessive or unequal weight of taxes; and to deliberate on every subject of local or national importance. that could tend to the restoration of the peace and prosperity of the seven provinces. If such an institution, which gave the people an interest in their own government, had been universally established by Trajan or the Antonines, the seeds of public windom and virtue might have been cherished and propagated in the empire of Rome. The privileges of the subject would have secured the throne of the monarch; the abuses of an arbitrary administration might have been prevented, in some degree, or corrected, by the interposition of these representative assemblies; and the country would have been defended against a foreign enemy by the arms of natives and freemen. Under the mild and generous influence of liberty, the Roman empire might have remained invincible and immortal; or, if its excessive magnitude and the instability of human affairs had opposed such perpetual continuance, its vital and constituent members might have separately preserved their vigour and independence. But in the decline of the empire, when every principle of health and life had been exhausted, the tardy application of this partial remedy was incapable of producing any important or salutary effects. The Emperor Honorius expresses his surprise that he must compel the reluctant provinces to accept a privilege which they should ardently have solicited. A fine of three or even five pounds of gold was imposed on the absent representatives; who seem to have declined this imaginary gift of a free constitution, as the last and most cruel insult of their op-Dressurs. 197

155 [Guinot, in his Histoire de la Civiliantion en Europe (c. 2), translates this edect. It interests him as an unsuccessful attempt at representative government and centratization, which were contrary to the nature of a society in which the manicipal spirit was predominant. Chateaubrand had already described the institution of the assembly no "un tries grand fait historique qui annonce le guasage à une nouvelle espèce de liberté". These and other writers have exaggentied the importance of the edict and ascribed to Honorius and his ministers ideas which were foreign to them. There was certainly no question of anything like a national representation. For recent discussions of the document, see Guirand, Les assemblées provinciales dans l'Empire romain, and Carette, Les assemblées provinciales de la Gaule romaine. The mass objects of Honorius were probably as M. Carette says, p. 249, to multiply the points of contact between the chief of his Gallie subjects and his governoes; and to facilitate the administrative business of the provinces by centralisation. For discussion, as distinct from provincial, souriffe, see C. Th. 12, 13, 9.]

CHAPTER XXXII

Arcadius Emperor of the East—Administration and Disgrace of
Entropus—Revolt of Gainas—Persecution of St. John Chrynostom—Theodoxius II. Emperor of the East—His Sister Pulcheria
—His Wife Endocia—The Persian War, and Disisson of
Armenia

The supplies of the Last, A.D. 200-1453 Reign of Arradius A.D. 200-400

THE division of the Roman world between the sons of Theodosius marks the final establishment of the empire of the East, which, from the reign of Arcadius to the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, subsisted one thousand and fifty-eight years, in a state of premature and perpetual decay. The sovereign of that empire assumed, and obstinately retained, the vain, and at length fictitious, title of Emperor of the Romans; and the hereditary appellations of Casar and Augustus continued to declare that he was the legitimate successor of the first of men, who had reigned over the first of nations. The palace of Constantinople rivalled, and perhaps excelled, the magnificence of Persia; and the eloquent sermons of St. Chrysostom 1 celebrate, while they condemn, the pompous luxury of the reign of Arcadius. "The emperor," says he, "wears on his head either a diadem or a crown of gold, decorated with precious stones of inestimable value. These ornaments and his purple garments are reserved for his sacred person alone; and his robes of salk are embrowlered with the figures of golden dragons. His throne is of massy gold. Whenever he appears in public, he is surrounded by his courtiers. his guards, and his attendants. Their spears, their shields, their cuinuses, the bridles and trappings of their horses, have either the substance or the appearance of gold; and the large splendid boss in the midst of their shield is encircled with smaller busies,

¹ Father Montfatton, who, by the command of his Benedictine superiors, was compelled (see Longuerunna, tom. 1, p. 203) to execute the laborious edition of St. Chrysostom, inthirteen volumes in fobo (Paris, 1738), amused bunkelf with extracting, from that immense collection of morals, some curious antiquitier, which illustrate the manners of the Theodosian age (see Chrysostom, Opera, tom. 21 p. 292-795, and his French Dissertation, in the Memours de l'Acad des Inscriptions, tom, zill, p. 474-490). [A. Puich has recently devoted a whole book to the same subject: Sa. Jean Chrysostome et les mocurs de son temps, 1891.]

which represent the shape of the human eye. The two mules that draw the chariot of the monarch are perfectly white, and shining all over with gold. The chariot itself, of pure and solid gold, attracts the admiration of the spectators, who contemplate the purple curtains, the snowy carpet, the size of the precious stones, and the resplendent plates of gold, that glitter as they are agitated by the motion of the carriage. The Imperial pictures are white on a blue ground; the emperor appears peated on his throne, with his arms, his horses, and his guards beside him; and his vanquished enemies in chains at his feet." The successors of Constantine established their perpetual residence in the royal city which he had crected on the verge of Europe and Asia. Inaccessible to the menaces of their enemies. and perhaps to the complaints of their people, they received, with each wind, the tributary productions of every chimate; while the impregnable strength of their capital continued for ages to defy the hostile attempts of the Barbarans. Their dominions were bounded by the Hadnatic and Tigns; and the whole interval of twenty-five days' navigation, which separated the extreme cold of Scythia from the torrid zone of Ethiopia,2 was comprehended within the limits of the empire of the East. The populous countries of that empire were the seat of art and learning, of luxury and wealth; and the inhabitants, who had assumed the language and manners of Greeks, styled themselves, with some appearance of truth, the most enlightened and civilized portion of the human species. The form of government was a pure and simple monarchy; the name of the Roman Republic, which so long preserved a faint tradition of freedom, was confined to the Latin provinces; and the princes of Constantinople measured their greatness by the servile obedience of their people. They were ignorant how much this passive disposition enervates and degrades every faculty of the mind. The subjects, who had resigned their will to the absolute commands of a master, were equally incapable of guarding their lives and fortunes against the assaults of the Barbarians or of defending their reason from the terrors of superstition,

According to the loose rechoning that a skap could sail, with a fair wind, toop stadial or 125 m less in the revolution of a day and night; Doddens Sculius computes ten days from the Palus Microtis to Echodes, and four days from Rhodes to Alexandria. The navigation of the Nile, from Alexandria to Syene, under the tropic of Canoer, required, as it was against the stream ten diversione. Dodden, Soul, torn, i. L. in. p. 200, cells. Wesseling. He might, without much in property, measure the extreme heat from the verge of the tornd zone; but he specks of the Microtis in the 47th degree of northern latentide, as if it lay within the polar circle. [On rates of ten travelling 200 Appendix 24-]

The first events of the reign of Arcadius and Honorius are so Intimately connected that the rebellion of the Goths and the fall of Rufinus have already claimed a place in the history of the West. It has already been observed that Eutropaus, one of the principal eunuchs of the palace of Constantinople, succeeded the haughty minister whose ruin he had accomplished, and whose vices he soon imitated. Every order of the state bowed to the new favourite; and their tame and obsequious submission encouraged him to insult the laws, and, what is still more difficult and dangerous, the manners, of his country. Under the weakest of the predecessors of Arcadius, the reign of the cunuchs had been secret and almost invisible. They insinuated themselves into the confidence of the prince; but their ostensible functions were confined to the menial service of the wardrobe and Imperial bed-chamber. They might direct, in a whisper, the public counsels, and blast, by their malicious suggestions, the fame and fortunes of the most illustrious citizens; but they never presumed to stand forward in the front of empire,4 or to profine the public honours of the state. Eutropius was the first of his artificial sex, who dared to assume the character of a Roman magistrate and general.5 Sometimes in the presence of the blushing senate he ascended the tribunal, to pronounce judgment or to repeat elaborate harangues; and sometimes appeared on horseback, at the head of his troops, in the dress and armour of a hero. The disregard of custom and decency always betrays a weak and ill-regulated mind; nor does Entropius seem to have

After lamenting the progress of the encuchs in the Roman palace and defining their proper functions, Claudian adds.

-A fronte recodant

In Eutrop. L 432 Impeni Tet it does not appear that the extrach had assumed any of the efficient offices of the empire, and he is styled only Propositis macri culticula, in the oday of his banashment. See Cod. Theod. L. ix. tri. vl. leg. 17

§ Jamque oblita su., one sobria divities mean

In miseras leges homenumque negotia lucht:

pleases in a sature poet, describes the insolent folly of the enterch, the desgrace of the empire, and the joy of the Goths.

- Akades, com viderat hostas, Et metet jans domer verm

Burthits, who adored his author with the blind superstation of a commentator, gives the perference to the two books which I landian composed against Eureopeas above all his other productions (Baillet, Jugenieus des Savans tom, 14, p. 227). They are indeed a very elegant and spetified sat re, and would be more valuable in an historical light, if the invective were less vague and more temperate

compensated for the folly of the design by any superior merit or ability in the execution. His former habits of life had not introduced him to the study of the laws or the exercises of the field; his awkward and unsuccessful attempts provoked the secret contempt of the spectators; the Goths expressed their wish that such a general might always command the armies of Rome; and the name of the minister was branded with ridicule, more pernicious perhaps than hatred to a public character. The subjects of Arcadius were exasperated by the recollection that this deformed and decrepid eunuch,6 who so perversely mimicked the actions of a man, was born in the most abject condition of servitude; that, before he entered the Imperial palace, he had been successively sold and purchased by an hundred masters, who had exhausted his youthful strength in every mean and infamous office, and at length dismissed him, in his old age, to freedom and poverty.7 While these disgraceful stories were circulated, and perhaps exaggerated, in private conversations, the vanity of the favourite was flattered with the most extraordinary honours. In the senate, in the capital, in the provinces, the statues of Eutropius were erected in brass or marble, decorated with the symbols of his civil and military virtues, and inscribed with the pompous title of the third founder of Constantinople. He was promoted to the rank of patrician, which began to signify, in a popular and even legal acceptation, the father of the emperor; and the last year of the fourth century was polluted by the consulship of an cunuch and a slave. This strange and inexpiable prodigy awakened, however, the prejudices of the Romans. The effeminate consul was rejected

The poet's lively description of his deformity (i. 110 125) is confirmed by the authoric testimony of Chrysontom (tom. in. p. 384, edit. Montfaucon), who observes that, when the paint was washed away, the face of Europaus appearance more ugly and wrinkled than that of an old woman. Claudian remarks (i. 469), and the remark must have been founded on experience, that there was scarcely any interval between the youth and the decrepted age of an cunuch.

Retropues appears to have been a native of Armenia or Assyria. His three services, which Claudian more particularly describes, were these: z. He spent many years as the catamite of Ptolemy, a groom or soldier of the Imperial stables. 2. Ptolemy gave him to the old general Arintheus, for whom he very skidfully exercised the profession of a pimp. 3. He was given, on her marriage, to the daughter of Arintheus; and the future consul was employed to comb her har, to present the silver ever, to wash and to fan his mistress in hot weather. See I. i. 31-137.

Claudian (I. i. in Eutrop. 1-22), after enumerating the various products of monstrous birds, speaking animals, showers of blood or stones, double suns, &c., adds, with some exaggeration,——Omnia cesseruat enucleic consule monstra. The first book concludes with a notice speech of the goddess of Rome to her favourite Honorius, deprecating the new ignomity to which she was exposed.

by the West, as an indelible stain to the annals of the republic; and, without invoking the shades of Brutus and Camillus, the colleague of Entropius, a learned and respectable magnitude, sufficiently represented the different maxims of the two administrations.

The western

The bold and vigorous mind of Rufinus seems to have been actuated by a more sangumary and revengeful spirit; but the avarice of the cumuch was not less invatiate than that of the prefect.10 As long as he despoiled the oppressors who had enriched themselves with the plunder of the people, Eutropius might gratify his covetous disposition without much envy or injustice; but the progress of his rapine soon invaded the wealth which had been acquired by lawful inheritance or laudable industry. The usual methods of extortion were practised and improved; and Claudian has sketched a lively and original picture of the public auction of the state. "The impotence of the cunuch " (says that agreeable satirist) " has served only to stimulate his avarice; the same hand which, in his service condition, was exercised in petty thefts, to unlock the coffers of his master, now grasps the riches of the world; and this infamous broker of the empire appreciates and divides the Roman provinces, from Mount Humus to the Tigns. One man, at the expense of his villa, is made proconsul of Asia; a second purchases Syria with his wife's jewels; and a third laments that he has exchanged his paternal estate for the government of Bithynia. In the anti-chamber of Entropius, a large tablet is exposed to public view, which marks the respective prices of the provinces. The different value of Pontus, of Galatia, of Lydia, is accurately distinguished. Lycia may be obtained for so many thousand pieces of gold; but the opulence of Phrygia will require a more considerable sum. The cunuch wishes to obliterate, by the general disgrace, his personal ignominy; and, as he has been sold himself, he is desarous of selling the rest of mankind. In the eager contention, the balance, which contains the fate and fortunes of the province, often trembles on the beam ; and, till one of the seales is inclined, by a superior weight,

• FL Mailius Theodorus, whose civil honours, and philosophical works, have been celebrated by Cinadian [who by the change of one letter has transformed Mailius into a member of the ancient Manlian family].

¹⁰ Motion & 600 re shorty, drunk with riches, is the forcible expression of Zosimus (i. v. p. 301 [20]); and the avence of Entropius is equally executed in the Lexicon of Suidas and the Chronicle of Microchina. Chrysistom had often adminished the favourite, of the wanty and danger of immodrate wealth, torn, (ii. p. 352.

the mind of the impartial judge remains in anxious suspense.11 Such" (continues the indignant poet) "are the fruits of Roman valour, of the defeat of Antiochus, and of the triumph of Pompey." This venal prostitution of public honours secured the impanity of future crimes; but the riches which Entropius derived from confiscation were already stained with injustice; since it was decent to accuse, and to condemn, the proprietors of the wealth which he was impatient to confiscate. Some noble blood was shed by the hand of the executioner; and the most inhospitable extremities of the empire were filled with innocent and illustrious exiles. Among the generals and consuls of the sun of alm East, Abundantius 12 had reason to dread the first effects of the resentment of Eutropius. He had been guilty of the unpardonable crime of introducing that abject slave to the palace of Constantinople; and some degree of praise must be allowed to a powerful and ungrateful favourite, who was satisfied with the disgrace of his benefactor. Abundantius was stripped of his ample fortunes by an Imperial rescript, and banished to Pityus on the Euxine, the last frontier of the Roman world; where he subsisted by the precarious mercy of the Barbarians, till he could obtain, after the fall of Butropius, a milder exile at Sidon in Phonicia. The destruction of Timasius 18 required a more of Timasius 18 serious and regular mode of attack. That great officer, the master-general of the armies of Theodosius, had signalized his valour by a decisive victory, which he obtained over the Goths of Thessaly; but he was too prone, after the example of his sovereign, to enjoy the luxury of peace, and to abandon his confidence to wicked and designing flatterers. Timasius had despised the public clamour, by promoting an infamous depend-

-orriantum saspe duocum Diversum suspend t onus : cum presiere Judez Vergit, et in geminis nutat provincia lances

Claudian (i. 190-20), so currently distinguishes the carcumstances of the sale that

they all seem to allude to particular appellotes.

If Chardian (i. 154-170) thentices the guild and enile of Abundantius, nor could be ful to quote the example of the artist who made the first trail of the brazen built which he presented to Phalaris. See Zosanus, l. v. p. 302 [10] Jerom, tom u. p. 26 [ep. 60]. Migne, i. 600]. The difference of place is rus ly reconciled; but the decisive authority of Asterius of Amaia (Ornt. iv. p. 76 aprild Tiberaont, Hist, des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 435) maist turn the scale in favour of

Figure 12 Saidas (most probably, from the history of Eurapius) has given a very nafavourable parties of Timasius. The account of his accuser, the judges, trail, its, is perfectly agreeable to the practice of ascent and modern courts. [See Zestimes, l. v. p. 398-305, 300 [9 39]. I am almost tempted to quote the romance of a great master (Fielding's Works, vol. iv. p. 49, for 800 edst.), which may be considered as the bistory of human nature.

ent to the command of a cohort; and he deserved to feel the ingratitude of Bargus, who was secretly instigated by the favourite to accuse his patron of a treasonable conspiracy. The general was arraigned before the tribunal of Arcadius himself; and the principal cunuch stood by the side of the throne, to suggest the questions and answers of his sovereign. But, as this form of trial might be deemed partial and arbitrary, the farther inquiry into the crimes of Timasius was delegated to Saturninus and Procopius: the former of consular rank, the latter still respected as the father-in-law of the emperor Valens. appearances of a fair and legal proceeding were maintained by the blunt honesty of Procopius; and he yielded with reluctance to the obsequious dexterity of his colleague, who pronounced a sentence of condemnation against the unfortunate Timasius, His immense riches were confiscated, in the name of the emperor, and for the benefit of the favourite; and he was doomed to perpetual exile at Oasis, a solitary spot in the midst of the sandy deserts of Libya.14 Secluded from all human converse. the master-general of the Roman armies was lost for ever to the world; but the circumstances of his fate have been related in a various and contradictory manner. It is insinuated that Eutropius dispatched a private order for his secret execution.15 It was reported that, in attempting to escape from Oasis, he perished in the desert, of thirst and hunger; and that his dead body was found on the sands of Libya.10 It has been asserted with more confidence that his son Syngrius, after successfully eluding the pursuit of the agents and emissaries of the court, collected a band of African robbers; that he rescued Timasius from the place of his exile; and that both the father and son disappeared from the knowledge of mankind.17 But the ungrateful Bargus, instead of being suffered to possess the reward of guilt, was soon afterwards circumvented and destroyed by the more power-

¹⁴ The great Oasis was one of the spots in the sands of Libya watered with springs, and capable of producing wheat, barley, and palm-trees. It was about three days' journey from north to south, about half a day in breadth, and at the distance of about five days' march to the west of Abydus on the Nile, Soe d'Anville, Description de l'Egypte, p. 186, 187, 188. The tarren desert which encompasses Onis (Zosanus, I. v. p. 300) has suggested the idea of comparative fertility, and even the epithet of the Assey island (Fiercolot, in. 20).

15 The line of Claudian, in Europ. I. i. 180:

Marmarieus claris violatur csedibus Hammon,

Notemen, L viii. c. 7. He speaks from report we save everyone. 17 Zonomus, L v. p. 300 [9 and An]. Yet he seems to suspect that this rumour was spread by the friends of Eutropius.

ful villany of the minister himself; who retained sense and spirit

enough to abhor the instrument of his own crimes.

The public hatred and the despair of individuals continually a threatened, or seemed to threaten, the personal safety of Entropius; as well as of the numerous adherents who were attached to his fortune and had been promoted by his venal favour. For their mutual defence, he contrived the safeguard of a law, which violated every principle of humanity and justice.16 1. It is enacted, in the name and by the authority of Arcadius, that all those who shall conspire, either with subjects or with strangers, against the lives of any of the persons whom the emperor considers as the members of his own body, shall be punished with death and confiscation. This species of fictitions and metaphorical treason is extended to protect, not only the illustrious officers of the state and army, who are admitted into the sacred consistory, but likewise the principal domestics of the palace, the senators of Constantinople, the military commanders, and the civil magistrates of the provinces: a vague and indefinite list, which, under the successors of Conscantine, included an obscure and numerous train of subordinate ministers. II. This extreme severity might perhaps be justified, had it been only directed to secure the representatives of the sovereign from any actual violence in the execution of their office. But the whole body of Imperial dependents claimed a privilege, or rather impunity, which screened them, in the loosest moments of their lives, from the hasty, perhaps the justifiable, resentment of their fellow-citizens; and, by a strange perversion of the laws, the same degree of guilt and punishment was applied to a private quarrel and to a deliberate conspiracy against the emperor and the empire. The edict of Arcadius most positively and most absurdly declares that in such cases of treason thoughts and actions ought to be punished with equal severity; that the knowledge of a mischievous intention, unless it be instantly revealed, becomes equally criminal with the intention itself; 10

See the Theodosan Code, I. ix. tit. 14, ad legem Corneliam de Sicarin, leg. 3, and the tode of Justinian, I. ix. tit. viu. ad legem Juliam de Majestate, leg. 5. The alteration of the fit? from murder to treason, was an improvement of the subtle Trabonian. Godeferoy, in a formal dissertation which he has inserted in his Commentary, illustrates this law of Arcadeux, and explains all the difficult passages which had been perverted by the jurisconsults of the darker ages. See tom.

til. p. 88-111.

10 Bartolus understands a simple and naked consciousness, without any sign of approbation or comsurreace. For this opinion, says Balilus, he is now reasting in hell. For my own part continues the discreet Hemeucous (Element, Jur. Civil. Iv. p. 411), I must approve the theory of Bartolus; but in practice I should

and that those rush men who shall presume to soboit the pardon of traitors shall themselves be branded with public and perpetual infamy. III. "With regard to the sons of the trutors" (continues the emperor), "although they ought to share the punishment, since they will probably unitate the guilt, of their parents, yet, by the special effect of our Imperial lenity, we grant them their lives; but, at the same time, we declare them incapable of uthenting, either on the father's or on the mother's side, or of receiving any gift or legacy from the testament either of kinsmen or of strangers. Stigmatized with hereditary infamy, excluded from the hopes of honours or fortune, let them endure the pangs of poverty and contempt, till they shall consider life as a calamity, and death as a comfort and relief." In such words, so well adapted to insult the feelings of mankind, did the emperor, or rather his favourite eunuch, applaud the moderation of a law which transferred the same unjust and inhuman penalties to the children of all those who had seconded, or who had not disclosed, these fictitious conspiracies. Some of the noblest regulations of Roman jurisprudence have been suffered to expire; but this edict a convenient and forcible engine of ministerial tyranny, was carefully inserted in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian; and the same maxims have been revived in modern ages, to protect the electors of Germany and the cardinals of the church of Rome, to

Yet these sanguinary laws, which spread terror among a disarmed and disparited people, were of too weak a texture to restrain the bold enterprise of Tribigild 21 the Ostrogoth. The colony of that warlike nation, which had been planted by Theodosius in one of the most fertile districts of Phrygia, 22 impatiently compared the slow returns of laborious husbandry

theline to the sentiments of Baldus. Yet Bartolus was gravely quoted by the lawyers of Cardinal Richellen; and Eutropius was indirectly guilty of the murder of the virtuous de Thou.

20 Godefroy, tom, in, p. 80. It is, however, suspected that this law, so repugnant to the maxims of Germanic freedom, has been surreptiously added to

the golden built and circumstantial narrative (which he might have reserved for more important events) is bestowed by Zosimus (l. v. p. 304-314 [13 50]) on the repolt of Tribigild and Gainas. See likewise Sociates, l. vi. c. 6, and Soromen, l. vi. c. 4. The second book of Claudian against Eutropius is a fine, though

imperfect, piece of history.

Claudian (in Eutrop. 1. It. 237-250) very accurately observes that the ancient name and nation of the Phrygians extended very far on every side, till their limits name and nation of the Phrygians extended very far on every side, till their limits were contracted by the colonies of the Bithymans of Thrane, of the Greeks, and at last of the Gauls. His description (i. 257-97- of the feetility of Phrygin, and of the four rivers that produce gold, is just and picturesque.

with the successful rapine and liberal rewards of Alarie; and their leader resented, as a personal affront, his own ungracious reception in the palace of Constantinople. A soft and wealthy province, in the heart of the empire, was astonished by the sound of war; and the faithful vassal, who had been disregarded or oppressed, was again respected, as soon as he resumed the hostile character of a Barbarian. The vineyards and fruitful fields, between the rapid Marsyas and the winding Meander.20 were consumed with fire; the decayed walls of the city crumbled into dust, at the first stroke of an enemy; the trembling inhabitants escaped from a bloody massacre to the shores of the Hellespont; and a considerable part of Asia Minor was desolated by the rebellion of Tribigild. His rapid progress was checked by the resistance of the peasants of Pamphylia; and the Ostrogoths, attacked in a unrow pass, between the city of Selgie, it a deep moraus, and the craggy cliffs of Mount Taurus, were defeated with the loss of their bravest troops. But the snirit of their chief was not daunted by misfortune; and his army was continually recruited by swarms of Barbarians and outlaws, who were desirous of exercising the profession of robbery, under the more honourable names of war and conquest. The rumours of the success of Tribigild might for some time be suppressed by fear or disguised by flattery; yet they gradually alarmed both the court and the capital. Every misfortune was exaggerated in dark and doubtful hints; and the future designs of the rebels became the subject of anxious conjecture. Whenever Tribigild advanced into the inland country, the Romans were inclined to suppose that he meditated the passage of Mount Taurus and the invasion of Syria. If he descended towards the sea, they imputed, and perhaps suggested, to the Gothic chief the more dangerous project of arming a fleet in the harbours of Ionia, and of extending his depredations along the mantime coast, from the mouth of the Nile to the port of Constantinople. The approach of danger, and the obstinacy of Tribigild, who refused all terms of accommodation, compelled Eutropius to summon a council of

*Seigne, a colony of the Lacedamonums, had formarly numbered twenty thousand estimens; but in the age of Zonmus it was reduced to a western, or small town. See Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. in p. 227.

³² Xenophon, Anshuis, I. i. p. rr., so. cdit. Hutchinson; Strabo, I. zii, p. 365, cdit. Anstel. [8, 15]; Q. Curt. I. lii, o. t. Claudian compares the junction of the Marsyas and Micander to that of the Saine and the Rhone, with this difference, however, that the smaller of the Phrygian rivers is not accelerated, but retarded, by the larger.

war. After claiming for himself the privilege of a veteran soldier, the ennuch entrusted the guard of Thrace and the Hellespont to Gamas the Goth; and the command of the Assatic army to his favourite Leo: two generals who differently, but effectually, promoted the cause of the rebels. Leo,26 who, from the bulk of his body and the dulness of his mind, was surnamed the Ajax of the East, had deserted his original trade of a wool comber. to exercise, with much less skill and success, the military profession; and his uncertain operations were capriciously framed and executed, with an ignorance of real difficulties and a timorous neglect of every favourable opportunity. The rashness of the Ostrogoths had drawn them into a disadvantageous position between the rivers Melas and Eurymedon, where they were almost besieged by the peasants of Pamphylin; but the arrival of an Imperial army, instead of completing their destruction, afforded the means of safety and victory. Tribigild surprised the unguarded camp of the Romans, in the darkness of the night; seduced the faith of the greater part of the Barbarian auxiliaries; and dissipated, without much effort, the troops which had been corrupted by the relaxation of discipline and the luxury of the capital. The discontent of Gainas, who had so boldly contrived and executed the death of Rufinus. was irritated by the fortune of his unworthy successor; he accused his own dishonourable patience under the service reign of an eunuch; and the ambitious Goth was convicted, at least in the public opinion, of secretly fomenting the revolt of Tribigild, with whom he was connected by a domestic, as well as by a national, alliance. 87 When Gainas passed the Hellespont, to unite under his standard the remains of the Asiatic troops, be skilfully adapted his motions to the wishes of the Ostrogoths: abandoning, by his retreat, the country which they desired to invade; or facilitating, by his approach, the desertion of the Barbarian auxiliaries. To the Imperial court he repeatedly magnified the valour, the genius, the inexhaustible resources

more temperate language, confirms his reprosendes. L. v. p. 305 [14].

The conservacy of Gamas and Tribigild, which is attested by the Greek historian, bud not reached the ears of Claudian, who attributes the revolt of the Ostrogoth to his own married spirit and the advice of his wife.

The council of Entroputs, in Claudian, may be compared to that of Domittan in the fourth saure of Juvenal. The principal members of the former were: juvenes protected lastivique senes; one of them had been a cook, a second a wouldomber. The language of their original profession exposes their assumed dignity; and their triffing conversation about tragedies, dancers, &c. is made still more ridiculous by the importance of the debate.

**Claudian (l. ii. 376-461) has branded him with infamy; and Zosimus, in

of Tribigild; confessed his own inability to prosecute the war; and extorted the permission of negotiating with his invincible adversary. The conditions of peace were dictated by the heighty rebel; and the peremptory demand of the head of Eutropius revealed the author and the design of this hostile

conspiracy.

The bold satirist, who has indulged his discontent by the ran of Europe partial and passionate censure of the Christian emperors, violates the dignity rather than the truth of history, by comsupple animals who scarcely feel that they are the property of their shepherd. Two passions, however, fear and conjugal affection, awakened the languid soul of Arcadius: he was termined by the threats of a victorious Barbarian; and he yielded to the tender eloquence of his wife Eudoxia, who, with a flood of artificial tears, presenting her infant children to their father, implored his justice for some real or imaginary insult which she imputed to the audacious eunuch.26 The emperor's hand was directed to sign the condemnation of Entropius; the magic spell, which during four years had bound the prince and the people, was instantly dissolved; and the acclamations that so lately hailed the merit and fortune of the favourite were converted into the clamours of the soldiers and the people, who reproached his crimes and pressed his immediate execution. In this hour of distress and despair his only refuge was in the sanctuary of the church, whose privileges he had wisely, or profanely, attempted to circumscribe; and the most eloquent of the saints, John Chrysostom, enjoyed the triumph of protecting a prostrate minister, whose choice had raised him to the ecclesiastical throne of Constantinople. The archbisbop, ascending the pulpit of the cathedral, that he might be distinctly seen and heard by an innumerable crowd of either sex and of every age, pronounced a seasonable and pathetic discourse on the forgiveness of injuries and the instability The agonies of the pale and affrighted of human greatness. wretch, who lay grovelling under the table of the altar, exhibited a solemn and instructive spectacle; and the orator, who was afterwards accused of insulting the misfortunes of Eutropius, laboured to excite the contempt, that he might assuage the fury, of the

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This anecdote, which Philostorgius alone has preserved (l. zi. c. 6, and Gothofred, Dissertat, p. 451-456), is cur out and important, since it connects the revolt of the Goths with the secret intrigues of the palace.

people.39 The powers of humanity, of superstition, and of eloquence, prevailed. The empress Eudoxia was restrained, by her own prejudices, or by those of her subjects, from violating the sunctuary of the church; and Eutropius was tempted to capitulate, by the milder arts of persuasion, and by an oath that his life should be spared. De Careless of the dignity of their sovereign, the new ministers of the palace immediately published an edict, to declare that his late favourite had disgraced the names of consul and patrician, to abolish his statues, to confiscate his wealth, and to inflict a perpetual exile in the Island of Cyprus. 11 A despicable and decreped curuch could no longer alarm the fears of his enemies; nor was he capable of enjoying what yet remained, the comforts of peace, of solitude, and of a happy climate. But their implacable revenge still envied him the last moments of a miserable life, and Eutropus had no sooner touched the shores of Cyprus than he was hastily recalled. The vain hope of cluding, by a change of place, the obligation of an oath engaged the empress to transfer the scene of his trial and execution from Constantinople to the adjacent suburb of Chalcedon. The consul Aurelian pronounced the sentence; and the motives of that sentence expose the jurisprudence of a despotic government. The crimes which Eutropius had committed against the people might have justified his death; but he was found guilty of harnessing to his chariot the sacred animals, who, from their breed or colour, were reserved for the use of the emperor alone.32

See the Homily of Chrysostom, tom. iii. js. 381-386, of which the emordium is particularly beautiful. Socrates, L. vi. c. 5; Sozomen, l. vi. c. 7. Montraucon (in his Lufe of Chrysostom, tom. xiii. p. 135) too hastily supposes that Pringild was actually in Constantinople; and that he commanded the solidies who were ordered to seize Eutropius. Even Claudian, a Pagan poet (Projekt, ad l. ii. Rutrop. p. 27), has ment oned the flight of the cumuch to the sanctuary.

Suppliestreme rules burnels prostrative and area.

Suppliesterque para humil a prostratus ad aras M.t.gat iratas voce tremente nurus.

Chrysostom, in another homely (tom. m. p. 386), affects to declare that Entropius would not have been taken, had be not deserted the church. Zoumus O. v. p. 323 [18]), on the contrary, pretends that his enemies forced him ligardowers above from the sanctuary. Yet the promise is an evidence of some trenty; and the strong assurance of Claudian (Preclat. ad l. i., 46), Sed tamen exemplo non feriere tuo.

may be considered as an evidence of some promise.

Lack Theod, Lix, tit, m. leg. 14 [42, tit, xl. leg. 17]. The date of that law (Jan. 17, A.t. 399) is erroneous and corrupt; since the fall of Entropus could not happen till the autumn of the same year. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs.

tom. v. p. 760.

E Zosimus, l. v. p. 323 [18]. Philostorgius, l. xi. c. 6. [Not using imperial animals (Socretainers), but imperial decompositions (2004) [Not using imperial animals (Socretainers), but imperial decompositions (2004) [Not using imperial animals (Socretainers), but imperial decompositions (2004) [Not using imperial animals (Socretainers), but imperial decompositions (2004) [Not using imperial animals (2004) [Not using

While this domestic revolution was transacted, Gainas 20 co openly revolted from his allegiance; united his forces, at Thyatira in Lydia, with those of Tribigild; and still maintained his superior ascendant over the rebellious leader of the Ostrogotha, The confederate armies advanced, without resistance, to the streights of the Hellespont and the Bosphorus; and Arcadius was instructed to prevent the loss of his Asiatic dominions by resigning his authority and his person to the faith of the Barbarians. The church of the holy martyr Euphemia, situate on a lofty eminence near Chalcedon, a was chosen for the place of the interview. Gainas bowed, with reverence, at the feet of the emperor, whilst he required the sacrifice of Aurelian and Saturmans, two ministers of consular rank; and their naked necks were exposed, by the haughty rebel, to the edge of the sword, till be condescended to grant them a precarious and disgraceful respite. The Goths, according to the terms of the agreement, were immediately transported from Asia into Europe; and their victorious chief, who accepted the title of master-general of the Roman armies, soon filled Constantinople with his troops, and distributed among his dependents the honours and rewards of the empire. In his early youth, Gainas had passed the Danube as a suppliant and a fugitive; his elevation had been the work of valour and fortune; and his indiscreet, or perfidious, conduct was the cause of his rapid downfall. Notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the archbishop, he importunately claimed, for his Arian sectaries, the possession of a peculiar church; and the pride of the Catholics was offended by the public toleration of heresy. 25 Every quarter of Constantinople was filled with tumult and disorder; and the Barbarians gazed with such ardour on the rich shops of the jewellers, and the tables of the bankers, which were covered with gold and silver, that it was judged prudent to remove those dangerous tempta-

E Zosimus (L. v. p. 313-323 [18 199.]), Socrates (l. vi. c. 4), Socomen (l. viii. c. 4), and Theodoret (b. v. c. 32, 33) represent, though with some various circumstances, the consumary, defeat, and death of Gaines. (Tribigid's death is only mentioned by Philostorgius (xi. 8): "having crossed over to Thruce he penshes soon after".)

³⁴ Orise Endmine parropers. If the expression of Zosimus himself (L. v. p. 314 [18]), who inadvertently uses the fathionable language of the Christians. Evigrius describes (I is, c. 3) the situation, architecture, relies, and miracles of that celebrated church, in which the general council of Chalcodon was afterwards held. [See Appendix 27]

³⁶ The prous remonstrances of Chrysostom, which do not appear in his own writings, are strongly urged by Theodoret, but his manuation that they were successful is disproved by facts. Tilemont (Hist, des Empereurs, tom. v. 383) has discovered that the emperor, to satisfy the rapacious demands of Gainas, melted

the plate of the church of the Apostles.

tions from their sight. They resented the injurious precaution: and some alarming attempts were made, during the night, to attack and destroy with fire the Imperial palace 30 In this state of mutual and suspicious hostility, the guards and the people of Constantinople shut the gates, and rose in arms to prevent, or to punish, the conspiracy of the Goths. During the absence of Gainas, his troops were surprised and oppressed; seven thousand Barbarians perished in this bloody massacre. In the fury of the pursuit, the eatholies uncovered the roof, and continued to throw down flaming logs of wood, till they overwhelmed their adversaries, who had retreated to the church or conventicle of the Arians. Gainas was either innocent of the design or too confident of his success; he was astomshed by the intelligence that the flower of his army had been inglonously destroyed; that he himself was declared a public enemy; and that has countryman, Fravitta, a brave and loyal confederate, had assumed the management of the war by sea and land. The enterprises of the rebel against the cities of Thrace were encountered by a firm and well-ordered defence; his hunger soldiers were soon reduced to the grass that grew on the margin of the fortifications; and Gamas, who vainly regretted the wealth and luxury of Asia, embraced a desperate resolution of forcing the passage of the Hellespont. He was destitute of vessels; but the woods of the Chersonesus afforded materials for rafts, and his intreped Barbarians did not refuse to trust themselves to the waves. But Fravitta attentively watched the progress of their undertaking. As soon as they had gained the middle of the stream, the Roman galleys, 37 impelled by the full force of oars, of the current, and of the favourable wind, rushed forwards in compact order and with irresistible weight; and the Hellespont was covered with the fragments of the Gothic shipwreek. After the destruction of his hopes, and the loss of many thousands of his bravest soldiers, Gainas, who could no longer aspire to govern, or to subdue, the Romans, determined to resume the

36 The ecclesiastical historians, who sometimes guide, and sometimes follow, the public opinion, most confidently assert that the palace of Constantinople was

the public opinion; most confidently assert that the palace of Constantinopie was guarded by legions of angels.

"Zosimua (l. v. p. 319 (so, cp. Eunap. fr. 81)) mentions these galleys by the name of Liberwians, and observes that they were as swift (without expanding the difference between them) as the vessels with fifty ours, but that they were farinfer or in speed to the tribrana, which had been long distinct. Yet he reasonably concludes, from the testimony of Polyhais, that galleys of a stall larger size had been constructed in the Punic wars. Since the establishment of the Roman empire over the Mediciarana, the useless art of building large ships of war had errotably been neglected and at limit transition. probably been neglected and at length torgotten,

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pendence of a savage life. A light and active body of arian horse, disengaged from their infantry and baggage. it perform, in eight or ten days, a march of three hundred from the Hellespont to the Danube; 25 the garrisons of important frontier had been gradually annihilated; the in the mouth of December, would be deeply frozen; and inbounded prospect of Scythia was opened to the ambition This design was secretly communicated to the mal troops, who devoted themselves to the fortunes of their ir; and, before the signal of departure was given, a great ber of provincial auxiliaries, whom he suspected of an imment to their native country, were perfidiously manacred. Goths advanced, by rapid marches, through the plains of me; and they were soon delivered from the fear of a pursuit he vanity of Fravitta, who, instead of extinguishing the war, med to enjoy the popular applause and to assume the oful honours of the consulship. But a formidable ally ared in arms to vindicate the majesty of the empire and to il the peace and liberty of Scythia. The superior forces ldin, king of the Huns, opposed the progress of Gainas; an le and ruined country probabited his retreat; he disdained mitulate; and, after repeatedly attempting to cut his way igh the ranks of the enemy, he was slain, with his desperate wers, in the field of battle. Eleven days after the maval an en ry of the Hellespont, the head of Gainas, the mestimable of the conqueror, was received at Constantinople with the liberal expressions of gratitude, and the public deliverance celebrated by festivals and illuminations. The triumphs of dius became the subject of epic poems; 40 and the monarch, inger oppressed by any hostile terrors, resigned himself to mild and absolute dominion of his wife, the fair and artful

Chishul (Travels, p. 63-63, 72 76) proceeded from Gallipoli, through Hadran, to the Danabe, in about fitteen days. He was in the train of in English mader, where bagging coessated of seventy-one wargons. That learned her has the meet of teneng a careers and unfrequented route. The narrative of Zermin, who actually leads Garnas beyond the Danabe, he corrected by the ten many of Sacrates and Sommen, that he was kalled in a care of the theory of the sales of the Alexandran or Fauchal.

he corrected by thestest-many of Socrates and Sommen, that he was killed in the and, by the precise and authentic dates of the Alexandrian, or Fauchal life, p. 307. The nevel vectory of the Hellemont is fixed to the mouth life the tenth of the calendard January (December 23); the head of Gamas rought to Constantample the third of the nones of January (January 3), in the 3 Audinness. These dates imply to about an interval; the second is bly a eg; and we may accept from Marcellinus the notice that Gamas was early to Pelmusy.)

Inchara Scholasticus acquired much fame by his poem on the Gothie war, in he had served. Note fairly years afterwards. Ammenius routed according to the same subject, in the presence of Throdousis. See Socrates, I. vi. c. 6.

on the same subject, in the presence of Theodosius. See Socrates, I. vi. c. 6.

Rudoxia; who has sullied her fame by the persecution of St. John Chrysostom.

After the death of the indolent Nectarius, the successor of Gregory Nazianzen, the church of Constantinople was distracted by the ambition of rival candidates, who were not ashamed to solicit, with gold or flattery, the suffrage of the people, or of the favourite. On this occasion, Eutropius seems to have deviated from his ordinary maxims; and his uncorrupted judgment was determined only by the superior merit of a stranger. In a late journey into the East, he had admired the sermons of John, a native and presbyter of Antioch, whose name has been distinguished by the epithet of Chrysostom, or the Golden Mouth. A private order was dispatched to the governor of Syria; and, as the people might be unwilling to resign their favourite preacher, he was transported with speed and secrecy, in a postchariot, from Antioch to Constantinople. The unanimous and unsolicited consent of the court, the clergy, and the people, ratified the choice of the minister; and, both as a saint and as an orator, the new archbishop surpassed the sanguine expectations of the public. Born of a noble and opulent family, in the capital of Syria, Chrysostom had been educated by the care of a tender mother, under the tuition of the most skilful masters. He studied the art of rhetoric in the school of Libanius; and that celebrated sophist, who soon discovered the talents of his disciple, ingenuously confessed that John would have deserved to succeed him, had he not been stolen away by the Christians. His piety soon disposed him to receive the sacrament of bantism: to renounce the lucrative and honourable profession of the law; and to bury himself in the adjacent desert, where he subdued the lusts of the flesh by an austere penance of six years. His

The sixth book of Socrates, the eighth of Sommen, and the fifth of Theodorei, afford curious and authentic materials for the life of John Chrysostom. Besides those general historians, I have taken for my guides the four principal biographers of the saint.

1. The author of a partial and passionate Vindication of the Archbishop of Constantinople, composed in the form of a diviogue, and under the name of his zealous partizin Palladius, bushop of Helenopolis (Tillemont, Mém. Poelés, tom. xi. p. 500-52). It is inserted among the works of Chrysostom, tom, xiii, p. 1-50, edit, Montiancon.

2. The moderate Erasmus (tom. int. epist. McL. p. 1331-1347, edit. Ludg. But.). His vinnesty and good sense were his own; his errors, in the uncultivated state of collegiantical antiquity, were almost inevitable.

3. The learned Tillemont (Mém. Ecclémastiques, tom. xi. p. 1-505, 547-526, de. de.); who compiles the I ves of the saints with incred ble pattered and composed the life of Chrisostom (who has perused those works with the curious diligence of an editor, discovered several new boundes, and again reviewed and composed the life of Chrisostom (Opera Chrysostom, tom, xiii, p. 91-177). [For modern works see Appendix 4.]

infirmities compelled him to return to the society of mankind; and the authority of Meletius devoted his talents to the service of the church; but in the midst of his family, and afterwards in the archiepiscopal throne, Chrysostom still persevered in the practice of the monastic virtues. The ample revenues, which his predecessors had consumed in pomp and luxury, he diligently applied to the establishment of hospitals; and the multitudes, who were supported by his charity, preferred the eloquent and edifying discourses of their archbishop to the amusements of the theatre or the circus. The monuments of that eloquence, which was admired near twenty years at Antioch and Constantinople, have been carefully preserved, and the possession of near one thousand sermons, or homilies, has authorized the critics 43 of succeeding times to appreciate the genuine merit of Chrysostom. They unanimously attribute to the Christian orator the free command of an elegant and copious language; the judgment to conceal the advantages which he derived from the knowledge of rhetoric and philosophy; an inexhaustible fund of metaphors and similitudes, of ideas and images, to vary and illustrate the most familiar topics; the happy art of engaging the passions in the service of virtue; and of exposing the folly as well as the turpitude of vice, almost with the truth and spirit of a dramatic representation.

The pastoral labours of the archbishop of Constantinople provoked, and gradually united against him, two sorts of enemies : the aspunng clergy, who envied his success, and the obstinate sinners, who were offended by his reproofs. When Chrysostom thundered, from the pulpit of St. Sophis, against the degeneracy of the Christians, his shafts were spent among the crowd, without wounding, or even marking, the character of any individual. When he declaimed against the peculiar vices of the rich, poverty might obtain a transient consolation from his invectives; but the guilty were still sheltered by their numbers, and the reproach itself was dignified by some ideas of superiority and enjoyment. But, as the pyramid rose towards the summit, it insensibly diminished to a point; and the magistrates, the ministers, the favourite ennuclis, the ladies of the court,4 the empress

The females of Constantinople distinguished themselves by their enmity or

As I am almost a stranger to the voluminous sermons of Chrysostom, I have given my confidence to the two most judicious and moderate of the ecclesiastical eritics. Frasmus (tom. in. p. 1344) and Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclesiast que, tom. iii. p. 387; yet the good taste of the former is sometimes vitiated by an excessive love of antiquity; and the good sense of the latter is always restrained by prudential

Eudoxia herself, had a much larger share of guilt to divide among a smaller proportion of criminals. The personal applications of the audience were anticipated, or confirmed, by the testimony of their own conserence; and the intrepid preacher assumed the dangerous right of exposing both the offence and the offender to the public abhorrence. The secret resentment of the court encouraged the discontent of the clergy and monks of Constantinople, who were too hastily reformed by the fervent zeal of their archbishop. He had condemned, from the pulpit, the domestic females of the clergy of Constantinople, who, under the name of servants or sisters, afforded a perpetual occasion either of sin or of scandal. The silent and solitary ascetics who had secluded themselves from the world were intitled to the warmest approbation of Chrysostom; but he despised and stigmatised, as the disgrace of their holy profession, the crowd of degenerate monks, who, from some unworthy motives of pleasure or profit, so frequently infested the streets of the capital. To the voice of persuasion the archbishop was obliged to add the terrors of authority; and his ardour, in the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, was not always exempt from passion; nor was it always guided by prudence. Chrysostom was naturally of a choleria disposition.44 Although he struggled, according to the precepts of the gospel, to love his private enemies, he indulged himself in the privilege of hating the enemies of God and of the church; and his sentiments were sometimes delivered with too much energy of countenance and expression. He still maintained, from some considerations of health or abstinence, his former habits of taking his repasts alone; and this inhospitable custom,45 which his enemies imputed to pride, contributed,

their attachment to Chrysostom. Three noble and opulent widows, Marsa, Castricia, and Eugraphia, were the leaders of the persecution (Pallad. Dislog. tom. xiii. p. 14). It was impossible that they should forgive a preacher who represented their affectation to conceal, by the ornaments of dress, their age and ugliness (Pallad in 27). Olympias, by equal scal, displayed in a more pious cause, has obtained the title of saint. See Tillemont, Mem. Beeles, tom, it 416 440.

*Sommen, and more especially Sociates, have defined the real character of Chrysostom with a temperate and impartal freedom, very offensive to his blind admirers. Those historians lived in the next generation, when party violence was shated, and had conversed with many persons intimately acquainted with the

virtues and imperfections of the saint.

Falladats (tom. am. p. 40, &c.) very seriously defends the archbishop: r. He never tasted wine.

2. The weakness of his stomach required a peculiar dect.

3. Bus ness, or study, or devotion, often kept him tasting till sunset.

4. He detested the noise and leavy of great danners.

5. He waved the expense for the use of the past.

6. He was apprehensive, in a capital like Constantinople, of the envy and reproach of partial invitations.

at least, to pourish the infirmity of a morose and unsocial humour. Separated from that familiar intercourse which facilitates the knowledge and the dispatch of business, he reposed an unsuspecturg confidence in his descon Seramon; and seldom applied his speculative knowledge of human nature to the particular characters either of his dependents or of his equals. Conscious of the purity of his intentions, and perhaps of the superiority of his genius, the archbishop of Constantinopic extended the jurisdiction of the Imperial city that he might enlarge the sphere of his pastoral labours; and the conduct which the profane imputed to an ambitious motive appeared to Chrysostom himself in the light of a sacred and indispensable duty. In his visitation through the Asiatic provinces, he deposed thirteen bishops of Lydia and Phrygia; and indiscreetly declared that a deep corruption of simony and licentiousness had infected the whole episcopal order.46 If those hishops were innocent, such a rash and unjust condemnation must excite a well-grounded discontent. If they were guilty, the numerous associates of their guilt would soon discover that their own enfety depended on the ruin of the archbishop; whom they studied to represent as the tyrant of the Eastern church.

This ecclesiastical conspiracy was managed by Theophilus, 47 carrows anchbishop of Alexandria, an active and ambitious prelate, who have an displayed the fruits of rapine in monuments of estentation. His 40.00 national dislike to the rising greatness of a city which degraded him from the second to the third rank in the Christian world was exasperated by some personal disputes with Chrysostom humself.48 By the private invitation of the empress, Theophilus landed at Constantinople, with a stout body of Egyptian maripers, to encounter the populace; and a train of attendant bishops, to secure, by their voices, the majority of a synod. The synod 40 was convened in the suburb of Chalcedon, surnamed the Oak,

*Chrysostom duclares his free opinion (tom. ix. hom. iil. in Act. Apostol. p. 20) that the number of hishops who might be saved here a very small proportion to those who would be damned.

See T Bement, Mem. Eccles. tom xi. p. 441-500.

*I have purposely omitted the controversy which arose among the monks of Egypt concerning Organism and Anthropomorphism; the dissimulation and vio-lence of Theoph bis, his artful management of the simplicity of Epiphan is, the persecution and flight of the long, or tall, brothers; the ambiguous support which

between the ind fight of the long, of the protection, the annuguous support which they received at Constant nuple from Chrysostom, the dec.

Photius (p. 53 to) has preserved the original acts of the synod of the Oak [Manai, Concil, iii p. 1248]; which destroy the false assertion [of Palladaus; see Mansi, Concil, iii. 1153] that Chrysostom was condemned by no more than thirty six hishops, of whom twenty-nine were happinens. Porty-five bishops

subscribed his sentence. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. xt. p. 696.

where distant but exected a stately chapter and menuter of and the second state of th A history and a desired account the archevishers of Contra pages but the frameus or superbable subury of the facts of stories which they presented against him may just be a school as a far and menorphonship papersons. Four more manage were agranied to Chromaton, but he still report trust either his person or his regulation in the hards of his planable enemies. This bradenty declining the examinates ary participat charges, confermed his continuous and decletion and among pronounced a sectioner of deposition. The real of the fact muceflaters extremed the emperor to ratif the execute their judgment, and emertably arrangated that it peracties of treasus acrit be arrived on the andiscuss treat who had revited, under the name of Jenebel, the emp-Enginess berseif. The archbeitop was rudely arrested, and co docted through the city, by one of the Imperial messengers at leaded him, after a short navigation, near the entrance of the Farane; from whence, before the expiration of two days, he was girmosty recalled.

The first astoushment of his furthful people had been not and mative; they suddenly rose with unanimous and revesible fury. Theophilus escaped; but the promisenous crowd of mone and Egyptian manners were slanghtered without pity in the streets of Constantinople. M seasonable earthunake justified the interposition of heaven; the torrent of sedition rolled for wards to the gates of the palace; and the empress, agrinted by fear or remorse, threw herself at the feet of Arendors, and crofemed that the public safety could be purchased only by the restoration of Chrysostom. The Bosphorus was covered with innumerable vessels; the shores of Europe and Asia were prefusely illuminated; and the acclamations of a victorious people accompanied, from the port to the cathedral, the triumph of the archbishop; who, too easily, consented to resume the exercise of his functions, before his sentence had been legally reversed by the authority of an ecclesiastical synod. Ignorant or exceles of the impending danger, Chrysostom indulged his zeal, or per-

Palladius owns (p. 90) that, if the people of Constantinople had found Theophicist, they would critainly have thrown him into the sea. Sociates minimized (i. vi. c. 17) a battle between the mob and the salers of Alexanders in which every would were given and some lives were lost. The massacre of the monks is conserved only by the Pagan Zosimus (i. v. p. 324 [23]) who acknowledges that Chrystostom had a singular talent to lead the illustrate multitude, he yas a depose that they be below because business.

haps his resentment; declaimed with peculiar asperity against female vices; and condemned the profune honours which were addressed almost in the precincts of St. Sophia, to the statue of the His imprudence tempted his enemies to inflame the haughty spirit of Eudoxia by reporting or perhaps inventing, the famous exordium of a sermon : "Herodius is again furious ; Herodias again dances; she once more requires the head of John:" an insolent allusion, which, as a woman and a sovereign, it was impossible for her to forgive. 61 The short interval of a perfidious truce was employed to concert more effectual measures for the disgrace and ruin of the archbishop. A numerous council of the Eastern prelates, who were guided from a distance by the advice of Theophilus, confirmed the validity, without examining the justice, of the former sentence; and a detachment of Barbarian troops was introduced into the city, to suppress the emotions of the people. On the vigil of Easter, the solemn administration of haptism was rudely interrupted by the soldiers, who alarmed the modesty of the naked catechumens, and violated, by their presence, the awful mysteries of the Christian worship. Arsacius occupied the church of St. Sophia and the archiepiscopal throne. The catholics retreated to the baths of Constantine, and afterwards to the fields; where they were still pursued and insulted by the guards, the bishops, and the magistrates. The fatal day of the second and final exile of Chrysostom was marked by the configuration of the cathedral, of the senate house, and of the adjacent buildings; and this calamity was imputed, without proof but not without probability, to the despair of a persecuted faction.62

Creero might claim some merit, if his voluntary banishment some of the preserved the peace of the republic; 58 but the submission of on the Chrysostom was the indespensable duty of a Christian and a subject. Instead of listening to his humble prayer that he might be permitted to reside at Cyzicus or Nicomedia, the inflexible empress assigned for his exile the remote and desolate town of Cucusus, among the ridges of Mount Taurus, in the Leaser Armenia.

which begins with those famous words, is reported as spurious. Montfaucon, tom, xin, p. 151. Tillemont, Mém. Levies, tom, xi, p. 603. Montfaucon, tom, xin, p. 152. Tillemont, Mém. Levies, tom, xi, p. 603. Morting to the remarkable enough that it should be confirmed by Socrates, l. vi. c. 18, and the Paschal t bromely, p. 397. [Cp. Cod. Th. 16, p. 37.]

If It displays those specious motives (Post Redlum, c. 13, 14) in the language of an grater and a polyticals.

of an orator and a politician,

[#] See Socrates, 1 vi. c. 18. Sosomen, 1, vin. c. 20. Zosimus (l. v. p. 324, 327, 23, 24) mentions, in general terms, his invectives against Eudosia. The homily,

or to have part or to the to expensed from a position errors to the sec Car and grappy work The man a to all interpreters but the region that was the state of the spinoness of the same proceeding of sometime to the conprovided the second of the second of the second of the second ment of property on land could depresent their trees of tradeurs has so exceeded the opportunit of the Firm " mand a finew of the native was the target they provide the experience and good time proportions and was a lastings of the Part, who might would have been

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had been the enemies of Chrysostom, were gradually disposed, by the firmness of the itoman pontiff, to restore the honours of that venerable name. At the pious solicitation of the elergy and people of Constantinople, his relies, thirty years after his marritor death, were transported from their obscure sepulchre to the royal to Constant city. The emperor Theodosius advanced to receive them as far as Chalcedon; and, falling prostrate on the coffin, implored, in the name of his guilty parents, Areadus and Eudoxia, the

forgiveness of the injured saint.56

Yet a reasonable doubt may be entertained, whether any To-some stain of hereditary guilt could be derived from Arcadius to his AD successor. Eudoxia was a young and beautiful woman, who indulged her passions and despised her husband; count John enjoyed, at least, the familiar confidence of the empress; and the public named him as the real father of Theodosius the younger. The birth of a son was accepted, however, by the pions husband, as an event the most fortunate and honourable to himself, to his family, and to the eastern world; and the royal infant, by an unprecedented favour, was invested with the titles of Casar and Augustus. In less than four years afterwards, Eudoxia, in the bloom of youth, was destroyed by the consequences of a miscarriage; and this untimely death confounded the prophecy of a holy bishop,60 who, amidst the universal joy, had ventured

His name was inserted by his successor Atticus in the Diptychs of the church of Constantinople, A.D. 428. Ten years afterwards he was revered as a saint.

Cyril, who inherited the place, and the passions, of his uncle, Theophilus, yielded with much reluctance. See Facund, Herman, I. iv. c. 2. Tillemont, Mém. Eccies com. xiv. p. 277-283,

Formates, L. vi. c. 45. Theodoret, l. v. c. 36. This event reconciled the Jonnates, who had latherto refused to acknowledge his successors. During his histime the Jonannies were respected by the catholics as the true and orthodox communion of Constantinople. Their obstinacy gradually drove them to the brunk of scham

28 According to some accounts (Baronius, Annal, Eccles, A.D. 438, No. 9, 10) the emperor was forced to send a letter of invitation and escuses before the body of the ceremonious saint could be moved from Comma.

of the excentionious saint could be moved from Comma.

*** Zozimus, I. v. p. 315 [18]. The chastity of an empress should not be imprached without producing a witness; but it is astonishing that the witness should write and live under a prince whose legitimacy he doved to attack. We must suppose that his history was a party hisel, privately read and circulated by the l'agan. (For date of Zozimus see above, vol. ii. p. 538.) Thermont (Hat, des Empereus, tom. v. p. 783) is not averse to brand the reputation of Endoura.

Porphyry of Gam. His send was transported by the order which he had obtained for the destruction of eight Hagan temples of that city. See the curious details of his life (Baronins, a.D., 401, No. 77 (1), originally written in Grenk, or perhaps in Syriac, by a monk, one of his lavourite dessons. [The Greek text was first published by Haupt in the Abhandlungen of the Bertin Academy, 1874; and it has been re edited by the Soc. Philol. Rennenss Sociales, 1895. For an account of the visit of Porphyry to Constantinople, see Bury, Later Roman Empire, i. p. 200 kg.] Empire, L g. 200 kyy.]

to foretell that she should behold the long and auspicious reign of her glorious son. The catholics appliculed the justice of heaven, which avenged the persecution of St. Chrysostom; and perhaps the emperor was the only person who sincerely bewailed the loss of the haughty and rapacious Eudoxia. Such a domestic misfortune afflicted him more deeply than the public calamities of the East ; 61 the licentious excursions, from Pontus to Palestine, of the Isaurian robbers, whose impunity accused the weakness of the government; and the earthquakes, the conflagrations, the famine, and the flights of locusts, the which the popular discontent was equally disposed to attribute to the incapacity of the monarch. At length, in the thirty-first year of his age, after a reign (if we may abuse that word) of thirteen years, three months, and fifteen days. Areadius expired in the palace of Constantinople. It is impossible to delineate his character; since, in a period very copiously furnished with historical materials, it has not been possible to remark one action that properly belongs to the son of the great Theodosius.

The historian Procopius 08 has indeed illuminated the mind of the dying emperor with a ray of human prudence or celestial wisdom. Areadius considered, with anxious foresight, the helpless condition of his son Theodosius, who was no more than seven years of age, the dangerous factions of a minority, and the aspiring spirit of Jezdegerd, the Persian monarch. Instead of tempting the allegiance of an ambitious subject by the participation of supreme power, he boldly appealed to the magnanimity of a king; and placed, by a solemn testament, the sceptre of the East in the hands of Jezdegerd himself. The royal guardian accepted and discharged this honourable trust with unexampled fidelity; and the infancy of Theodosius was protected by the arms and councils of Persia. Such is the singular narrative of Procopius; and his veracity is not disputed by Agathias,64 while he presumes to dissent from his judgment and to arraign the wisdom of a Christian emperor, who so rashly, though so fortu-

[©] Philostorg, I. xl. c. 8, and Godefroy, Dissertat. p. 457.
© Jerom (tom. vi. p. 73, 76) describes, in lively colours, the regular and destructive march of the locusts, which spread a dark cloud, between heaven and carth, over the land of Palestine. Seasonable winds scattered them, partly into the Dead Sea, and partly into the Mediterraneau.

^{**} Procopius, de Bell, Persie, l. l. c. s., p. 8, edit. Louvre.

** Aguthian, l. iv p. 136, 137[e. 36]. Although he confesses the prevalence of the tradition, he asserts that Procopius was the first who had committed it to writing. Tolemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 597) argues very sensibly on the merits of this fable. His or heisin was not warped by any reclesiant cal authority; both Procopus and Agathas are half Pagans. [The whole tone of Agathas in regard to the story is sceptical.]

nately, committed his son and his dominions to the unknown faith of a stranger, a rival, and a heathen. At the distance of one hundred and fifty years, this political question might be debated in the court of Justinian; but a prudent historian will refuse to examine the propriety, till he has ascertained the truth, of the testament of Arcadius. As it stands without a parallel in the history of the world, we may justly require that it should be attested by the positive and unanimous evidence of contemporanes. The strange nevelty of the event, which excites our distrust, must have attracted their notice; and their universal silence annihilates the vain tradition of the succeeding age.

The maxims of Roman jurisprudence, if they could fairly be seen transferred from private property to public dominion, would we have adjudged to the emperor Honorius the guardianship of his nephew, till he had attained, at least, the fourteenth year of his age. But the weakness of Honorius and the calamities of his reign disqualified him from prosecuting this natural claim; and such was the absolute separation of the two monarchies, both in interest and affection, that Constantinople would have obeyed with less reluctance the orders of the Persian, than those of the Italian, court. Under a prince whose weakness is disguised by the external signs of manhood and discretion the most worthless favountes may secretly dispute the empire of the palace, and dictate to submissive provinces the commands of a master whom they direct and despise. But the ministers of a child who is incapable of arming them with the sanction of the royal name must acquire and exercise an independent authority. The great officers of the state and army, who had been appointed before the death of Arcadius, formed an aristocracy, which might have inspired them with the idea of a free republic; and the government of the eastern empire was fortunately assumed by the prefect Anthemius. who obtained, by his superior abilities, a lasting ascendant over the minds of his equals. The safety of the young emperor proved the merit and integrity of Anthemius; and his prudent firmness sustained the force and reputation of an infant reign. Uldm, with a formidable host of Barbarians, was encamped in the heart of Thrace: he proudly rejected all terms of accommodation; and, pointing to the rising sun,

Socr, I, vii, c. r. Anthemus was the grandson of Philip, one of the ministers of Constantius, and the grandfather of the emperor Anthemus. After his return from the Persian embassy, he was appointed consul and Protorian proefect of the East in the year 405; and held the proefecture about ten years. See his bonours and praises in Godefroy, Cod. Theod. tom. vi. p. 350. Tillemont, Hat. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 1, &c.,

Francisco Property and o he see it come to the d CONTRACTOR OF STREET work and to growing the Buttern the sand minerals of his heather of not time, and a the same of America. I wan a market of states of statement on the has of continues, and take continuency About my of 7 whom " The Taket see. In her defeat Arreston and Martin, was a from world, as the extreme exhat of hereign a of the charge and project the three cases hadrowers they strained to first, and the Witness true was married on a taking of great an a finance . I is to see each for it was

they publicly offered in the great church of Constantinople, Their palace was converted into a monastery; and all males, except the guides of their conscience, the saints who had forgotten the distinction of sexes, were scrupulously excluded from the holy threshold. Pulcheria, her two sisters, and a chosen train of favourite damsels formed a religious community: they renounced the vanity of dress; interrupted, by frequent fasts, their simple and frugal diet; allotted a portion of their time to works of embroidery; and devoted several hours of the day and night to the exercises of prayer and psalmody. The piety of a Christian virgin was adorned by the seal and liberality of an empress. Ecclesiastical history describes the splendid churches which were built at the expense of Pulcheria, in all the provinces of the East ; her charitable foundations for the benefit of strangers and the poor; the ample donations which she assigned for the perpetual maintenance of monastic societies; and the active severity with which she laboured to suppress the opposite heremes of Nestorius and Eutyches. Such virtues were supposed to deserve the peculiar favour of the Deity; and the relies of martyrs, as well as the knowledge of future events, were communicated in visions and revelations to the Imperial saint. 71 Yet the devotion of Pulcheria never diverted her indefatigable attention from temporal affairs; and she alone, among all the descendants of the great Theodosius, appears to have inherited any share of his manly spirit and abilities. The elegant and familiar use which she had acquired both of the Greek and Latin languages was readily applied to the various occasions of speaking or writing on public business; her deliberations were maturely weighed; her actions were prompt and decisive; and, while she moved, without noise or astentation, the wheel of government, she discreetly attributed to the genius of the emperor the long tranquillity of his reign. In the last years of his peaceful life Europe was indeed afflicted by the arms of Attila; but the more extensive provinces of Asia still continued to enjoy a profound and permanent repose. Theodosius the younger was never reduced to the disgraceful necessity of

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The was admonished, by repeated dreams, of the place where the relies of the forty martyrs had been buried. The ground had successively belonged to the house and garden of a woman of Constantinople, to a monastery of Macedonian monks, and to a church of 5t. Thyrsus, erected by Casarius, who was consult. A to 397, and the memory of the relies was almost obliterated. Notwithstanding the charitable wishes of Dr. Joria (Remarks, tom. iv. p. 234) it is not easy to acquit Pulcheria of some share in the pious fraud, which must have been transacted when also was more than five and thety years of age.

encountering and punishing a rebellious subject; and, since we cannot applied the vigour, some praise may be due to the mid-

ness and prosperity, of the administration of Pulcheria.

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The Roman world was deeply interested in the education of its master. A regular course of study and exercise was judicioust instituted; of the military exercises of riding and shooting with the bow; of the liberal studies of grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy; the most skilful masters of the East ambitiously solicited the attention of their royal pupil; and several noble youths were introduced into the palace, to animate his diligence by the emulation of friendship. Pulcheria alone discharged the important task of instructing her brother in the arts of government; but her precepts may countenance some suspicion of the extent of her capacity or of the punty of her intentions. taught him to maintain a grave and majestic deportment; to walk, to hold his robes, to seat himself on his throne, in a manner worthy of a great prince; to abstain from laughter; to listen with condescension; to return suitable answers; to assume, by turns, a serious or a placid countenance; in a word, to represent with grace and dignity the external figure of a Roman emperor. But Theodosius 12 was never excited to support the weight and glory of an illustrious name; and, instead of aspiring to imitate his ancestors, he degenerated (if we may presume to measure the degrees of meapacity) below the weakness of his father and his uncle. Arcadius and Honorius had been assisted by the guardian care of a parent whose lessons were enforced by his authority and example. But the unfortunate prince who is born in the purple must remain a stranger to the voice of truth; and the son of Arcadius was condemned to pass his perpetual infancy, encompassed only by a servile train of women and eunuchs. The ample leisure, which he acquired by neglecting the essential duties of his high office, was filled by idle amusements and unprofitable studies. Hunting was the only active pursuit that could tempt him beyond the limits of the palace; but he most assiduously laboured, sometimes by the light of a midnight lamp,

There is a remarkable difference between the two collesiastical historians, who in general bear so close a resemblance. Sozomen (l. i.e. c. t) ascribes to Philoheria the government of the empire and the education of her brother; whom he scarcely condexends to passe. Socrates, though he affectedly disclaims all hopes of factour or fame composes an elaborate panegaric on the emperor, and cautiously suppresses the ments of his aster (l. iii c. zz. 42). Philosorgius (l. iii c. z) expresses the influence of Pulcheria in gentle and countly language, who cautiously account variationary and discourage. Similar dispensation of the composition of the compositio

in the mechanic occupations of painting and carving; and the elegance with which he transcribed religious books entitled the Roman emperor to the singular epithet of Calligraphes, or a fair writer. Separated from the world by an impenetrable veil, Theodosius trusted the persons whom he loved; he loved those who were accustomed to amuse and flatter his indolence; and, as he never perused the papers that were presented for the royal signature, the acts of mjustice the most repugnant to his character were frequently perpetrated in his name. emperor himself was chaste, temperate, liberal, and increiful; but these qualities, which can only deserve the name of virtues when they are supported by courage and regulated by discretion. were seldom beneficial, and they sometimes proved mischievous, to mankind. His mind, enervated by a royal education, was oppressed and degraded by abject superstition; he fasted, he sung psalms, he blindly accepted the minutes and doctrines with which his faith was continually nourished. Theodosius devoutly worshipped the dead and living saints of the Catholic church; and he once refused to eat, till an insolent monk, who had cast an excommunication on his sovereign, condescended to heal the spiritual wound which he had inflicted.78

The story of a fair and virtuous maiden, exalted from a marseter private condition to the Imperial throne, might be deemed an the and incredible romance, if such a romance had not been verified in the the marriage of Theodosius. The celebrated Athenais 14 was educated by her father Leontius in the religion and sciences of the Greeks; and so advantageous was the opinion which the Athenian philosopher entertained of his contemporaries, that he divided his patrimony between his two sons, bequeathing to his daughter a small legacy of one hundred pieces of gold, in the lively confidence that her beauty and ment would be a sufficient portion. The jealousy and avarice of her brothers

33 Theodoret, I. v. c. 37. The bishop of Cytrbus, one of the first men of his age for his learning and piety, applicant the obedience of Theodosius to the divine.

laws.

16 Socrates (l. via c. 21) mentions her name (Athenais, the daughter of Lecations, an Athenian sophist, her biquism, marrage, and poetical genius. The most ancient account of her history is in John Malaia (part h. p. 20, 21, edit. Venet. 1743), and in the Paschial Chronicle (p. 312-313). Those authors had probably seen original pictures of the empress Eudocis. The modern Greeks, Zonaoas, Cedrenus, see have displayed the love, rather than the talent, of fiction. From Nicephonis, indeed, I have ventured to assume her age. The writer of a romance would not have resogned that Athenais was near twenty-eight years old when she inflamed the heart of a young empetor. [Her story has been told agreeably by Gregorovius in his Athenais (ed. 3, 1892). The same empress is the subject of monograph by W. Wiegand. Eudocia, 1871.

soon compelled Athenais to seek a refuge at Constantinople; and with some hopes, either of justice or favour, to throw her-self at the feet of Pulcheria. That sagacious princess listened to her eloquentl complaint; and secretly destined the daughter of the philosopher Leontius for the future wife of the emperor of the East, who had now attained the twentieth year of his age. She easily excited the curiosity of her brother by an interesting picture of the charms of Athenais; large eyes, a well-proportioned nose, a fair complexion, golden locks, a slender person, a graceful demeanour, an understanding improved by study, and a virtue tried by distress. Theodosius, concealed behind a curtain in the apartment of his sister, was permitted to behold the Athenian virgin; the modest youth immediately declared his pure and honourable love; and the royal nuptuals were celebrated amidst the acclamations of the capital and the provinces. Athenais, who was easily persuaded to renounce the errors of Paganism, received at her baptism the Christian name of Endocia; but the cautious Pulcheria withheld the title of Augusta, till the wife of Theodosius had approved her fruitfulness by the birth of a daughter, who esponsed, fifteen years afterwards, the emperor of the West. The brothers of Eudocia obeyed, with some anxiety, her Imperial summons; but, as she could easily forgive their fortunate unkindness, she included the tenderness, or perhaps the vanity, of a sister by promoting them to the rank of consuls and prefects. In the luxury of the palace, she still cultivated those ingenuous arts which had contributed to her greatness; and wisely dedicated her talents to the honour of religion and of her husband. Eudocia composed a poetical paraphrase of the first eight books of the old Testament, and of the prophecies of Daniel and Zachanah; a cento of the verses of Homer, applied to the life and miracles of Christ; the legend of St. Cyprian, and a panegyne on the Persian victories of Theodosius; and her writings, which were applauded by a servile and superstitious age, have not been disdained by the candour of impartial criticism.73 The fondness of the emperor was not abated by time and possession; and Eudocia, after the

⁷⁹ Sociates, i. via. c. at., Photous, p. 413-420. The Homeric cento is still extant, and has been repeatedly printed but the claim of Eudocia to that insipid performance is disputed by the critica. See Fabricus, lib toth. Give. tom. c. p. 357. The losse, a miscellaneous detenoisty of history and fable, was compiled by another empress of the name of Eudocia, who lived in the eleventh century, and the work is still extant in manuscript. [The locus has been edited by if Flach. The works of the earlier Eudocia have been recently published by A. Ludwich, 1893.]

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parriage of her daughter, was permitted to discharge her grateful vows by a solemn progress to Jerusalem. Her batentatious progress through the East may seem inconsistent with the spirit of Christian humility; she pronounced, from throne of gold and gems, an eloquent oration to the senate of Antioch, declared her royal intention of enlarging the walls of the city, bestowed a donative of two hundred pounds of gold to restore the public baths, and accepted the statues which were decreed by the gratitude of Antioch. In the Holy Land, her alms and pious foundations exceeded the munificence of the reat Helena; and, though the public treasure might be impoverished by this excessive liberality, she enjoyed the concious satisfaction of returning to Constantinople with the chains of St. Peter, the right arm of St. Stephen, and an uncloubted picture of the Virgin, painted by St Luke. 16 this pilgrimage was the fatal term of the glories of Eudocia, Satisted with empty pomp, and unmindful, perhaps, of her obligations to Pulcheria, she ambitiously aspired to the government of the Eastern empire; the palace was distracted by semale discord; but the victory was at last decided by the superior ascendant of the sister of Theodosius. The execution of Paulinus, master of the offices, and the disgrace of Cyrus, Pretorun prefect of the East, convinced the public that the savour of Eudocia was insufficient to protect her most faithful friends; and the uncommon beauty of Paulinus encouraged the secret rumour that his guilt was that of a successful lover.77 As soon as the empress perceived that the affection of Theodotius was irretnevably lost, she requested the permission of retiring to the distant solitude of Jerusalem. She obtained her request; but the jealousy of Theodosius, or the vindictive spirit of Pulcheria, pursued her in her last retreat; and Saturninus, count of the domestics, was directed to punish with death two ecclesiastics, her most favoured servants. instantly revenged them by the assassination of the count; the furnous passions, which she indulged on this suspicious occasion, seemed to justify the severity of Theodosius; and the empress,

^{**}Baronius (Annal Eccles. A D. 438, 439) is (comous and florid), but he is necessed of placing the lies of different ages on the same level of authenticity. If in this short new of the diagrace of Eudocaa, I have impared the causion of Eugenius (i, i, c, 21) and count Microlinius (in Chron. A D. 440 and 444). The two authentic dates—as gived by the latter overturn a great part of the Greek factions, and the celebrated story of the applic, Sc. is in only for the Arabana. Nights, where something not very unlike it may be found.

ignominiously stript of the honours of her rank,78 was disgraced, perhaps unjustly, in the eyes of the world. The remainder of the life of Endocia, about sixteen years, was spent in exile and devotion; and the approach of age, the death of Theodosius, the misfortunes of her only daughter, who was led a captor from Home to Carthage, and the society of the Holy Monks of Palestine, insensibly confirmed the religious temper of her mind. After a full experience of the vicissitudes of human life, the daughter of the philosopher Leontius expired at Jerusalem, in the sixty-seventh year of her age; protesting, with her dying breath, that she had never transgressed the bounds of innocence and friendship. 79

The gentle mind of Theodosius was never inflamed by the ambition of conquest or military renown; and the slight alarm of a Persian war scarcely interrupted the tranquility of the East. The motives of this war were just and honourable. In the last year of the reign of Jezdegerd, the supposed guardian of Theodosius, a bishop, who aspired to the crown of martyrdom, destroyed one of the fire temples of Susa. 80 His zeal and obstinacy were revenged on his brethren; the Magi excited a cruel persecution; and the intolerant zeal of Jexdegerd was imitated by his son Vararanes, or Bahram, who soon afterwards ascended the throne. Some Christian fugitives, who escaped to the Roman frontier, were sternly demanded and generously refused; and the refusal, aggravated by commercial disputes, soon kindled a war between the rival monarchies. The mountains of Armenia and the plains of Mesopotamia were filled with hostile armies; but the operations of two successive cam paigns were not productive of any decisive or memorable events. Some engagements were fought, some towns were besieged, with various and doubtful success; and, if the Romans failed

79 Priseus (in Emerpt, Legat, p. 69 [Müller, F. H. G. iv. p. 94], a contemporary, and a courtier, dryly mentions her Pagan and Christian names, without adding any title of honour or respect

out dating any order is considered respect.

The the two pilgramages of Fudocia, and her long residence at Jerusalem, her devotion, alms, &c., see Sociates (I vii. c. 47), and Evagruis (I. I. c. 20, 21, 22). The Paschal Chromele may sometimes deserve regard, and, in the domestic history of Antioch, John Malala becomes a writer of good authority. The Abbe Guenée, ma Memoir on the fertility of Palestine, of which I have only seen an extract, calculates the gifts of Eudocia at 20,488 pounds of gold, above 800,000 pounds sterling

Theodoret I. v. c. 39. Tidemont Mem Recles. tom. xn. p. 356-364.

Assemanni, Bibliot. Oriental tom. i. p. 356, tom. iv. p. 61. Theodoret blames the rashness of Abdas, but extols the constancy of his martyrdom. Yet I do not clearly understand the ensuistry which probabits our repairing the damage which

we have unlawfully committed.



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in their attempt to recover the long lost possession of Nisibis, the Persians were repulsed from the walls of a Mesopotamian city by the valour of a martial bishop, who pointed his thundering engine in the name of St. Thomas the Apostle. Yet the splendid victories, which the incredible speed of the messenger Palladius repeatedly announced to the palace of Constantinople, were celebrated with festivals and panegyrica. From these panegyrics the historians 41 of the age might borrow their extraordinary and, perhaps, fabulous tales; of the proud challenge of a Persian hero, who was entangled by the net, and dispatched by the sword, of Areobindus the Goth; of the ten thousand Immortals, who were slain in the attack of the Roman camp; and of the hundred thousand Arabs, or Saracens, who were impelled by a panic of terror to throw themselves headlong into the Euphrates. Such events may be disbeheved or disregarded; but the charity of a bishop, Acadius of Amida, whose name might have dignified the saintly calendar, shall not be lost in oblivion. Boldly declaring that vases of gold and silver are useless to a God who neither eats nor drinks, the generous prelate sold the plate of the church of Amida; emplayed the price in the redemption of seven thousand Persian captives; supplied their wants with affectionate liberality; and dismissed them to their native country, to inform the king of the true spirit of the religion which he persecuted. The practice of benevolence in the midst of war must always tend to assuage the animosity of contending nations; and I wish to persuade myself that Acacius contributed to the restoration of peace. In the conference which was held on the limits of the two empires, the Roman ambassadors degraded the personal character of their sovereign by a vain attempt to magnify the extent of his power; when they seriously advised the Persians to prevent, by a timely accommodation, the wrath of a monarch who was yet ignorant of this distant war. A truce of one hundred years was solemnly ratified; and, although the revolutions of Armenia might threaten the public tranquility, the essential conditions of this treaty were respected near fourscore years by the successors of Constantine and Artaxerxes.

Since the Roman and Parthian standards first encountered on arment the banks of the Euphrates, the kingdom of Armenia 22 was toront

Armenia divided between the Persians and the Semans

may alternite (I. vi. c. 18, 19, 20, 21) is the best author for the Persian war. We may alternite consult the three Chromoles the Paschal, and those of Marcellinus and Maiala. [For the succession of the Persian kings, see Appendix c.]

This account of the run and disasson of the long form of Armenia is taken from the third book of the Armenian history of Moses of Chorene. Deficient as

alternately oppressed by its formidable protectors; and, in the course of this History, several events, which inclined the balance of peace and war, have been already related. A disgraceful treaty had resigned Armenia to the ambition of Sapor; and the scale of Persia appeared to preponderate. But the royal race of Arsaces impatiently submitted to the house of Sassan; the turbulent nobles asserted or betrayed their hereditary independence; and the nation was still attached to the Christian princes In the beginning of the fifth century, Arof Constantinople. menia was divided by the progress of war and faction; is and the unnatural division precipitated the downfall of that ancient Chosroes, the Persian vassal, reigned over the monarchy. Eastern and most extensive portion of the country; while the Western province acknowledged the jurisdiction of Arsaces and the supremacy of the emperor Arcadius. After the death of Arsaces, the Romans suppressed the regal government and imposed on their allies the condition of subjects. The military command was delegated to the count of the Armenian frontier; the city of Theodosiopolis 64 was built and fortified in a strong ntuation, on a fertile and lofty ground near the sources of the Euphrates; and the dependent territories were ruled by five satraps, whose dignity was marked by a peculiar habit of gold and purple. The less fortunate nobles, who lamented the loss of their king and envied the honours of their equals, were provoked to negotiate their peace and pardon at the Persian court; and, returning, with their followers, to the palace of Artaxata, acknowledged Choscoes for their lawful sovereign. About thirty years afterwards, Artasires, the nephew and successor of Chosroes, fell under the displeasure of the haughty and coprierous nobles of Armenia; and they unanimously desired a Persian governor in the room of an unworthy king. The answer of the

he is of every qualification of a good historian, his local information, his passions, and his prejudices are strongly expressive of a native and contemponary. Procopula (de Edifici s, l. zui, e. t. 5) relates the same facts in a very different manner,

In have extracted the curcumstances the most probable in themselves and the least inconsistent with Moses of Chorene. [For the dvision of Armena see Append a 26]

The western Armenans used the Greek language and characters in their religious offices, but the use of that hostile tongue was prohibited by the Fersans in the eastern provinces, which were obliged to use the Syriac till the invention of the Armenan latters by Metrobes in the beginning of the fifth century and the subanquent version of the Bible into the Armenan language an event which relaxed the connexion of the church and nation with Constantinople.

Moses Choten, I. in c. 59, p. 309, and p. 358. Procupius, de Aedifiens, I. in. Theodoxiopolis stands, or rather stood, about thirty five initia to the east of Arteroum, the modern capital of Turkish Armenia. See d'Anville George phie Ancienne, toin ii. p. 99, 100. [See Ramsny, Asia Minoi p. 305 note. Theodestopolis = Kamacha Ana.

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archbishop Isaac, whose sanction they earnestly solicited, is ex-usual pressive of the character of a superstitious people. He deplored the manifest and inexcusable vices of Artasires; and declared that he should not hesitate to accuse him before the tribunal of a Christian emperor who would punish, without destroying, the sinner. "Our king," continued Isaac, " is too much addicted to licentious pleasures, but he has been purified in the holy waters of baptism. He is a lover of women, but he does not adore the fire or the elements. He may deserve the reproach of lewdness, but he is an undoubted Catholic; and his faith is pure, though his manners are flagitious. I will never consent to abandon my sheep to the rage of devouring wolves; and you would soon repent your rash exchange of the infirmities of a believer for the specious virtues of an heathen." 85 Exasperated by the firmness of Isaac, the factious nobles accused both the king and the archbishop as the secret adherents of the emperor; and absurdly rejoiced in the sentence of condemnation, which, after a partial hearing, was solemnly pronounced by Bahram himself. descendants of Arsaces were degraded from the royal dignity, 86 which they had possessed above five hundred and sixty years, 57 [100] and the dominions of the unfortunate Artasires, under the new and significant appellation of Persarmenia, were reduced into the form of a province. This usurpation excited the jealousy of [c. AD 40] the Roman government; but the rising disputes were soon terminated by an amicable, though unequal, partition of the ancient kingdom of Armenia; and a territorial acquisition, which Augustus might have despised, reflected some lustre on the dechning empire of the younger Theodosius.

Moses Choren, I, iil, c. 63, p. 336. According to the institution of St. Geograp the aposte of Armenia, the archinshop was always of the royal family, a circumstance which, in some degree, corrected the influence of the sacerdotal character, and united the mire with the crown.

character, and united the matre with the crown.

**A branch of the royal house of Armona still subsisted with the rank and possessions (as it should seem) of Armonan satraps. See Moses Choren is no.

c. 65 p. 321

of Valarsaces was appointed king of Armenia by his brother the Parthian monarch, immediately after the defeat of Antiochus Sidetes (Moses Cheren I. n. c. n. p. 85), one hundred and thirty years before Christ. Without depending on the various and contraductory periods of the reigns of the last kings, we may be assured that the ruin of the Armenian kingdom happened after the council of Chalcodon, A.D. 432 (I. in. c. 61, p. 343), and under Verainus or Bahman, king of Persa (I. in. c. 64, p. 312), who reigned from a to 420 to 440 [see Appandix 25]. See Assemann, Bibliot. Oriental, tom. in. p. 396.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Death of Honorius - Valentinian III. Emperor of the West-Mministration of his Mother Placedia—Actus and Bomface— Conquest of Africa by the Vandala

Link Pedde and Arath II Reine (Un. A D 425, August (II

Di nino a long and disgraceful reign of twenty-eight year, Honorius, emperor of the West, was separated from the friendship of his brother, and afterwards of his nephew, who reigned over the East; and Constantinople beheld, with apparent indiference and secret juy, the calamities of Rome. The strange adventures of Placidia 1 gradually renewed and comented the alliance of the two empires. The daughter of the great Theodocus had been the captive and the queen of the Goths; she lost an affectionate husband; she was dragged in chains by his moulting assassin; she tasted the pleasure of revenge, and was exchanged, in the treaty of peace, for six hundred thousand measures of wheat. After her return from Spain to Italy, Placidia experienced a new persecution in the bosom of her family. She was averse to a marriage which had been stipulated without her consent; and the brave Constantius, as a noble reward for the tyrants whom he had vanquished, received, from the hand of Honorius himself, the struggling and reluctant hand of the widow of Adolphus. But her resistance ended with the ceremony of the nuptials; nor did Placidia refuse to become the mother of Honoria and Valentinian the Third, or to assume and exercise an absolute dominion over the mind of her grateful husband. The generous soldier, whose time had hitherto been divided between social pleasure and military service, was taught new lessons of avance and ambition; he extorted the title of Augustus; and the servant of Honorius was associated to the empire of the West. The ileath of Constantius, in the seventh month of his reign, instead of diminishing, seemed to increase, the power of Placidia; and the indecent familiarity? of her

[AR 40]

(A.D. off)

² See p. 334-148.
2 To overly early evine \$434aars, is the expression of Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 107 [fr. 40]], who means, perhaps, to describe the same curesses which

brother, which might be no more than the symptoms of a childish affection, were a universally attributed to incestuous love. On a sudden, by some base intrigues of a steward and a nume, this excessive fondness was converted into an irreconcileable quarrel; the debates of the emperor and his sister were not long confined within the walls of the palace; and, as the Gothic soldiers adhered to their queen, the city of Ravenna was agitated with bloody and dangerous tumults, which could only be appeased by the forced or voluntary retreat of Placidia and her children. The royal exiles landed at Constantinople, soon after the marriage of Theodosius, during the festival of the Persian victories. They were treated with kindness and magnificence; but, as the statues of the emperor Constantius had been rejected by the Eastern court, the title of Augusta could not decently be allowed to his widow. Within a few months after the arrival of Placidia, a swift messenger announced the death of Honorius, the consequence of a dropsy; but the important secret was not divulged, till the necessary orders had been dispatched for the march of a large body of troops to the sea-coast of Dalmatia. The shops and the gates of Constantinople remained shut during seven days; and the loss of a foreign prince, who could neither be esteemed nor regretted, was celebrated with loud and affected demonstrations of the public grief.

While the ministers of Constantinople deliberated, the vacant Because and throne of Honorius was usurped by the ambition of a stranger. The name of the rebel was John; he filled the confidential office of Prinicerius, or principal secretary; and history has attributed to his character more virtues than can easily be reconciled with the violation of the most sacred duty. the submission of Italy and the hope of an alliance with the Huns, John presumed to insult, by an embassy, the majesty of the Eastern emperor; but, when he understood that his agents had been bamshed, imprisoned, and at length chased away with deserved ignominy, John prepared to assert, by arms, the injustice of his claims. In such a cause, the grandson of the great Theodosus should have marched in person; but the young emperor was easily diverted, by his physicians, from so rash and hazardous a design; and the conduct of the Italian expedition was pri-

Mahomet bestowed on his daughter Phatemah. Quando (says the prophet hunself) quando subit min devider um Paradisi, osculor rain et ingero linguam meam in or eyas. But this sensual indulgence was justified by mirricle and misstery, and the specified has been communicated to the public by the Reverend Father Maracon in his Version and Confutation of the Koran tom , p. 32

[Symptoms in the relative clause seems to have caused the irregular plural.]

dently entrusted to Ardaburius and his son Aspar, who has already signalized their valour against the Persians. It we resolved that Ardaburius should embark with the infantri whilst Aspar, at the head of the cavalry, conducted Placedand her son Valentiman along the sea-coast of the Hadrus. The march of the cavalry was performed with such active digence that they surprised, without resistance, the importacity of Aquileia; when the hopes of Aspar were unexpectedconfounded by the intelligence that a storm had dispersed the Imperial fleet; and that his father, with only two galleys, we taken and carried a prisoner into the port of Ravenna, this incident, unfortunate as it might seem, facilitated the exquest of Italy. Ardabunus employed, or abused, the courtece freedom which he was permitted to enjoy, to revive among the troops a sense of loyalty and gratitude; and, as soon as the coo spiracy was ripe for execution, he invited, by private measure and pressed the approach of, Aspar. A shepherd, whom the popular credulity transformed into an angel, guided the Eastercavalry, by a secret and, it was thought, an impassable road through the morasses of the Po; the gates of Ravenna, after a short struggle, were thrown open; and the defenceless tyrant was delivered to the mercy, or rather to the cruelty, of the conquerors. His right hand was first cut off; and, after he had been exposed, mounted on an ass, to the public dension, John was beheaded in the circus of Aquileia. The emperor Theodosius, when he received the news of the victory, interrupted the horse-races; and, singing, as he marched through the street, a suitable psalm, conducted his people from the Hippodrome to the church, where he spent the remainder of the day in grateful devotion.

TalenMates III empetur of the Work A.D. 120-100 In a monarchy, which, according to various precedents, might be considered as elective, or hereditary, or patrimonial, it was impossible that the intricate claims of female and collateral succession should be clearly defined; and Theodosius, by the right of consanguinity or conquest, might have reigned the sole

For these revolutions of the Western Empire, consult Olympioder apud Phot. p. 193, 196, 197, 200 [fr. 41, 44, 45, 46]. Notemen, I. A., C. 16. Sournes, I. a., 23, 24. Philostory Br. I. An. C. 10, 11, and Godefroy, Describing the Procopius, de Bell, Varial, I. a. C. 3, p. 182, 183. Theophanes, in Chronograph. p. 72, 73, and the Chronales.

*See Grouns de Jure Belli et Paeus, I. a. c. 7. He has Informally, but vanily,

See Grouns de Jure Belli et Paens, l. it, c. 7 He has laboriously, but vainly, attempted to form a reasonable system of insprudence, from the various and discordant modes of royal succession, which have been introduced by fraud or

force, by time or accident,

legitimate emperor of the Romans. For a moment, perhaps, his eyes were dazzled by the prospect of unbounded sway; but his indolent temper gradually acquiesced in the dictates of sound policy. He contented himself with the possession of the East; and wisely relinquished the laborious task of waging a distant and doubtful war against the Barbarians beyond the Alps; or of becuring the obedience of the Italians and Africans, whose minds were alienated by the irreconcileable difference of language and interest. Instead of listening to the voice of ambition, Theodosius resolved to imitate the moderation of his grandfuther, and to seat his cousin Valentinian on the throne of the West. The royal infant was distinguished at Constantinople by the title of Aohilismus; he was promoted, before his departure from Thessalonica, to the rank and diginty of Casar; and, after the conquest of Italy, the patrician Helion, by the authority of Theodosius, and in the presence of the senate, saluted Valentiman the Third by the name of Augustus, and solemnly invested him with the diadem and the Imperial purple. By the agreement of the three females who governed the Roman world, the son of Placidia was betrothed to Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius and Athenais; and, as soon as the lover and his bride had attained the age of puberty, this honourable alhance was faithfully accomplished. At the same time, as a compenastion, perhaps, for the expenses of the war, the Western Illyricum was detached from the Italian dominions and yielded to the throne of Constantinople. The emperor of the East acquired the useful dominion of the rich and maritime province of Dalmatia, and the dangerous sovereignty of Pannonia and Noncum, which had been filled and ravaged above twenty years by a promisenous crowd of Huns, Ostrogoths, Vandals, and Bavarians. Theodosius and Valentinian continued to respect the obligations of their public and domestic alliance; but the unity of the Roman government was finally dissolved. By a positive declaration, the validity of all future laws was limited to the dominions of their peculiar author; unless he should think proper to com-

³ The original writers are not agreed (see Muratori, Annali d'Italia, Iom. iv. p. 130) whether Valentinian received the Imperial diadem at Rome or Rassma. In this uncertainty, I am willing to believe that some respect was shown to the senate.

The Count de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe tom, vii. p. 202-300) has established the reslity, explained the motives, and traced the consequences of this remarkable cession. [Cp. Appendix 14-]

municate them, subscribed with his own hand, for the approba-

tion of his independent colleague.7

Valentiman, when he received the title of Augustus, was no more than six years of age; and his long minority was intrusted to the guardian care of a mother, who might assert a female claim to the succession of the Western Empire. Placedia envied. but she could not equal, the reputation and virtues of the wife and sister of Theodosius - the elegant genius of Eudocia, the wise and successful policy of Pulcheris The mother of Valentinian was jealous of the power, which she was incapable of exercising; s she reigned twenty-five years, in the name of her son; and the character of that unworthy emperor gradually countenanced the suspicion that Placidia had enervated his youth by a dissolute education and studiously diverted his attention from every manly and honourable pursuit. Armidst the decay of military spirit, her armics were commanded by two generals, Actius and Boniface, to who may be deservedly named as the last of the Romans. Their union might have supported a sinking empire; their discord was the fatal and immediate cause of the loss of Africa. The invasion and defeat of Attila has immortalized the fame of Actius; and, though time has thrown a shade over the exploits of his rival, the defence of Marseilles and the deliverance of Africa 11 attest

(A.D. 627) FA.D. CHIL

7 See the first Newl of Theodosius, by which he ratifies and communicates (A.D. 4.8) the Theodosius Code. About furty years before that time, the quint of legislation had been proved by an exception. The Jews, who were numerous of the crites of Apulia and Calabria, produced a law of the East to justly their emption from municipal offices (Cod. Theod. I. xv. tit. via leg. 13), and the Western emperor was obliged to invalidate by a special edict the law, quain constat mets partibus esse damnosam. Cod. Theod. I. a., [leg. vii.]. Ith. 1.

leg. 158.

⁸ Cassiodorius (Varior, l. m. epist i, p. 238) has compared the regencies of Placidia and Amalasunthic. He arraigns the weakness of the mother of Valen finian, and praises the virtues of his royal mostress. On this occasion flattery seems

to have spoken the language of truth.

Physicises the language of truth.

Physicises the language of truth.

Physicises the language of truth.

Renatus Fragendus, apid Gregor. Furon 1 in c. 8, in tom u. p. 163. The father of Actus was Gaudentus an masterous citizen of the prosince of Scythia and master general of the casalry, his mother was a rich and mable Italian From h s earbest youth, Actus, as a soldier and a hostage, had conversed with the Harbarians.

10 For the character of Boniface, see Olymp odorus, apinf Phot. p. 196 ff. H.G. iv. fr. 42], and St. Augustin apind Indemons Memories Eccles from xii. p. 722-715 886. The bishop of H.ppo at length deplaced the fall of his friend, who after a x lemn you of character had married a second wife of the Aman sect.

and who was suspected of keeping several concubines in his house.

21 [From the invasions of Moorish tribes; he went to Africa from Spain in 422 A.D., without a regular commission.]

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military talents of Count Boniface. In the field of battle. artial encounters, in single combats, he was still the terror of Barbarians; the clergy, and particularly his friend Augustin. edified by the Christian picty which had once tempted to retire from the world; the people applauded his spotless grity; the army dreaded his equal and inexorable justice, ch may be displayed in a very singular example. A peasant, o complained of the criminal intimacy between his wife and othic soldier, was directed to attend his tribunal the followday; in the evening the count, who had diligently informed reself of the time and place of the assignation, mounted his se, rode ten miles into the country, surprised the guilty Sple, punished the soldier with instant death, and silenced complaints of the husband by presenting him, the next rning, with the head of the adulterer. The abilities of Atrus and Boniface might have been usefully employed against e public enemies, in separate and important commands; but e expenence of their past conduct should have decided the a) favour and confidence of the empress Placidia. In the elancholy season of her exile and distress, Boniface alone had untained her cause with unshaken fidelity; and the troops d treasures of Africa had essentially contributed to extinguish e rebellion. The same rebellion had been supported by the al and activity of Actius, who brought an army of sixty lousand Huns from the Danube to the confines of Italy, for the evice of the usurper. The untimely death of John compelled hm to accept an advantageous treaty; but he still continued, e subject and the soldier of Valentinian, to entertain a secret, erhaps a treasonable, correspondence with his Barbarian allies, hose retreat had been purchased by liberal gifts and more beral promises. But Actius possessed an advantage of singular loment in a female reign he was present; he besieged, with aful and assiduous flattery, the palace of Ravenna; diaguised in dark designs with the mask of loyalty and friendship; and length deceived both his mistress and his absent rival by a ibtle conspiracy, which a weak woman and a brave man could pt easily suspect. He secretly persuaded 12 Placidia to recal any puriface from the government of Africa; he secretly advised nemani

¹⁹ Processes (de Bell, Vandal, I. s. c. 3, 4, p. 182-186) relates the fraud of struct the revolts of Boniface, and the loss of Africa. This invectore which is apported by some collateral testimony (see Russett, Hist Persecut Vandal p. 10, 421) seems agreeable to the practice of ancient and modern courts, and would naturally revealed by the repentance of Boniface.

Boniface to disobey the Imperial summons: to the one he represented the order as a sentence of death; to the other he stated the refusal as a signal of revolt; and, when the credulous and unsuspectful count had armed the province in his defence, Actius applauded his sugacity in foreseeing the rebellion which his own perfidy had excited. A temperate inquiry into the real motives of Boniface would have restored a faithful servant to his duty and to the republic; but the arts of Actius still continued to betray and to inflame, and the count was urged by persecution to embrace the most desperate counsels. The success with which he cluded or repelled the first attacks could not inspire vain confidence that, at the head of some loose, disorderly Africans, he should be able to withstand the regular forces of the West, commanded by a rival whose military character it was impossible for him to despise. After some hesitation, the last struggles of prudence and loyalty, Boniface dispatched a toustanted trusty friend to the court, or rather to the camp, of Gondene, king of the Vandals, with the proposal of a strict alliance, and the offer of an advantageous and perpetual settlement.

Te tavites the

[A.D. 410]

FA.D. GIFT

[A D (EE)

[Tarmes]

[A.D. 455]

After the retreat of the Goths, the authority of Honorius had obtained a precarious establishment in Spain; except only in the province of Gallicia, where the Suevi and the Vandala had fortified their camps, in mutual discord and hostile independence. The Vandals prevailed; and their adversaries were besieged in the Nervasian hills, between Leon and Oviedo, till the approach. of Count Asterius compelled, or rather provoked, the victorious Barbarians to remove the scene of the war to the plains of Bactica. The rapid progress of the Vandals soon required a more effectual opposition; and the master-general Castinus marched against them with a numerous army of Romans and Goths. Vanquished in battle by an inferior enemy, Castinus fled with dishonour to Tarragona; and this memorable defeat, which has been represented as the punishment, was most probably the effect, of his rash presumption.13 Seville and Carthagena became the reward, or rather the prey, of the ferocious conquerors, and the vessels which they found in the harbour of Carthagena might camly transport them to the isles of Majorea and Minorea, where the Spanish fugitives, as in a secure recess, had vainly concealed their families and their fortunes.

¹⁵ See the Chronicles of Prosper and Idatus. Salvian (de Gubernat, Dei, t vii. p. 246, Paris, 1608) ascribes the victory of the Vandals to their superior piety. They fixted they prayed they carried a libbe in the front of the Host, with the design perhaps, of reproaching the perhaps and sacrilage of their enemies.

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The experience of navigation, and perhaps the prospect of Africa, encouraged the Vandals to accept the invitation which they received from Count Boniface; and the death of Gonderie served only to forward and animate the bold enterprise. In the room of a prince, not conspicuous for any superior powers of the mind or body, they acquired his bastard brother, the terrible Genserie: 14 a name which, in the destruction of the Roman county, the empire, has deserved an equal rank with the names of Alaric date and Attila. The king of the Vandals is described to have been of a muldle stature, with a lameness in one leg, which he had contracted by an accidental fall from his horse. His slow and cautious speech seldom declared the deep purposes of his soul: he disdained to imitate the luxury of the vanquished; but he indulged the sterner passions of anger and revenge. ambition of Genseric was without bounds, and without scruples; and the warrior could dexterously employ the dark engines of policy to solicit the allies who might be useful to his success, or to scatter among his enemies the seeds of hatred and contention. Almost in the moment of his departure he was informed that Hermanne, king of the Suevi, had presumed to ravage the Spanish territories, which he was resolved to ahandon. Impatient of the insult, Genseric pursued the hasty retreat of the Suevi as far as Merida; precipitated the king and his army into (monta) the river Anas; and calmly returned to the sea-shore, to em-to-make bark his victorious troops. The vessels which transported the harden A. Vandals over the modern Straits of Gibraltar, a channel only an may twelve miles in breadth,16 were furnished by the Spaniards, who anxiously wished their departure, and by the African general, who had implored their formudable assistance.16

24 Gazerious (his name is variously expressed) statura mediocris et equi casu claud cans, animo profundus, sermone rurus, luxurus contemptor, sià turbidus, claud cans, animo profundus, sermone rarus, luximus contemptor, na turoidus, habendi cupidus, ad solicitandas gentes providentissimus, semina contentionum facere, odia miscere paratus. Jornandes, de Rebus Geticus, c. 33, p. 657. This portrait, which is drawn with some skill, and a strong likeness, must have been copied from the Gothic history of Cassindorius. [The right form of the name, now universally accepted, is Gaiteric (Idatius; Getierre, Prosper and Victor Vitensis). The passlized form appears first in writers of the sixth century. Infortunately there are no coins of this king; see Friedlander's Die Münzen der Vandalen.]

10 [It seems far more probable that the Vandals saired directly to Cassarra than shee crossed the straits and undertook the lone land match through the deserts

that they crossed the straits and undertook the long land march through the deserts

that they crossed the straits and undertook the long land march through the deserts of western Mauritania; notwithstanding the statement of Victor Vitersis, i. 1.]

10 See the Chromole of Idatus. That hishop, a Spaniard and a contemporary, claces the passage of the Vandals in the mouth of May, of the year of Abraham (which commences in October) 2244. This date, which coincides with A. D. 420, is confirmed (rather, adopted) by Indore, another Spanish bushop, and is justly preferred to the opinion of those writers who have marked for that event one of the proceeding years. See Pagi, Critica, tone is p. 205, &c. [So too Clinton. But 26

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Our fancy, so long accustomed to exaggerate and multiple the martial swarms of Barbarians that seemed to issue from the North, will perhaps be surprised by the account of the arms which Genseric mustered on the coast of Mauritania. The Vandals, who in twenty years had penetrated from the Elbe to Mount Atlas, were united under the command of their warike king; and he reigned with equal authority over the Alana who had passed, within the term of human life, from the cold of Scythia to the excessive heat of an African climate. The hope of the bold enterprise had excited many brave adventurers of the Gothic nation; and many desperate provincials were tempted to repair their fortunes by the same means which had occasioned their rain. Yet this various multitude amounted only to fifty thousand effective men; and, though Gensen; artfully magnified his apparent strength, by appointing cighty chilarchs, or commanders of thousands, the fallacious increase of old men, of children, and of slaves, would scarcely have swelled his army to the number of fourscore thousand persons, 17 Bet his own dexterity, and the discontents of Africa, soon fortified the Vandal powers by the accession of numerous and active The parts of Mauritania, which border on the great desert and the Atlantic ocean, were filled with a fierce and uptractable race of men, whose savage temper had been exasperated, rather than reclaimed, by their dread of the Roman arms. The wandering Moors,16 as they gradually ventured to approach the sea-shore and the camp of the Vandals, must have viewed with terror and astonishment the dress, the armour, the martial pride and discipline of the unknown strangers, who had landed on their coast; and the fair complexions of the blue-eved warriors of Germany formed a very singular contrast with the

Mr. Hodglin, ii. 200, makes out a good case for the date 428, given in the Chron.

Mr. Hoogans, h. sop, makes out a good case for the date 438, given in the Chron. Pasch and perhaps really implied by letatus.

17 Compare Procupius (de Bell. Vandal. l. t. c, 5, p. 190) and Victor Viteras (de Persecutione Vandal. l. t. c. 1, p. 3, edit Ruinart). We are assured by Idatus that Generic evacuated Spain, cum Vandalis ownster cocumque familis; and Possidus (in Vit. Augustin. c. 28, apid Ruinart. p. 427) described his army as mainer signis miniarium gentium Vandalerum et Alanorum. To reconcile the 50 000 fighing men of Precopius with the 80 000 (including old men and arrawli) of Victor, Mr. Hodgkin supposes that females were excluded in Victor's enumeration (ii. 231) [10 For the manners of the Moors, see Procopius (de Hell, Vandal L. u. c. 6,

p. 240); for their figure and complexion, M. de Buffon (Hutoire Naturelle, tom. iii p. 430). Proceedings and in general that the Moors and joined the Vandals before the death of Valentinan (de Bell. Vandal. 1 a. c. q. p. 190), and it is probable that the independent tribes did not embrace any uniform system of policy.

swarthy or olive hue which is derived from the neighbourhood of the torrid zone. After the first difficulties had in some measure been removed, which arose from the mutual ignorance of their respective language, the Moors, regardless of any future consequence, embraced the alliance of the enemies of Rome; and a crowd of naked savages rushed from the woods and valleys of Mount Atlas, to satiate their revenge on the polished tyrants who had injuriously expelled them from the native

sovereignty of the land.

The persecution of the Donatists 19 was an event not less me pure favourable to the designs of Genseric. Seventeen years before he landed in Africa, a public conference was held at Carthage, by the order of the magistrate. The Catholics were satisfied that, after the invincible reasons which they had alleged, the obstinacy of the schismatics must be mexcusable and voluntary; and the emperor Honorius was persuaded to inflict the most rigorous penalties on a faction which had so long abused his patience and elemency. Three hundred bishops, to with many thousands of the inferior clergy, were torn from their churches, stripped of their ecclesiastical possessions, banished to the islands, and proscribed by the laws, if they presumed to conceal themselves in the provinces of Africa. Their numerous congregations, both in cities and in the country, were deprived of the rights of citizens, and of the exercise of religious worship. A regular scale of fines, from ten to two hundred pounds of silver, was que ton curiously ascertained, according to the distinctions of rank and i fortune, to punish the crime of assisting at a schismatic conventicle; and, if the fine had been levied five times, without subduing the obstinacy of the offender, his future punishment was referred to the discretion of the Imperial court.21 By these seventies, which obtained the warmest approbation of St. Augustin, 22 great numbers of Donatists were reconciled to the

To See Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclés, tom. xit. p. 516-558; and the whole series of the persecution in the original monuments, published by Dupin at the end of

Opinius, p. 37515

The Donatist bishops, at the conference of Carthage, amounted to 270, and

The Donatist bishops, at the conference of Carthage, amounted to 270, and

abb present, too attent, besides axty four vacant bishoprics.

The fifth title of the sixteenth book of the Theodosian Code exhibits a series of the Imperial laws against the Donainsts from the year 400 to the year 400. Of these the 54th law, promulgated by Honorius A D. 514, is the most severe and effectual.

8 St. Augustin altered his opinion with regard to the proper treatment of bere-

His pathetic declaration of pity and indulgence for the Manichaeus has been naerted by Mr. Locke (vol. in: p. 469) among the choice specimens of his common-place book. Another philosopher, the celebrated Bayle (tom a. p. 445 495), has refuted with superfluous diligence and ingravity the arguments by which the bishop of Hippo justified, in his old age, the persecution of the Donatists. Catholic church: but the fanatics, who still persevered in ther opposition, were provoked to madness and despair; the distracted country was filled with tumult and bloodshed; the armed troops of Circumcellions alternately pointed their rage against them selves or against their adversaries; and the calendar of martyn received up both sides a considerable augmentation 2 Under these circumstances, Gensene, a Christian, but an enemy of the orthodox communion, showed himself to the Donatists as a powerful deliverer, from whom they might reasonably expect the repeal of the odious and oppressive edicts of the Roman emperors.24 The conquest of Africa was facilitated by the active zeal, or the secret favour, of a domestic faction; the wanton out rages against the churches and the clergy, of which the Vandab are accused, may be fairly imputed to the fanaticism of their allies; and the intolerant spirit, which disgraced the triumph of Christianity, contributed to the loss of the most important province of the West. 25

The court and the people were astonished by the strange intelligence that a virtuous hero, after so many favours and so many services, had renounced his allegiance, and invited the Barbarians to destroy the province entrusted to his command. The friends of Boniface, who still believed that his criminal behaviour might be excused by some honourable motive, solicited, during the absence of Actius, a free conference with the count of Africa, and Darius, an officer of high distinction, was named for the important embassy.20 In their first interview at Car-

See Tillemont, Mem Eccles, tom, xiii. p. 586-592, 806. The Donatists boasted of thousands of these soluntary marters. Augustin asserts, and probably with truth that these numbers were much evaggerated, but he sternly maintains that it was better that a me should burn themselves in this world than that and should been in hell flames

MACCORD by to St. Augustin and Theodorof the Donatists were incheed to the

**According to St. Augustin and Theodored the Donaists were inclined to the principles, or at least to the party, of the Arians, which Genseric supported Idlemont, Mem Excles tom vi p 68.

**See Barchus, Arial Eccles A D 428, No. 7, A D 439, No. 35. The estimate, though more inclined to seek the cause of great evicts in heaven than on the earth, has observed the apparent connection of the Vandids and the Lonaists. Under the reign of the Barbanians, the schasmatics of Africa enjoyed an obscure peace of one hundred years, at the end of worth, we may again trace them in the light of the linperial persecutions. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccles, tom. vi. p. 190.

Re. 10 In a confidential letter to Count Bondace St. Augustin, without examining the grounds of the quartel, poussy exhorts has to docking the terounds of the quartel, poussy exhorts has to docking the fit is of a Christian and a subject; to extract basself without delay from his dangerous and guilty situation, and even if he could obtain the consent of his wife to embrace a guilty situation, and permane, I-denount, Mêm Exclés tom a p Soul. The business at life of celebrary and permane, I-denount, Mêm Exclés tom a p Soul. The business was intimately connected with Darius, the minister of peace (ld. tom. am. p. gad.) thage, the imaginary provocations were mutually explained; the opposite letters of Actius were produced and compared; and the fraud was easily detected. Placidia and Bomface lamented their fatal error; and the count had sufficient magnanimity to confide in the forgiveness of his sovereign or to expose his head to her future resentment. His repentance was fervent and sincere; but he soon discovered that it was no longer in his power to restore the edifice which he had shaken to its foundations. Carthage, and the Roman garnsons, returned with their general to the allegiance of Valentinian; but the rest of Africa was still distracted with war and faction; and the inexorable king of the Vandala, disdaming all terms of accommodation, sternly refused to relinquish the possession of his prey. The band of veterans, who marched under the standard of Bomface, and his hasty levies of provincial troops, were defeated with considerable loss; the victorious Barbarians insulted the open country; and Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo Regius were the only cities that ap-

peared to rise above the general inundation.

The long and narrow tract of the African coast was filled with accounts of frequent monuments of Roman art and magnificence; and the respective degrees of improvement might be accurately measured by the distance from Carthage and the Mediterranean. A simple reflection will impress every thinking mind with the clearest idea of fertility and cultivation: the country was extremely populous: the inhabitants reserved a liberal subsistence for their own use; and the annual exportation, particularly of wheat, was so regular and plentiful that Africa deserved the name of the common granary of Rome and of mankind. On a sudden the seven fruitful provinces, from Tangier to Tripoli, were overwhelmed by the invasion of the Vandals; whose destructive rage has perhaps been exaggerated by popular animosity, religious zeal, and extravagant declamation. War, in its fairest form, implies a perpetual violation of humanity and justice; and the hostilities of Barbanans are inflamed by the fierce and lawless spirit which incessantly disturbs their peaceful and domestic society. The Vandals, where they found resistance, seldom gave quarter; and the deaths of their valuant countrymen were explated by the rain of the cities under whose walls they had Careless of the distinctions of age, or sex, or rank, they employed every species of indignity and torture, to force from the captives a discovery of their hidden wealth. The stern policy of Genseric justified his frequent examples of military execution: he was not always the master of his own passions, or

of those of his followers; and the calamities of war were agenvated by the licentiousness of the Moors and the fanaticism of the Donatists. Yet I shall not easily be persuaded that it wo the common practice of the Vandals to extirpate the olives, and other fruit trees, of a country where they intended to settle, nor can I believe that it was a usual stratagem to alsughter great numbers of their prisoners before the walls of a besieged city, for the sole purpose of infecting the air and producing a pestilence of which they themselves must have been the first victims.²⁷

Stage of Myspa A.B.

The generous mind of Count Boniface was tortured by the exquisite distress of beholding the rain which he had occasioned and whose rapid progress he was unable to check. loss of a battle he retired into Hippo Regius; where he was immediately besieged by an enemy who considered him as the real bulwark of Africa. The maritime colony of Hippo, 3 about two hundred miles westward of Carthage, had formerly acquired the distinguishing epithet of Regius, from the residence of Numidian kings; and some remains of trade and populousness still adhere to the modern city, which is known in Europe by the corrupted name of Bona. The military labours and anxious reflections of Count Boniface were alleviated by the edifying conversation of his friend St. Augustin; 29 till that bishop, the light and pillar of the Catholic church, was gently released, in the third month of the siege, and in the seventy-sixth year of his age, from the actual and the impending calamities of his country. The youth of Augustin had been stained by the vices and errors which he so ingenuously confesses; but from the

Death of Augustin, A.D. (00)

The original complaints of the desolation of Africa are contained: x. In a letter from Chapreolus bushop of Carthage, to excuse his absence from the commod of Ephesus (ap. Rusnart. p. 429). z. In the life of St. August n. b. his friend and collesque Possidius (ap. Rusnart, p. 427). 3. In the H story of the Vandshe Persection by Victor Vitensis (t. s. c. x. x. y. ed. t. Rusnart). The last picture, which was drawn sixty years after the event, is more expressive of the author's passions than of the truth of facts.

See Cellarus, Geograph, Antiq. tom in part in p. 112; Loo African in Ramuno, tom, i, fol 70., L'Afrique de Marmol, tom in p. 434–437. Shaw's Travels p. 46, 47. The old Hippo Regius was finally destroyed by the Aralis in the seventh century, but a new lown, at the distance of two miles, was ball with the materials, and it contained in the sixteenth century, about three hundred farmbles of industrious but turbulent, manufacturers. The adjacent territory is removed for a pure air, a fertile soil and plenty of enquisite fruits.

The life of St. Augusta, by Tillemont, fills a quarto volume (Mém. Ecclés, torn, xn.) of more than one thousand juges, and the digenee of that learned Junsemit was excited on this occasion by factious and devout real for the founder of his sect.

OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

moment of his conversion to that of his death the manners of the bishop of Hippo were pure and austere; and the most conspicuous of his virtues was an ardent zeal against heretics of every denomination the Manicheans, the Donatists, and the Pelagians, against whom he waged a perpetual controversy. When the city, some months after his death, was burnt by the Vandals, the library was fortunately saved, which contained his voluminous writings: two hundred and thirty-two separate books, or treatises, on theological subjects, besides a complete exposition of the pealter and the gospel, and a copious magazine of epistles and homilies.30 According to the judgment of the most impartial critics, the superficial learning of Augustin was confined to the Latin language; 21 and his style, though sometimes animated by the eloquence of passion, is usually clouded by false and affected rhetone. But he possessed a strong, capacious, argumentative mind; he boldly sounded the dark abyss of grace, predestination, free-will, and original sin; and the rigid system of Christianity, which he framed or restored, 82 has been entertained, with public applause and secret reluctance, by the Latin church. 23

By the skill of Boniface, and perhaps by the ignorance of the potent Vandals, the siege of Hippo was protracted above fourteen Balloon months; the sea was continually open, and, when the adjacent

*Such at least is the account of Victor Vitensis (de Persecut, Vandal I. i. c. 3); Such at least is the account of Victor Vitensis (de Permeut, Vandal I. L. 3); though Gennadius seems to doubt whether any person had read, or even collected, all the works of St. Augustin (see Hieronym. Opera, tom. a. p. 349, in Catalog. Scriptor, Eccles.). They have been repeatedly printed; and Dupin (Bibhothèque Eccles, tom. a. p. 158-257) has given a large and satisfactory abstract of them, as they stand in the last edition of the Benedictines. My personal acquaintance with the bishop of Hippo does not extend beyond the Confessions and the City of

²¹ In his early youth (Confess, i. 14) St. Augustin disliked and neglected the study of Greek, and he frankly owns that he read the Platonists in a Latin version [Confess vii 9] Some modern critics have thought that his ignorance of Greek disqualified han from expounding the Scriptures, and Cteero or Quintilian would have required the knowledge of that language in a professor of rhesorie.

These questions were beldom agetated from the time of St. Paul to that of St. Augustin. I am informed that the Greek fathers maintain the natural sentiments of the Semi-Pelagians, and that the orthodoxy of St Augustin was derived from the Manichean school.

20 The church of Rome has canonized Augustin, and reprolated Calvin. Yet, as the real difference between them is invisible even to a theological microscope, the Mol nists are oppressed by the authority of the saint, and the Jansenists are dis-Armanans stand aloof, and deride the mitual perplexity of the disputants (see a curious Review of the Controversy, by Le Clerc Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. siv p. 1.44-398). Perhaps a reasoner still more independent may sin le in his turn, when he peruses an Arminian Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.

their mutual discord, of the service of her two most illustrious

champions. 55

It might naturally be expected, after the retreat of Boniface, program of that the Vandals would achieve, without resistance or delay, is anies. the conquest of Africa. Eight years however elapsed from the evacuation of Hippo to the reduction of Carthage. In the midst of that interval the ambitious Gensene, in the full tide of apparent prospenty, negotiated a treaty of peace, by which (4.2. 48.74) he gave his son Hunneric for an hostage, and consented to leave the Western emperor in the undisturbed possession of the three Mauritanias. 16 This moderation, which cannot be imputed to the justice, must be ascribed to the policy, of the conqueror. His throne was encompassed with domestic enemies, who accused the baseness of his birth and asserted the legitimate claims of his nephews, the sons of Gondenc. Those nephews, indeed, he sacrificed to his safety; and their mother, the widow of the deceased king, was precipitated, by his order, into the river Ampsaga. But the public discontent burst forth in dangerous and frequent conspiracies; and the warlike tyrant is supposed to have shed more Vandal blood by the hand of the executioner than in the field of battle.27 The convulsions of Africa, which had favoured his attack, opposed the firm establishment of his power, and the various seditions of the Moors and Germans, the Donatusts and Catholics, continually disturbed, or threatened, the unsettled reign of the conqueror. As he advanced towards Carthage, he was forced to withdraw his troops from the Western provinces; the sen-coast was exposed to the naval enterprises of the Romans of Spain and Italy; and, in the heart of Numidia, the strong inland city of Cirta still persisted in obstinate inde-(contains)

Procopus (de Bell. Vandal. l. L. C. 3, p. 185) continues the history of Boushage no farther than his return to Italy. His death is meanined by Presper [ad ann. 432] and Marcellanus, the expression of the latter, that Actus, the day before, had provided himself with a longer spear, implies something blen a regular due. [So Mr. Hedgkin, t. 879, who sees here "the influence of Feutonic usages". See further, Appendix 36]

See Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. L. C. 4, p. 186. Valentinian published several humane laws, to relieve the distress of his Numidian and Mauritanian sub-

perest humane how, to relieve the distress of his Numidian and Mauritanian subjects, he discharged them in a great measure, from the payment of their debts, reduced their is bute to one-eighth, and give them a right of appeal from their provincial magnification to the priefect of Rome. Cod. Throot tem vi Nevell p. 11, 12. [By the treaty of 435 the Vandals seem to have been recognized in the possession of Numidia. Byracena, and Proconsulatio, with the exception of Carthage and the adjacent region. It is doubtful what happened at It ppo.]

If Victor Vitensis, de Persecut, Vandal. In e. C. p. 26. The cruelites of General towards his subjects are strongly expressed in Prosper's Chronicle. A. D.

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pendence. These difficulties were gradually subdued by the spirit, the perseverance, and the cruelty of Gensene, who alternately applied the arts of peace and war to the establishment of his African kingdom. He subscribed a solemn treaty, with the hope of deriving some advantage from the term of its continuance and the moment of its violation. The vigilance of ha enemies was relaxed by the protestations of friendship which concealed his hostile approach; and Carthage was at length surprised by the Vandals, five hundred and eighty-five years after the destruction of the city and republic by the younger Scimo."

A new city had arisen from its ruins, with the title of a colony; and, though Carthage might yield to the royal prerogatives of Constantinople, and perhaps to the trade of Alexandra or the splendour of Antioch, she still maintained the second rank in the West; as the Rome (if we may use the style of contemporaries) of the African world. That wealthy and opulent metropolis 40 displayed, in a dependent condition, the image of a flourishing republic. Carthage contained the manufactures, the arms, and the treasures of the six provinces. A regular subordination of civil honours gradually ascended from the procurators of the streets and quarters of the city to the tribunal of the supreme magistrate, who, with the title of proconsul, represented the state and dignity of a consul of ancient Rome. Schools and gymnasia were instituted for the education of the African youth, and the liberal arts and manners, grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, were publicly taught in the Greek and Latin languages. The buildings of Carthage were uniform and magnificent; a shady grove was planted in the midst of the capital; the new port, a secure and capacious harbour, was subservient to the commercial industry of citizens and strangers; and the splendid games of the circus and theatre were exhibited almost in the presence of the Barbarians. The reputation of the Carthaginans was not equal to that of their country, and the reproach of Punic faith still adhered to their subtle and faithless

Possidius in Vit. Augustis. c. 28, apud Ruinart, p. 428.

See the Chronicles of Idatus, Isidore, Prosper, and Marcellinus [and Chron. They mark the same year, but different days, for the surprisal of Car-

thage. The picture of Carthage, as it flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries, is taken from the Expansio to us Mundi p. 17, 18, in the third volume of Hudson's Minor Geographers, from Assonius de Claris Urbibus p. 208-209, and principally from Salvian, de Gubernations Dei, I. vii. p. 247, 258 [5 67 avr.] I am surprised that the Notitia should not place either a mint or an arsenal at Carthago, but only a gynarosum or female manufacture.

character.41 The habits of trade and the abuse of luxury had corrupted their manners; but their improus contempt of monks and the shameless practice of unnatural lusts are the two abominations which excite the pious vehemence of Salvian, the preacher of the age. 12 The king of the Vandals severely reformed the vices of a voluptuous people; and the ancient, noble, ingenuous freedom of Carthage (these expressions of Victor are not without energy) was reduced by Genserie into a state of ignominious servitude. After he had permitted his licentious troops to satiate their rage and avarice, he instituted a more regular system of rapine and oppression. An edict was promulgated, which enjoined all persons, without fraud or delay, to deliver their gold, silver, jewels, and valuable furniture or apparel, to the royal officers; and the attempt to secrete any part of their pateimony was inexorably punished with death and torture, as an act of treason against the state. The lands of the proconsular province, which formed the immediate district of Carthage, were accurately measured and divided among the Barbarians; and the conqueror reserved for his peculiar domain, the fertile territory of Byzacium, and the adjacent parts of Numidia and Getulia.43

It was natural enough that Genseric should hate those whom across he had injured; the nobility and senators of Carthage were sentenced. exposed to his jealousy and resentment; and all those who refused the ignominious terms, which their honour and religion forbade them to accept, were compelled by the Arian tyrant to embrace the condition of perpetual banishment. Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the East were filled with a crowd of exiles, of fugitives, and of ingenuous captives, who solicited the public compassion; and the benevolent epistles of Theodoret still preserve the names and misfortunes of Colestian and Maria.4 The

4 The anonymous author of the Expositio totius Mundi compares, in his barbarous Latin, the country and the inhabitants; and after stigmatizing their want of faith, he coully concludes: Difficile autem inter con inventur bonus, tamen in

nestre pauci boni esse possint. P. 18.

Official large that the peculiar vices of each country were collected in the sink of Carthage 4. vi. 257 [\$ 74]). In the indulgence of vice the Africans as planted their manly virtue. Et il se magis we lis fort tiid one case crederent, qui marino viros formine usus probrositate fregissent (p. 268 [\$ 87]). The streets of arrhage were polluted by effectionate wetches, who publicly assumed the countenance, the dress, and the character of women (p. 264 [\$ 83]). If a monk appeared in the city, the dress, and the character of women p. 204 [] 83 h. Ha monk appeared in the city, the holy man was pursued with improve score and indeule; detestantibus ridentum cachanus ([cachanus et d. r. aibils, p. 289 [vin, 22]).

64 Compare Procopus de Bell Vandal L i. c. 5, p. 189, 190; and Victor Vitenss, de Persecut Vandal L i. c. 4.

4 Rumart (p. 444-457) has collected from Theodoret and other authors, the misfortunes, real and fabulous, of the inhabitants of Carthage.

Syrian bishop deplores the misfortunes of Calestian, who, imp the state of a noble and opulent senator of Carthage, was reduced. with his wife and family, and servants, to beg his bread in a foreign country; but he applauds the resignation of the Chris tian exile, and the philosophic temper which, under the pressure of such calamities, could enjoy more real happiness than was the ordinary lot of wealth and prosperity. The story of Mana, the daughter of the magnificent Eudamon, is singular and interesting. In the sack of Carthage, she was purchased from the Vandals by some merchants of Syria, who afterwards sold her at a slave in their native country. A female attendant, transported in the same ship, and sold in the same family, still contanued to respect a mistress whom fortune had reduced to the common level of servitude; and the daughter of Eudemon received from her grateful affection the domestic services which she had once required from her obedience. This remarkable behaviour devulged the real condition of Maria, who, in the absence of the bishop of Cyrrhus, was redeemed from slavery by the generosity of some soldiers of the garrison. The liberality of Theodoret provided for her decent maintenance; and she passed ten months among the deaconesses of the church; till she was unexpectedly informed that her father, who had escaped from the rum of Carthage, exercised an honourable office in one of the western provinces. Her filial impatience was seconded by the pious bishop; Theodoret, in a letter still extant, recommends Mana to the bishop of Ægæ, a maritime city of Cilicia, which was frequented, during the annual fair, by the vessels of the West, most earnestly requesting that his colleague would use the maiden with a tenderness suitable to her birth, and that he would intrust her to the care of such futhful merchants as would esteem it a sufficient gain if they restored a daughter. lost beyond all human hope, to the arms of her afflicted parent.

Public of the

Among the insipid legends of ecclesiastical history, I am tempted to distinguish the memorable fable of the Seven Sleepens; 4 whose imaginary date corresponds with the reign of the younger Theodosius and the conquest of Africa by

⁴⁶ The choice of fabrilous circumstances is of small importance; yet I have confined myself to the narrative which was translated from the Syrac by the care of Gregory of Tours (de Giordi Martyrum, I, i. c. 95 m Max. B bliothect Patrum, tom. xi. p. 856), to the Greek acts of their martyrdom (apud Photium, p. 1600, 1401), and to the Annals of the Patriarch Eutychius (tom. i. p. 391, 532, 533, 535-Vers. Pocock).

the Vandals.41 When the emperor Decius persecuted the Christians, seven noble youths of Ephesus concealed themselves in a spacious cavern in the side of an adjacent mountain; where they were doomed to pensh by the tyrant, who gave orders that the entrance should be firmly secured with a pile of huge stones. They immediately fell into a deep slumber, which was miraculously prolonged, without injuring the powers of life, during a period of one hundred and eighty-seven years. At the end of that time, the slaves of Adolius, to whom the inheritance of the mountain had descended, removed the stones, to supply materials for some rustic edifice; the light of the sun darted into the cavern, and the seven sleepers were permitted to awake. After a slumber, as they thought, of a few hours, they were pressed by the calls of hunger; and resolved that Jamblichus, one of their number, should secretly return to the city, to purchase bread for the use of his companions. The youth (if we may still employ that appellation) could no longer recognise the once familiar aspect of his native country; and his surprise was increased by the appearance of a large cross, triumphantly erected over the principal gate of Ephesus. His singular dress and obsolete language confounded the baker, to whom he offered an ancient medal of Decius as the current coin of the empire; and Jamblichus, on the suspicion of a secret treasure, was dragged before the judge. Their mutual inquiries produced the amazing discovery that two centuries were almost elapsed since Jamblichus and his friends had escaped from the rage of a Pagan tyrant. The bishop of Ephesus, the clergy, the magistrates, the people, and, as it is said, the emperor Theodosius himself, hastened to visit the cavern of the Seven Sleepers; who bestowed their benediction, related their story, and at the same instant peaceably expired. The origin of this marvellous fable cannot be ascribed to the pious fraud and eredulity of the modern Greeks, since the authentic tradition may be traced within half a century of the supposed miracle. James of Sarug, a Syrian bishop, who was born only two years after the death of the younger Theodosius, has devoted one of

Two Syriac writers, as they are quoted by Assemanni (Bibliot, Oriental tom. i. p. 336, 338), place the resurrection of the Seven Sleepers in the year 736 (A.D. 425) of 748 (A.D. 427) of the sera of the Sciencifica. The r Greek acts, which Photius had read, assign the date of the trip eighth year of the reign of Theodomis, which may connede either with A.D. 439, or 446. The period which had clapsed since the persecution of Docus is easily ascertained; and nothing less than the ignorance of Mahomet, or the legendaries, could suppose an interval of three or four hundred years.

nihilated; if it were possible, after a momentary slumber of two hundred years, to display the new world to the eyes of a spectator, who still retained a lively and recent impression of the old; his surprise and his reflections would furnish the pleasing subject of a philosophical romance. The scene could not be more advantageously placed than in the two centuries which elapsed between the reigns of Decius and of Theodosius the younger. During this period, the seat of government had been transported from Rome to a new city on the banks of the Thracian Bosphorus; and the abuse of military spirit had been suppressed by an artificial system of tame and ceremonious servitude. The throne of the persecuting Decius was filled by a succession of Christian and orthodox princes, who had extirpated the fabulous gods of antiquity; and the public devotion of the age was impatient to exalt the saints and martyrs of the Catholic church on the altars of Diana and Hercules. The union of the Roman empire was dissolved; its genius was humbled in the dust; and armies of unknown Barbarians, issuing from the frozen regions of the North, had established their victorious reign over the fairest provinces of Europe and Africa.

CHAPTER XXXIV

The Character, Conquests, and Court of Attila, King of the Huns— Death of Theodorius the Younger-Elevation of Marcian to the Empire of the East

The Hune.

The western world was oppressed by the Goths and Vandah, who fied before the Huns; but the achievements of the Huns themselves were not adequate to their power and prosperty. Their victorious hordes had spread from the Volga to the Danube; but the public force was exhausted by the discord of independent chieftains; their valour was idly consumed in obscure and predatory excursions; and they often degraded their national dignity by condescending, for the hopes of spoil, to enlist under the banners of their fugitive enemies. In the reign of Attila, the Huns again became the terror of the world; and I shall now describe the character and actions of that formidable Barbarian, who alternately insulted and invaded the East and the West, and urged the rapid downfall of the Roman empire.

In the tide of emigration which impetuously rolled from the confines of China to those of Germany, the most powerful and populous tribes may commonly be found on the verge of the Roman provinces. The accumulated weight was sustained for a while by artificial barriers; and the easy condescension of the emperors invited, without satisfying, the insolent demands of the Barbarians, who had acquired an eager appetite for the luxures of civilized life. The Hungarians, who ambitiously

Their selection in modern

1'The authentic materials for the history of Attila may be found in Jornandee (de Rehus Geticis, c. 34.50, p. 650-688, edit. Grot.) and Priscus (Exceptia de Legationibus, p. 33-76, Paria, 1048. It is py in F. H. G. vol. v.]). I have not seen the lives of Attila composed by Juvenius Cielius Calanus Dalmatinus, in the twelfth century; or by Nicholas Olahus archbishop of Gran, in the sixteenth See Mascou's History of the Germans, ix 23, and Midfe, Osservation Latterare, tom 1 p. 88, 80. Whatever the modern Hingarians have added, must be fabulous; and they do not seem to have excelled in the art of bettom. They suppose that, when Attila invaded Gaul and Italy, married innumerable wives, &c. he was one hundred and twenty years of age. Thewroox, Chron. p. 1, c. 100, in Script. Hungar, tom. 1, p. 76.

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insert the name of Attila among their native kings, may affirm with truth that the hordes which were subject to his uncle Roas, or Rugilas, had formed their encampments within the many lunits of modern Hungary,3 in a fertile country which liberally supplied the wants of a nation of hunters and shepherds. In this advantageous situation, Rugilas and his valiant brothem, who continually added to their power and reputation, commanded the alternative of peace or war with the two empires. His alliance with the Romans of the West was cemented by his personal friendship for the great Actius; who was always secure of finding in the Barbarian camp a hospitable reception and a powerful support. At his solicitation, in the name of John the usurper, sixty thousand Huns advanced to the confines of [AD. 40] Italy; their march and their retreat were alike expensive to the state; and the grateful policy of Actius abandoned the possession of Pannonia to his faithful confederates. The Romans of the East were not less apprehensive of the arms of Rugilas, which threatened the provinces, or even the capital. Some ecclesiastical historians have destroyed the Barbarians with lightning and pestilence; but Theodosius was reduced to the more humble expedient of stipulating an annual payment of three hundred (mass) and fifty pounds of gold, and of disguising this dishonourable tribute by the title of general, which the king of the Huns condescended to accept. The public tranquility was frequently interrupted by the fierce impatience of the Barbarians and the perfidious intrigues of the Byzantine court. Four dependent nations, among whom we may distinguish the Bavarians, disclaimed the sovereignty of the Huns; and their revolt was encouraged and protected by a Roman alliance; till the just claims and formidable power of Rugilas were effectually urged (A.D. 48) by the voice of Eslaw his ambassador. Peace was the unanimous wish of the senate; their decree was ratified by the emperor; and two ambassadors were named, Plinthas, a general

P 127 175.
Socrates, I. vii. c. 43. Theodoret, I. v. c. 36. Tillemont, who always depends on the faith of his ecclesiastical authors, strenuously contends (Hist. dea Emp torn. vi. p. 136, 607) that the wars and personages were not the same.

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² Hungary has been successfully occupied by three Scythian colonies: 1. The Hins of Attila, 2 the Abares, in the sixth century, and 3, the Turks or Magyars, A.1: 889 the immediate and genuine ancestors of the modern Hungarians, whose connexion with the two former is extremely faint and remote. The Prodomas and Nierica of Matthew Beaus appear to contain a rich fund of information concerning ancient and modern Hungary. I have seen the extracts in Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne, tom, xxi, p. 1-51, and Bibliothèque Raisonnée, tom, xxi, p. 122-175.

of Scythian extraction, but of consular rank, and the questor Epigenes, a wise and experienced stateaman, who was recom-

mended to that office by his ambitious colleague.

The death of Rugulas suspended the progress of the treats His two nephews, Attila and Bleds, who succeeded to the throne of their uncle, consented to a personal interview with the am bassadors of Constantinople; but, as they proudly refused to dismount, the business was transacted on horseback, in a spacious plan near the city of Margus in the Upper Massa. the Huns assumed the solid benefits, as well as the vain honour. [A.D. 619] of the negotiation. They dictated the conditions of peace, and each condition was an insult on the majesty of the empire. Besides the freedom of a safe and plentiful market on the banks of the Danube, they required that the annual contribution should be augmented from three hundred and fifty to seven hundred pounds of gold; that a fine, or ransom, of eight pieces of gold should be paid for every Roman captive who had escaped from his Barbarian master; that the emperor should renounce all treaties and engagements with the enemies of the Hum; and that all the fugitives, who had taken refuge in the court or provinces of Theodosius, should be delivered to the justice of their offended evereign. This justice was rigorously inflicted on some unfortunate youths of a royal race. They were crucified on the territories of the empire, by the command of Attila and, as soon as the king of the Huns had impressed the Romans

ent nations of Scythia and Germany,

Attila, the sou of Mundauk, deduced his noble, perhaps he regal, descent from the ancient Huns, who had formerly contended with the monarchs of China. His features, according to the observation of a Gothic historian, bore the stamp of his national origin; and the portrait of Attila exhibits the genuine deformity of a modern Calmuck: 6 a large head, a swarthy complexion, small, deep-seated eyes, a flat nose, a few hairs in the place of a heard, broad shoulders, and a short square body, of

with the terror of his name, he indulged them in a short and arbitrary respite, whilst he subdued the rebellious or independ-

⁶ Sec Priscus, p. 47, 48 [fr. 1], and Hist des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vii. c. zii. x xv. xv.

Priscus, p. 30 ffr. 18). The modern Hungarians have deduced his genealogo, which ascends, in the thery-fifth degree, to Ham the son of Noah; yet they are 130 reant of his father's real name (de Guignes, H.st. des Huns, tom. 11, p. 207).

^{*}Compare Johnandes (c. 35, p. 661) with Buffen, H.st. Naturelle, tom, in, p. 380. The former had a right to observe, or give signal restrictions. The character and portrait of Attila are probably transcribed from Cassodor.us.

netvous strength, though of a disproportioned form. The haughty step and demeanour of the king of the Huns expressed the consciousness of his superiority above the rest of mankind; and he had a custom of fiercely rolling his eyes, as if he wished to enjoy the terror which he inspired. Yet this savage hero was not inaccessible to pity: his suppliant enemies might confide in the assurance of peace or pardon; and Attila was considered by his subjects as a just and indulgent master. He delighted in war; but, after he had ascended the throne in a mature age, his head, rather than his hand, achieved the conquest of the North; and the fame of an adventurous soldier was usefully exchanged for that of a prudent and successful general. The effects of personal valour are so meonsiderable, except in poetry or romance, that victory, even among Barbanans, must depend on the degree of skill with which the passions of the multitude are combined and guided for the service of a single man. The Scythian conquerors, Attila and Zingis, surpassed their rude countrymen in art rather than in courage; and it may be observed that the monarchies, both of the Huns and of the Mogula, were erected by their founders on the basis of popular superstition. The miraculous conception, which fraud and credulity ascribed to the virgin-mother of Zingis, raised him above the level of human nature; and the naked prophet, who, in the name of the Deity, invested him with the empire of the earth, pointed the valour of the Mogula with irresistible enthusiasm.7 The religious arts of Attila were not less skilfully adapted to the character of his age and country. It was natural enough that the Scythians should adore, with peculiar devotion, the god of war; but, as they were incapable of forming either an abstract idea or a corporeal representation, they worshipped as surrous their tutelar deity under the symbol of an iron cimeter 5 One More of the shepherds of the Huns perceived that a heifer, who was grazing, had wounded herself in the foot, and curiously followed the track of the blood, till he discovered, among the long grass,

Nec templum apud cos visitur aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cera usquam potest, sed gladini Burbanco e ta humi fie tar nadas, remotive at Marters regionum quas circumercant presultan verecard as colunt.

Annuan Marcellin, xxxi. 2, and the learned Notes of Lindenbrogus and

Valesius

Abulpharag Dynast wers Poccek, p. 281. Genealogical History of the Tartars by Abulghar, Bahadar Khan, part in c. 15. part iv c. 3. Vie de Gengsean, par Petit de la Croix, l. 1. c. 1, 6. The relations of the missionar es who waited Tartary in the thirteenth century over the seventh volume of the Histoire des Vovages) express the popular language and opin ons; Zingas is styled the Son of God, &c , &c

the point of an ancient sword, which he dug out of the ground and presented to Attila. That magnammous, or rather that artisl, prince accepted, with pious gratitude, this celestial favour; and, as the rightful possessor of the sword of Mars, asserted his divine and indefeasible claim to the dominion of the earth.9 If the rites of Scythia were practised on this solemn occasion, a lofts altar, or rather pile of faggots, three hundred yards in length and in breadth, was raised in a spacious plain; and the sword of Mars was placed erect on the summit of this rustic altar, which was annually consecrated by the blood of sheep, horses, and of the hundredth captive.10 Whether human sacrifices formed and part of the worship of Attıla, or whether he propitiated the god of war with the victims which he continually offered in the field of battle, the favourite of Mars soon acquired a sacred character, which rendered his conquests more casy, and more permanent and the Barbarian princes confessed, in the language of devotion and flattery, that they could not presume to gaze, with a steady eye, on the divine majesty of the king of the Huns.11 His brother Bleda, who reigned over a consulerable part of the nation, was compelled to resign his sceptre and his life. even this cruel act was attributed to a supernatural impulse; and the vigour with which Attila wielded the sword of Mars convinced the world that it had been reserved alone for his invincible arm. 18 But the extent of his empire affords the only remaining evidence of the number and importance of his victories, and the Scythian monarch, however ignorant of the value of science and philosophy, might, perhaps, lament that his illiterate subjects were destitute of the art which could perpetuate the memory of his exploits.

and acquires the empire of Scytten and

[A.D. 683]

If a line of separation were drawn between the civilized and the savage climates of the globe; between the inhabitants of

Pricus relates this remarkable story, both in his own text (p. 65 [p. 90]) and in the quotation made by Jornandes (c. 35, p. 662). He might have explained the tradution, or fable, which characterized this famous sword, and the name as well as attributes of the Scythian deity, whom he has translated into the Mars of the Greeks and Romans.

¹⁰ Herodot, I. vs. c. 62. For the sake of economy, I have calculated by the smallest stadium. In the human accuraces, they cut off the shoulder and arm of the victum, which they threw up into the air, and drew omens and pressures from the manner of their falling on the mile.

the manner of their failing on the pile.

11 Priscus, p. 55 [F. H. G. iv p. 83] A more civilized hero, Augustus himself, that pleased if the person on whom he had his eyes seemed unable to support their discretizations.

divine listre, Suston in August c. 79.

19 The count de Buat (Hat. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom vi. p. 428, 429)

attempts to clear Att.la from the nurder of his brother, and it almost inclined to reject the concurrent testimony of Jornandes and the contemporary Chronicles.

cities, who cultivated the earth, and the hunters and shepherds, who dwelt in tents; Attila might aspire to the title of supreme and sole monarch of the Barbanaus.13 He alone, among the conqueroes of ancient and modern times, united the two mighty kingdoms of Germany and Scythia; and those vague appellations, when they are applied to his reign, may be understood with an ample latitude. Thuringia, which stretched beyond its actual limits as far as the Danube, was in the number of his provinces; he interposed, with the weight of a powerful neighbour, in the domestic affairs of the Franks, and one of his lieutenants chastised, and almost exterminated, the Burgundians of the Rhine. He subdued the islands of the ocean, the kingdoms of Scandinavia, encompassed and divided by the waters of the Baltie; and the Huns might derive a tribute of furs from that porthern region which has been protected from all other conquerors by the seventy of the climate and the courage of the natives. Towards the Fast, it is difficult to circumscribe the dominion of Atula over the Scythian deserts; yet we may be assured that he reigned on the banks of the Volga; that the king of the Huns was dreaded, not only as a warnor, but as a magician, 14 that he insulted and vanguished the Khan of the formidable Geougen, and that he sent ambassadors to negotiate an equal alliance with the empire of China. In the proud review of the nations who acknowledged the sovereignty of Attila, and who never entertained, during his lifetime, the thought of a revolt, the Gepide and the Ostrogoths were distinguished by their numbers, their bravery, and the personal ment of their chiefs. The renowned Ardane, king of the Gepulæ, was the faithful and sagacious counsellor of the monarch, who esteemed his intrepid genius, whilst he loved the mild and discreet virtues of the noble Wala mir, king of the Ostrogoths. The crowd of vulgar kings, the leaders of so many martial tribes, who served under the standard of Attila, were ranged in the submissive order of guards and domestics, round the person of their master. They watched his nod; they trembled at his frown; and, at the first signal of his

If Foressimgram gentium domines, qui, inaudità ante se potentà, solus Serthica et Germanica regna piascedit. Jornandes, c. 49 p. 884. Priscus, p. 64 ft. H. G. iv p. 60]. M. de fempies, by his knewledge of the Chinese, has acquared from, p. 205, 301 an adequate idea of the empire of Atrila.

18 See Hist. des Hims, tom, is p. 266. The Georgen believed that the Hums could exc. te at pleasure iterms of wind and risk. This phonomenon was produced.

14 See Hist des Hims, tom. is p. 296. The Georgen believed that the Hums could exc te at pleusure storms of wind and rism. This phonomenon was produced by the stone Gess to whose magic power the loss of a buttle was ascribed by the Mahometan Turiars of the fourteenth century.

See Cherefeddin Als, Hist de Timur Bec, tom, t. p. 82, 83.

will, they executed, without murmur or heutahot and absolute commands. In time of peace, the princes, with their national troops, attended the national troops, attended the national succession; but, when Attils collected his many he was able to bring into the field an army of nic, of to another account of seven, hundred thousand Barana

The Rune invade Persia. A.D. 400-440 The ambassadors of the Huns might awaken the at Theodosius, by reminding him that they were his aboth in Europe and Asia; since they touched the law one hand, and reached, with the other, as far as the latter reign of his father Areadius, a band of athenant had ravaged the provinces of the East; from whence the last

away rich spoils and innumerable captives. 10

They advanced, by a secret path, along the shores of the sea; traversed the snowy mountains of Armena, partiagns, the Euphrates, and the Halys; recruited the cavalry with the generous breed of Cappadocian have pied the hilly country of Cilicia; and disturbed the few and dances of the citizens of Antioch. Egypt trembles approach; and the monks and pilgrims of the Holy land processing their fury by a speedy embarkation. The section invasion was still recent in the minds of the the The subjects of Attila might execute, with superior feed design which these adventurers had so boldly attempted soon became the subject of anxious conjecture, when tempest would fall on the dominions of Rome of the Some of the great vassals of the king of the Huns, who

is Jornandes, c. 35, p. 661, c. 37, p. 667. See Tillemont's Hist do let tom vi p. 129, 138. Cornelle has represented the pride of Attan to a kings, and his tragedy opens with these two redecidous language.

His ne sont pas venus nos deux rous? qui on beur die Qu'ils se fant trop uttendre, et qu' Atrika a ennuse, nugs of the Ges die und the Outropolis are

The two kings of the Ger die and the Ostrogotha are profound point sentimental lovers, and the whole piece exhibits the defects, without the the poet.

Armenasque nives nopino tramue direta
Armenasque nives nopino tramue direta
Invalunt Orientis opes para pascua fumant
Cappadocum, volucrumque parena Argenus equorum
Jam rubet altus Halys, nec se defendit iniquo
Monte Cina; Syrae tractas sustantir amortis
Avanetamque chora et lett parte camorum
Proteri, imbeliem sonipes host as Orientem

See likewise, in Entrop. L. 1. 183-281, and the strong dear prior of jew wrote from his fee age, tom, t. p. 26, ad Helandor [ep. 60, p. 6]. Philostorgius (L. 12, c. 8) mentions this proprior. themselves in the rank of powerful princes, had been sent to ratify an alliance and society of arms with the emperor, or rather with the general, of the West. They related, during their residence at Rome, the circumstances of an expedition which they had lately made into the East. After passing a desert and a morass, supposed by the Romans to be the lake Maotis, they penetrated through the mountains, and arrived, at the end of fifteen days' march, on the confines of Media; where they advanced as far as the unknown cities of Basic and Cursic.17 They encountered the Persian army in the plains of Media; and the air, according to their own expression, was darkened by a cloud of arrows. But the Huns were obliged to retire, before the numbers of the enemy. Their laborious retreat was effected by a different road; they lost the greatest part of their booty; and at length returned to the royal camp, with some knowledge of the country, and an impatient desire of revenge. In the free conversation of the Imperial ambassadors, who discussed, at the court of Attila, the character and designs of their formidable enemy, the ministers of Constantinople expressed their hope that his strength might be diverted and employed in a long and doubtful contest with the princes of the house of Sassan, The more sagacious Italiansudmonished their Eastern brethren of the folly and danger of such a hope, and convinced them that the Medes and Persiana were incapable of resisting the arms of the Huns, and that the easy and important acquisition would exalt the pride, as well as power, of the conqueror. Instead of contenting himself with a moderate contribution, and a military title which equalled him only to the generals of Theodosius, Attila would proceed to impose a diagraceful and intolerable voke on the necks of the prostrate and captive Romans, who would then be encompassed, on all sides, by the empire of the Huns.18

While the powers of Europe and Asia were solicitous to avert may attent the impending danger, the alliance of Attila maintained the Vandals in the possession of Africa. An enterprise had been concerted between the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople, for the recovery of that valuable province; and the ports of Sicily were already filled with the military and naval forces of Theodosius. But the subtle Genseric, who spread his negotiations round the world, prevented their designs by exciting the king of the Huns to invade the Eastern empire; and a trifling

²⁷ [Basich and Cursich are not names of coles, but of two men, commanders of large tunids of the Hulls willo invaded Fersia. It soom misunderstood Priscus.]

See the original conversation in Priscus, p. 64, 65 [p. 90].

Incident soon became the motive, or pretence, of a destructive war.19 Under the faith of the treaty of Margus, a free market was held on the northern side of the Danube, which was protected by a Roman fortress surnamed Constantia. A troop of Barbarians violated the commercial security, killed, or depersed, the unsuspecting traders, and levelled the fortress with the ground. The Huns justified this outrage as an act of reprisal; alleged that the bishop of Margus had entered ther territories, to discover and steal a secret treasure of their kings; and sternly demanded the guilty prelate, the sacrilegious spoil, and the fugitive subjects, who had escaped from the justice of Attila. The refusal of the Byzantine court was the signal of war; and the Musians at first applauded the generous firmness of their sovereign. But they were soon intimidated by the destruction of Viminacium and the adjacent towns; and the people were persuaded to adopt the convenient maxim that a private citizen, however innocent or respectable, may be justly sacrificed to the safety of his country. The bishop of Margus, who did not possess the spirit of a martyr, resolved to prevent the designs which he suspected. He boldly treated with the princes of the Huns; secured, by solemn onths, his pardon and reward: posted a numerous detachment of Barbarians, in silent ambush, on the banks of the Danube; and at the appointed hour opened, with his own hand, the gates of his episcopal city. This advantage, which had been obtained by treachery, served as a prelude to more honourable and decisive victories. The Illyman frontier was covered by a line of eastles and fortresses; and, though the greatest part of them consisted only of a single tower, with a small garrison, they were commonly sufficient to repel, or to intercept, the inroads of an enemy who was ignorant of the art, and impatient of the delay, of a regular siege. But these slight obstacles were instantly swept away by the mundation of the Huns.20 They destroyed, with fire and sword, the

¹⁹ Priscus, p. 331 [kg. p. 33, fr. 3, F. H. G. n. p. 79, fr. 3]. His history contained a copious and elegant account of the war [Evagras, l. a. c. 17] but the extracts which relate to the embassies are the only parts that have resided out times. The original work was accessible, however, to the writers from whom we borrow our imperfect knowledge. Jornandes, Theophanes, Count Marcellinus, Prosper Tiro, and the author of the Alexandrian, or Paschal, Chronale M. de Buai (Hist, dee Pruples de l'Europe, tom, via. c. xv.) has examined the cause, the circumstances, and the duration, of this war; and will not allow it to extend beyond the year four hundred and forty-four.

Procopius, de Abhious, L w. c. 5. These fortresses were afterwards restored, strengthened, and enlarged, by the emperor Justinian, but they were soon destroyed by the Abares, who succeeded to the power and powersions of the

Huns

(Kastalaly)

populous cities of Sirmium and Singidunum, of Ratiaria 20a and Marcianopolis, of Naissus and Sardica; where every circumstance, in the discipline of the people and the construction of the buildings, had been gradually adapted to the sole purpose of defence. The whole breadth of Europe, as it extends above and rave five hundred miles from the Euxine to the Hadriatic, was at once invaded, and occupied, and desolated, by the myriads of Barbarians whom Athla led into the field. The public danger and distress could not, however, provoke Theodosius to interrupt his amusements and devotion, or to appear in person at the head of the Roman legions. But the troops which had been sent against Genseric were hastily recalled from Sicily; the garrisons on the side of Persia were exhausted; and a military force was collected in Europe, formidable by their arms and numbers, if the generals had understood the science of command, and their soldiers the duty of obedience. The armies of the Eastern empire were vanquished in three successive engagements; and the progress of Attila may be traced by the fields of battle. The two former, on the banks of the Utus, and under the walls of Marcianopolis, were fought in the extensive plans between the Danube and Mount Hiemus. As the Romans were pressed by a victorious enemy, they gradually, and unskilfully, retired towards the Chersonesus of Thrace; and that narrow peninsula. the last extremity of the land, was marked by their third, and irreparable, defeat. By the destruction of this army, Attila acquired the indisputable possession of the field. From the Hellespont to Thermopylæ and the suburbs of Constantinople, he ravaged, without resistance, and without mercy, the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia. Heracles and Hadrianople might, perhaps, escape this dreadful irruption of the Huns; but the words the most expressive of total extirpation and emsure are applied to the calamities which they inflicted on seventy cities of the Eastern empire.21 Theodosius, his court, and the unwarlike people, were protected by the walls of Constantinople; but those walls had been shaken by a recent earthquake, and the fall of fifty-eight towers had opened a large and tremendous breach. The damage indeed was speedily repaired; but this accident was aggravated by a superstitious fear that Heaven itself had delivered the Imperial city to the shepherds of

100 [Raturus was near the modern Ardscher below Wildin (Bonoma).]
21 Septuaginta civitates (says Prosper-Tiro) deprendantone vastatze. The language of count Marcellaus is still more forcible. Pene totam Europain, invana

Scythia, who were strangers to the laws, the language, and the religion, of the Romans. 22

The Scythian or Tartar Walt

In all their invasions of the civilized empires of the South, the Seythian shepherds have been uniformly actuated by a savage and destructive spirit. The laws of war, that restrain the exercise of national rapine and murder, are founded on two principles of substantial interest: the knowledge of the permanent benefits which may be obtained by a moderate use of conquest; and a just apprehension lest the desolation which we inflict on the enemy's country may be retaliated on our own But these considerations of hope and fear are almost unknown in the pastoral state of nations. The Huns of Attila may, without injustice, be compared to the Mogule and Tartars, before their primitive manners were changed by religion and luxury; and the evidence of Oriental history may reflect some light on the short and imperfect annals of Rome. After the Moguls had subdued the northern provinces of China, it was seriously proposed, not in the hour of victory and passion, but in calm deliberate council, to exterminate all the inhabitants of that populous country, that the vacant land might be converted to the pasture of cuttle. The firmness of a Chinese mandarin." who insinuated some principles of rational policy into the mind of Zingis, diverted him from the execution of this horrid design But in the cities of Asia, which yielded to the Moguls, the inhuman abuse of the rights of war was exercised, with a regular form of discipline, which may, with equal reason, though not with equal authority, be imputed to the victorious Huns. The inhabitants, who had submitted to their discretion, were ordered to evacuate their houses, and to assemble in some plain adjacent to the city; where a division was made of the vanquished into three parts. The first class consisted of the soldiers of the garrison, and of the young men capable of bearing arms; and their fate was instantly decided; they were either enlisted among the Muguls, or they were massacred on the spot by the

Tillement (Hist des Empereurs tom v. p. 106-107) has paid great attention to this memorable exchiquake; which was left as far from Constantinople as Annioch and Alexandra, and is celebrated by all the communical writers. In the hands of a popular preacher, an earthquake is an engine of admirable effect.

He represented to the emperor of the Moguls, that the four provinces (Petchles, Chantang, Chansa and Leatotong) which he alreads possessed in glit annually produce under a mail administration, 60,000 owners of a liver, 400,000 measures of rice, and 800,000 juness of alls. Goald! Hat de la Dynastie-des Mongous, p. 68, 50. Yeautchousay (such was the name of the manfar a) was a wise and virtuous minister, who saved his country, and civiated the conquerors. See p. 100, 102.

troops, who, with pointed spears and bended bows, had formed eirele round the captive multitude. The second class, composed of the young and beautiful women, of the artificers of every rank and profession, and of the more wealthy or honourable citizens, from whom a private ransom might be expected, was distributed in equal or proportionable lots. The remainder, whose life or death was alike useless to the conquerors, were permitted to return to the city; which, in the meanwhile, had been stripped of its valuable furniture; and a tax was imposed on those wretched inhabitants for the indulgence of breathing their native air. Such was the behaviour of the Moguls, when they were not conscious of any extraordinary rigour.24 But the most casual provocation, the slightest motive of caprice or convenience, often provoked them to involve a whole people in an indiscriminate massacre; and the rum of some flourishing cities was executed with such unrelenting perseverance that, according to their own expression, horses might run, without stumbling, over the ground where they had once stood. The three great capitals of Khorasan, Maru, Neisabour, and Herat, were destroyed by the armies of Zingis; and the exact account which was taken of the slain amounted to four millions three hundred and forty-seven thousand persons,25 Timur, or Tamerlane, was educated in a less barbarous age, and in the profession of the Mahometan religion; yet, if Attila equalled the hostile ravages of Tamerlane,26 either the Tartar or the Hun might deserve the epithet of the Scouror of Gop. "

It may be affirmed, with bolder assurance, that the Huns de-house populated the provinces of the empire, by the number of Roman

²⁶ Particular instances would be endless, but the curious reader may consult the lafe of Gengisean, by Petit de la Croix, the Histoire des Mongous, and the fifteenth book of the History of the Hunk.

At Mark, 1 300,000; at Herat, 1,600,000; at Neisabour, 1,747,000. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale p 380 381. I use the orthography of d'Auville's maps. It must, however, be allowed that the Persans were disposed to exaggesite their losses, and the Muguis to magnify their exploits.

losses, and the Mogais to magnety their exploits.

***C herefold in Alt, his service panegyrise, would afford us many horize examples! In his comp before Delhi, Timur in issuered 100 000 Ind an prisoners who had remail when the army of their countrymen appeared in loght (Hist, de Timur Hee, tom ni. p. 90). The people of lighthan supplied 20,000 human smalls for the structure of several lofty towers indition, i. p. 434). A smilar tax was levied on the revolt of Eugdad (tom ni. p. 170), and the exact are light, which is berefelding was not able to procure from the proper officers, is stated by another hazonant (Ahmed Arabanda, tom ni. p. 175, vers. Manger) at 90,000 heads.

**The ancients, furnandes, Priscus, for are light-rand of this epithet. The modern Hungarians have imagined that it was applied, by a hermit of Gaul to Atma who was bleased to misert at among the titles of his roy all dignity. Massora,

Ata a who was pleased to insert it among the titles of his royal dignity. Mascou, 12. 23, and Tillemont, Hist, des Empereurs, tom. vs. p. 143.

wayeets whom they led away into captivity. In the hands of a was legislator, such an industrious colony might have contributed to defuse, through the deserts of Seythus, the rudiments of the control and ornamental arts; but these captives, who had been taken in war, were accidentally dispersed among the hordes that obeyed the empire of Attila. The estimate of their respective value was formed by the sample judgment of unenlightened and unprejudiced Barbarians. Perhaps they might not understand the merit of a theologian, profoundly skilled in the controversor of the Trinity and the Incarnation; yet they respected the uninisters of every religion; and the active scal of the Christian vausuonaries, without approaching the person or the palace of the monarch, successfully laboured in the propagation of the guapel.24 The pastoral tribes, who were ignorant of the distinction of landed property, must have disregarded the use, as well as the abuse, of civil jurisprudence; and the skill of an eloquent lawyer could excite only their contempt, or their abhorrence." The perpetual intercourse of the Huns and the Goths had communicated the familiar knowledge of the two national dialects; and the Barbanans were ambitions of conversing in Latin, the military idiom even of the Eastern empire. 10 But they disdained the language, and the sciences, of the Greeks; and the van sophist, or grave philosopher, who had enjoyed the flattenne applause of the schools, was mortified to find that his robust servant was a captive of more value and importance than himself. The mechanic arts were encouraged and esteemed, as they tended to satisfy the wants of the Hunx. An architect, in the service of Onegesius, one of the favourites of Attila, was employed to construct a bath; but this work was a rare example of private luxury; and the trades of the smith, the carpenter, the armourer, were much more adapted to supply a wandering people with the useful instruments of peace and war.

The Germans, who exterminated farms and his legions, had been particularly offended with the Roman laws and lawyers. One of the Barbarians, after the emercial precautions of cutting out the tongue of an indicente and sewing up his s cath, observed with much satisfaction that the uper could no longer hiss.

Priscus, p. 59 [p. 86]. It should seem that the Hum preferred the Gothic and Latin language to their own, which was probably a barsh and barren A PROPERTY OF

¹⁰ The inissionaries of St. Chrysostom had converted great numbers of the Seythians, who dwelt beyond the Danube in tents and waggons. Theodoret, I e. 31. Photous, p. 1517. The Mahometans, the Nestorians, and the I atm Christians thought themselves secure of gar ng the aons and grandsons of linges, who treated the rival missionaries with impartial favour

But the merit of the physician was received with universal favour and respect; the Barbanans, who despised death, might be apprehensive of disease; and the haughty conqueror trembled in the presence of a captive, to whom he ascribed, perhaps, an imaginary power of prolonging, or preserving, his life. 33 The Huns might be provoked to insult the misery of their slaves. over whom they exercised a despotic command : 25 but their manners were not susceptible of a refined system of oppression; and the efforts of courage and diligence were often recompensed by the gift of freedom. The historian Priscus, whose embassy is a course of curious instruction, was accosted, in the camp of Attila, by a stranger, who saluted him in the Greek language, but whose dress and figure displayed the appearance of a wealthy Scythian. In the siege of Viminacium, he had lost, according to his own account, his fortune and liberty; he became the slave of Onegesius; but his faithful services, against the Romans and the Acataires, had gradually raised him to the rank of the native Huns; to whom he was attached by the domestic pledges of a new wife and several children. spoils of war had restored and improved his private property; he was admitted to the table of his former lord; and the apostate Greek blessed the hour of his captivity, since it had been the introduction to an happy and independent state; which he held by the honourable tenure of military service. This reflection naturally produced a dispute on the advantages, and defects, of the Roman government, which was severely arraigned by the apostate, and defended by Priscus in a prolix and feeble declamation. The freedman of Onegenus exposed, in true and lively colours, the vices of a declining empire, of which he had so long been the victim; the cruel absurdity of the Roman princes, unable to protect their subjects against the public enemy, unwilling to trust them with arms for their own defence; the intolerable weight of taxes, rendered still more oppressive by the intricate or arbitrary modes of collection;

Philip de Comines, in his admirable picture of the last moments of Lewis XI. (Mémoires, 1 vi. c. 12), represents the insolence of his physician, who, in five mioribs, extorted 54,000 crowns, and a rich bishopric, from the stern, avaricious

fyrant priscus (p. 61 [p. 88]) extols the equity of the Roman laws, which protected the life of a slave. Occudere solent (says Tacitus of the Germans) non-disc plink et severitaie, sed impetu et irik, ut inimuoum, nist quod impune. De Moribus Germ. c. 20. The Hemil, who were the subjects of Att la, cla med, and exercised, the power of life and death over their slaves. See a remarkable instance in the second book of Agathas.

of Imperial magnificence or Christian charity. The immediate supplies had been exhausted by the unforescen necessity of military preparations. A personal contribution, rigorously, but capriciously, imposed on the members of the senatorian order, was the only expedient that could disarm, without loss of time, the impatient avarice of Attila; but the poverty of the nobles compelled them to adopt the scandalous resource of exposing to public auction the jewels of their wives and the hereditary ornaments of their palaces. [11]. The king of the Huns appears to have established, as a principle of national jurisprudence, that he could never lose the property which he had once acquired in the persons who had yielded either a voluntary or reluctant submission to his authority. From this principle he concluded, and the conclusions of Attila were irrevocable laws, that the Huns who had been taken prisoners in war should be released without delay and without ransom; that every Roman captive who had presumed to escape should purchase his right to freedom at the price of twelve pieces of gold; and that (a) all the Barbarians who had deserted the standard of Attala should be restored, without any promise, or stipulation, of pardon. In the execution of this cruel and ignominious treaty, the Imperial officers were forced to massacre several loyal and noble deserters, who refused to devote themselves to certain death; and the Romans forfeited all reasonable claims to the friendship of any Scythan people, by this public confession that they were destitute either of faith or power to protect the suppliants who had embraced the throne of Theodosius.36

The firmness of a single town, so obscure that, except on this spirit of the occasion, it has never been mentioned by any historian or geographer, exposed the disgrace of the emperor and empire.

Azimus, or Azimuntium, a small city of Thrace on the Illyrian (Account) borders, ⁵⁷ had been distinguished by the martial spirit of its

According to the description or rather in excitive of Chrysostom, an auction of Byzant ne luxury must have been very productive. Every wealthy house possessed a semicircular table of massy silver, such as two men could searcely lift, a wase of solid gold of the weight of furly pounds, cups, dishes of the same metal.

to the emperor Theodomus.

Figure Procus, p. 36, 35 [fr. 5] Among the hundred and righty-two forts, or custics, of Thrace, enumerated by Procopus (de Aedineus, l. 18, c. m. tom. n. p. 90, edit.

metal. The articles of the treaty, expressed without much order or precision may be found in Prisons in 34, 35, 30, 37, 53, the fr 24 and fr 8 p. 61]. Count Marce, has disjenses some comfort by observing, 111, 1621 Att h himself seasted the peace and presents which he had formerly refused, and, adly, That, about the same time, the ambassadors of India presented a fine large tame tiger to the emperor Theodomics.

youth, the skill and reputation of the leaders whom they had chosen, and their daring exploits against the innumerable host of the Barbanana. Instead of tamely expecting their approach, the Agamantines attacked, in frequent and successful sallies, the troops of the Huns, who gradually declined the dangerous neighbourhood; rescued from their hands the spoil and the captives; and recruited their domestic force by the voluntary association of fugitives and deserters. After the conclusion of the treaty, Attila still menaced the empire with implacable war, unless the Azimuntines were persuaded, or compelled, to comply with the conditions which their sovereign had accepted. The ministers of Theodosius confessed with shame, and with truth, that they no longer possessed any authority over a society of men, who so bravely asserted their natural independence; and the king of the Huns condescended to negotiate an equal exchange with the citizens of Azimus. They demanded the restitution of some shepherds, who, with their cattle, had been accidentally surprised. A strict, though fruitless, inquiry was allowed; but the Huns were obliged to swear that they did not detain any prisoners belonging to the city, before they could recover two surviving countrymen, whom the Asimuntines had reserved as pledges for the safety of their lost companions. Attila, on his side, was satisfied, and deceived, by their solemn asseveration that the rest of the captives had been put to the sword; and that it was their constant practice immediately to dismiss the Romans and the deserters, who had obtained the security of the public faith. This prudent and officious disaimulation may be condemned or excused by the casusts, as they incline to the rigid decree of St. Augustin or to the milder sentiment of St. Jerom and St. Chrysostom; but every soldier, every statesman, must acknowledge that, if the race of the Azimuntines had been encouraged and multiplied, the Barbarians would have ceased to trample on the majesty of the empire."

Paris) there is one of the name of Brimontow whose position is doubtfully marked in the neighbourhood of Anchaius and the Euxine Sea. The name and walls of Azimuntum might subsist till the reign of Justinian, but the race of its brave defenders had been carefully extripated by the jealousy of the Roman princes. (But the town appears again in the reign of Maurice; and there—c, xlvi, footnote 66—Gibbon corrects his statement here.)

**The pervals dispute of St. Jerom and St. Augustin, who isboured, by different expedients, to reconcile the seeming quarter of the two aposites 5t Peter and St. Paul, depends on the solution of an important question (Middleton's Works, vet.) in p. 5-to) which has been frequently agitated by Catholic and Protestant divines, and even by lawyers and philosophers of every age.

It would have been strange, indeed, if Theodosius had purchased, by the loss of honour, a secure and solid tranquillity; or o if his tameness had not invited the repetition of injuries. Byzantine court was insulted by five or six successive embassies; 30 and the ministers of Attila were uniformly instructed to press the tardy or imperfect execution of the last treaty; to produce the names of fugitives and deserters, who were still protected by the empire; and to declare, with seeming moderation, that, unless their sovereign obtained complete and immediate satisfaction, it would be impossible for him, were it even his wish, to check the resentment of his warlike tribes. Besides the motives of pride and interest which might prompt the king of the Huns to continue this train of negotiation, he was influenced by the less honourable view of enriching his favourites at the expense of his enemies. The Imperial treasury was exhausted, to procure the friendly offices of the amhassadors and their principal attendants, whose favourable report might conduce to the maintenance of peace. The Barbarian monarch was flattered by the liberal reception of his ministers; he computed with pleasure the value and splendour of their gifts, rigorously exacted the performance of every promise which would contribute to their private emolument, and treated as an important business of state the marriage of his secretary Constantius " That Gallie adventurer, who was recommended by Actius to the king of the Huns, had engaged his service to the ministers of Constantinople, for the stipulated reward of a wealthy and noble wife; and the daughter of count Saturninus was chosen to discharge the obligations of her country. The reluctance of the victim, some domestic troubles, and the unjust confiscation of her fortune, cooled the ardour of her interested lover; but he still demanded, in the name of Attila, an equivalent alliance; and, after many ambiguous delays and excuses, the Byzantine court was compelled to sacrifice to this insolent stranger the widow of Armatius, whose birth, opulence, and beauty placed her in the most illustrious rank of the Roman matrons. For these importunate and

Montesqueu (Considérations sur la Grandeur, &c. e. xix.) has delineated, with a brid and easy pencil some of the ino this ang circumstances of the pride of Attua, and the degree of the Romans. He degrees the prince of having read the Franches and Prayus, which have been too much discensified.

Attia, and the degrace of the Romans. Fragments of Puscus, which have been too much disregarded.

See Priscus, p. 69, 71, 72, &c (F. H. G. IV. p. 93, 97, 08). I would fain believe that this adventurer was afterwards crucified by the order of Attia, on a suspicion of treasonable practices; but Priscus (p. 57 p. 84) has too plantified by they been persons of the name of Constant us, who, from the similar events of their lives, might have been easily confounded.

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oppressive embassies. Attila claimed a suitable return; he weighed, with suspicious pride, the character and station of the Impenal envoys; but he condescended to promise that he would advance as far as Sardica, to receive any ministers who had been invested with the consular dignity. The council of Theodosus cluded this proposal by representing the desolate and ruined combition of Sardica; and even ventured to insinuate that even officer of the army or household was qualified to treat with the most powerful princes of Scythia. Maximin,41 a respectable courtier, whose abilities had been long exercised in civil and military employments, accepted with reluctance the troublesome, and, perhaps, dangerous commission of reconciling the angry spirit of the king of the Huns. His friend, the historian Priscus, 62 embraced the opportunity of observing the Barbarian hero in the peaceful and domestic scenes of life; but the secret of the embassy, a fatal and guilty secret, was entrusted only to the interpreter Vigilius. The two last ambassadors of the Huns, Orestes, a noble subject of the Pannonian province, and Edecon, a valiant chieftain of the tribe of the Seyn, returned at the same time from Constantinople to the royal camp Their obscure names were afterwards illustrated by the extraordinary fortune and the contrast of their sons; the two servants of Attila became the fathers of the last Roman emperor of the West and of the first Barbarian king of Italy.

The ambasadors, who were followed by a numerous train of men and horses, made their first halt at Surdica, at the distance of three hundred and fifty miles, or thirteen days' journey, from Constantinople. As the remains of Sardica were still included within the limits of the empire, it was incumbent on the Romans to exercise the duties of hospitality. They provided, with the assistance of the provincials, a sufficient number of sheep and oxen; and invited the Huns to a splendid, or at least a plentiful, supper. But the harmony of the entertainment was soon

6 In the Persian treaty, concluded in the year 420, the wise and eloquent Maximin half been the assessor of Ardahirius (Secretes, I, vii e. 30). When Marcian ascended the throne, the office of Great Chamberlain was bestowed on Maximin who is ranked, in a public edict, among the four principal ministers of state (Novell ad. Calc. Cod. Theod. p. 31). He executed a cost and miniary commission in the Eastern provinces; and his death was amended by the savages

of Athopia, whose incursions he had repressed. See Priseus p. 40, 44.

Priseus was a native of Pan um in Thrace and deserved by his elequence, an bonourable place among the sophists of the age. He Byranthe history, which related to his own times, was comprised to seven books. See Fala, and, Billiand, Greek, tom. vi. p. 235, 236. Notwithstanding the charitable judgment of the critics, I suspect that Prisons was a Pagan.

disturbed by mutual prejudice and indiscretion. The greatness of the emperor and the empire was warmly maintained by their ministers; the Huns, with equal ardour, asserted the superiority of their victorious monarch: the dispute was inflamed by the rash and unseasonable flattery of Vigilius, who passionately rejected the comparison of a mere mortal with the divine Theodosius; and it was with extreme difficulty that Maximin and Priscus were able to divert the conversation, or to soothe the angry minds of the Barbarians. When they rose from table, the Imperial ambassador presented Edecon and Orestes with rich gifts of silk robes and Indian pearls, which they thankfully accepted. Yet Orestes could not forbear insinuating that he had not always been treated with such respect and liberality; the offensive distinction which was implied between his civil office and the hereditary rank of his colleague seems to have made Edecon a doubtful friend, and Orestes an irreconcileable enemy. After this entertainment, they travelled about one hundred miles from Sardica to Naissus. That flourishing city, (Sink) which had given birth to the great Constantine, was levelled with the ground; the inhabitants were destroyed or dispersed; and the appearance of some sick persons, who were still permitted to exist among the ruins of the churches, served only to increase the horror of the prospect. The surface of the country was covered with the bones of the slain; and the ambassadors, who directed their course to the north-west, were obliged to pass the hills of modern Servia, before they descended into the flat and marshy grounds which are terminated by the Danube. The Huns were masters of the great river; their navigation was performed in large canoes, hollowed out of the trunk of a single tree; the ministers of Theodosius were safely landed on the opposite bank; and their Barbarian associates immediately hastened to the camp of Attila, which was equally prepared for the amusements of hunting or of war. No sooner had Maximin advanced about two miles from the Danube, than he begun to experience the fastidious insolence of the conqueror. He was sternly forbid to pitch his tents in a pleasant valley, lest he should infringe the distant awe that was due to the royal mansion. The ministers of Attila pressed him to communicate the business and the instructions, which he reserved for the ear of their sovereign. When Maximin temperately urged the contrary practice of nations, he was still more confounded to find that the resolutions of the Sacred Consistory, those secrets (says Priscus) which should not be revealed to the gods them-

solves, had been treacherously disclosed to the public enemy On his refusal to comply with such ignominious terms, the inperial envoy was commanded instantly to depart; the order we recalled; it was again repeated; and the Huns renewed the ineffectual attempts to subdue the patient firmness of Maximus At length, by the intercession of Scotta, the brother of Ones. sins, whose friendship had been purchased by a liberal gift, b was admitted to the royal presence; but, instead of ubtains a decisive answer, he was compelled to undertake a remote journey towards the North, that Attila might enjoy the proof satisfaction of receiving, in the same camp, the ambassadors a the Eastern and Western empires. His journey was regulated by the guides, who obliged him to halt, to hasten his march, or to deviate from the common road, as it best suited the convenience of the King. The Romans who traversed the plane of Hungary suppose that they passed aereral navigable rivers either in canoes or portable bosts; but there is reason to suspect that the winding stream of the Theiss, or Tibiscus, might present itself in different places, under different names. From the contiguous villages they received a plentiful and regular supply of provisions; mend instead of wine, millet in the place of bread, and a certain liquor named commer, which, according to the report of Priscus, was distilled from barley.43 Such fare might appear coarse and indelicate to men who had tasted the luxury of Constantinople; but, in their accidental distress, they were relieved by the gentleness and hospitality of the same Barbarians, so terrible and so merceless in war. The ambassadors had encamped on the edge of a large morass. A violent tempest of wind and rain, of thunder and lightning, overturned their tents. immersed their baggage and furniture in the water, and scattered their retinue, who wandered in the darkness of the might, uncertain of their road, and apprehensive of some unknown danger, till they awakened by their cries the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, the property of the willow of Bleda. A bright illumination, and, in a few moments, a comfortable fire of reeds. was kindled by their officious benevolence; the wants, and even the desires, of the Romans were liberally satisfied; and they

The Huns themselves still continued to despise the labours of agriculture, they abused the privalege of a victor, an nation, and the Gotta, their industrious subjects who cultivated the earth, dreaded their neighbourhood, like that of so many machous wolves (Practis, p. 45 p. tell). In the same manner the Sustiand Tadgies provide for their own subscience, and for that of the Usise Tartarather lasy and rapacito is sovereigns, See Genealogical Unitory of the Tartara, p. 423, 455, &c.

Bleda's widow, who added to her other favours the gift, or at least the loan, of a sufficient number of beautiful and obsequious damsels. The sunshine of the succeeding day was dedicated to repose; to collect and dry the baggage, and to the refreshment of the men and horses: but, in the evening, before they pursued their journey, the ambasadors expressed their gratitude to the bounteous lady of the village, by a very acceptable present of silver cups, red fleeces, dried fruits, and Indian pepper. Soon after this adventure, they rejoined the march of Attila, from whom they had been separated about six days; and slowly proceeded to the capital of an empire which did not contain, in the

space of several thousand miles, a single city.

As far as we may ascertain the vague and obscure geography memoral of Priscus, this capital appears to have been scuted between the pains Danube, the Theiss, and the Carpathian hills, in the plains of Upper Hungary, and most probably in the neighbourhood of Jazberin, Agria, or Tokay. In its origin it could be no more than an accidental camp, which, by the long and frequent residence of Attıla, had meensibly swelled into a huge village, for the reception of his court, of the troops who followed his person, and of the various multitude of idle or industrious alaves and retainers. The baths, constructed by Onegenus, were the only eduice of stone; the materials had been transported from Pannoma; and, since the adjacent country was destitute even of large timber, it may be presumed that the meaner habitations of the royal village consisted of straw, of mud, or of canvas. The wooden houses of the more illustrious Huns were built and adorned with rude magnificence, according to the rank, the furture, or the taste of the proprietors. They seem to have been distributed with some degree of order and symmetry; and each spot became more honourable, as it approached the person

It is evident that Priscus passed the Danule and the Theis, and that he did not reach the foot of the Carpathian Hills. Agric. Tokay, and Judena, are admeted in the plains circumscribed by this define on. M. de Bisst (Historie des Perples, de tons vi. p. 401 has thosen Tokay). Otrokoses p. 180, apad Muscoulis. 2.), a learned Hungarian has preferred Jashena, a place about thirty six muscoustical Reduced the Danule.

The period of the transfer of the property of the period pales about thirty are missive westward of Buda and the Danube. [Jasz-Beren] 1

The read of the assessors of Togas, which, though a appears to have been a restence of the assessors of Togas, which, though a appears to have been a restence of the assessors of Togas, which, though a appears to have been a restence of the assessors of the town and abbeysof of Denys in the thirtoenth century (see Rubruquis, in the Histoire Générale des Voy eges, tom via p. 286). The camp of Aurengeele as it is so agreeably deserved by Bernier (tom a p. 217-235), blendod the manners of Seytha with the magnificence and luxury of Hindostan.

of the sovereign. The palace of Attila, which surpassed all other houses in his dominions, was built entirely of wood, and covered an ample space of ground. The outward enclosure was a lofty wall, or palisade of smooth square timber, intersected with high towers, but intended rather for ornament than defence. This wall, which seems to have encircled the declivity of a hill, comprehended a great variety of wooden edifices, adapted to the uses of royalty. A separate house was assigned to each of the numerous wives of Attila; and, instead of the rigid and illiberal confinement imposed by Asiatic jealousy, they politely admitted the Homan ambassadors to their presence, their table, and even to the freedom of an innocent embrace. Maximum offered his presents to Cerea, the principal queen, he admired the singular architecture of her mansion, the height of the round columns, the size and beauty of the wood, which was curiously shaped, or turned, or polished, or carved; and his attentive eye was able to discover some taste in the ornaments, and some regularity in the proportions. After passing through the guards who watched before the gate, the ambassadors were introduced into the private apartment of Cerca. The wife of Attila received their visit sitting, or rather lying, on a soft couch; the floor was covered with a carpet; the domestics formed a circle round the queen; and her damsels, seated on the ground, were employed in working the variegated embroidery which adorned the dress of the Barbaric warriors. The Huns were ambitious of displaying those riches which were the fruit and evidence of their victories: the trappings of their horses, their swords, and even their shoes, were studded with gold and precious stones; and their tables were profusely spread with plates, and goblets, and vases of gold and silver, which had been fashioned by the labour of Greenan artists. The monarch alone assumed the superior pride of still adhering to the simplicity of his Scythian ancestors, in The dress of Attila, his arms, and the furniture of his horse were plain, without ornament, and of a single colour. The royal table was served in wooden cups and platters; flesh was his only food; and the conqueror of the North pever tasted the luxury of bread.

The bakert.
our of Attile
to the Roreck

(Aug. Green)

When Attila first gave audience to the Roman ambassadors on the banks of the Danube, his tent was encompassed with a

When the Mogula displayed the spoils of Asia, in the diet of Toncat, the throne of Zingis was still covered with the original black felt curpet on which he had been studed when he was raised to the command of his warrike countrymen. See Vie de Gengoscan, Liv. c. 9.

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formidable guard. The monarch himself was seated in a wooden chair. His stern countenance, angry gestures, and impatient tone astonished the firmness of Maximin; but Vigilius had more reason to tremble, since he distinctly understood the menace that, if Attila did not respect the law of nations, he would nail the decentful interpreter to a cross and leave his body to the vultures. The Barbarian condescended, by producing an accurate list, to expose the bold falsehood of Vigilius, who had affirmed that no more than seventeen deserters could be found. But he arrogantly declared that he apprehended only the disgrace of contending with his fugitive slaves; since he despised their impotent efforts to defend the provinces which Theodosius had entrusted to their arms: "For what fortress" (added Attila), "what city, in the wide extent of the Roman Empire, can hope to exist, secure and impregnable, if it is our pleasure that it should be erased from the earth?" He dismissed, however, the interpreter, who returned to Constantinople with his peremptory demand of more complete restitution and a more splendid His anger gradually subsided, and his domestic satisfaction in a marriage which he celebrated on the road with the daughter of Eslam 47 might perhaps contribute to mollify the native herceness of his temper. The entrance of Attila into the royal village was marked by a very singular ceremony. A numerous troop of women came out to meet their hero, and their king. They marched before him, distributed into long and regular files; the intervals between the files were filled by white veils of thin linen, which the women on either side bore aloft in their hands, and which formed a canopy for a chorus of young virgins, who chanted hymns and songs in the Scythian language. The wife of his favourite Onegesius, with a train of female attendants, saluted Attila at the door of her own house, on his way to the palace; and offered, according to the custom of the country, her respectful homage, by entreating him to taste the wine and meat which she had prepared for his reception. soon as the monarch had graciously accepted her hospitable gift, his domestics lifted a small silver table to a convenient height, as he sat on horseback; and Attila, when he had touched the goblet with his lips, again saluted the wife of Onegesius, and continued his march. During his residence at the seat of empire, his hours were not wasted in the recluse idleness of a

^{6 [}Eskam, de flyquete tryperepa 'Eorein edechero Milman asks whether this means "his own daughter, Eskam" or "the daughter of Eskam". The fact that Princus passes no comment is in favour of the second interpretation.]

The repul

seraglio; and the king of the Huns could maintain his superor dignity, without concealing his person from the public view He frequently assembled his council, and gave audience to the ambassadors of the nations; and his people might appeal to the supreme tribunal, which he held at stated times, and, according to the eastern custom, before the principal gate of his wooden palace. The Romans, both of the East and of the West, were twice invited to the banquets, where Attila feasted with the princes and nobles of Scytina. Maximin and his colleagues were stopped on the threshold, till they had made a devout libation to the health and prosperity of the king of the Huns; and were conducted, after this ceremony, to their respective seats in a spaceous hall. The royal table and couch, covered with carpets and fine linen, was raised by several steps in the midst of the hall; and a son, an uncle, or perhaps a favourite king, were admitted to share the simple and homely repast of Attila. Two lines of small tables, each of which contained three or few guests, were ranged in order on either hand; the right was esteemed the most honourable, but the itomans ingenuously confess that they were placed on the left; and that Bene, an unknown chieftain, most probably of the Gothic race, preceded the representatives of Theodosius and Valentinian. banan monarch received from his cup-bearer a goblet filled with wine, and courteously drank to the health of the most distinguished guest, who rose from his seat and expressed, in the same manner, his loyal and respectful vows. This ceremony was successively performed for all, or at least for the illustrious persons of the assembly; and a considerable time must have been consumed, since it was thrice repeated, as each course or service was placed on the table. But the wine still remained after the meat had been removed; and the Huns continued to indulge their intemperance long after the sober and decent ambassadors of the two empires had withdrawn themselves from the nocturnal banquet. Yet before they retired, they enjoyed a singular opportunity of observing the manners of the nation in their convivial amusements. Two Seythans stood before the couch of Attala, and recited the verses which they had composed, to celebrate his valour and his victories. A profound silence prevailed in the hall; and the attention of the guests was captivated by the vocal harmony, which revived and perpetuated the memory of their own exploits: a martial ardour flashed from the eyes of the warriors, who were impatient for battle; and the tears of the old men expressed their generous despair

that they could no longer partake the danger and glory of the field.46 This entertainment, which might be considered as a school of military virtue, was succeeded by a farce that debased the dignity of human nature. A Moorish and a Scythian buffoon successively excited the mirth of the rude spectators, by their deformed figure, rediculous dress, antic gestures, absurd speeches, and the strange unintelligible confusion of the Latin, the Gothic, and the Hunnic languages; and the hall resounded with loud and licentious peals of laughter. In the midst of this intemperate not, Attila alone, without a change of countenance, maintained his stedfast and inflexible gravity; which was never relaxed. except on the entrance of Irnac, the youngest of his sons : he embraced the boy with a smile of paternal tenderness, gently pinched him by the cheek, and betrayed a partial affection, which was justified by the assumnce of his prophets that Irmac would be the future support of his family and empire. Two days afterwards, the ambassadors received a second invitation; and they had reason to praise the politeness as well as the hospitality of Attıla. The king of the Huns held a long and familiar conversation with Maximin; but his civility was interrupted by rude expressions, and haughty reproaches; and he was provoked, by a motive of interest, to support, with unbecoming zeal, the private claims of his secretary Constantius. "The emperor" (said Attila) "has long promised him a rich wife; Constantius must not be disappointed; nor should a Roman emperor deserve the name of har." On the third day, the ambassadors were dismissed; the freedom of several captives was granted, for a moderate ransom, to their pressing entreaties; and, besides the royal presents, they were permitted to accept from each of the Seythian pobles the honourable and useful gift of a horse. Maximin returned, by the same road, to Constantinople; and though he was involved in an accidental dispute with Berie, the new ambassador of Attila, he flattered himself that he had contributed, by the laborious journey, to confirm the peace and alliance of the two nations, 49

If we may believe Plutarch (in Demetrio, tom. v. p. 24 [c. 19]], it was the custom of the Seathans, when they indulged in the pleasures of the table to awaken their languad courage by the martial barmony of twanging their law-

strings.

The curious narrative of this embassy which required few observations, and was not societable of any collateral endence, may be found in Priscus, p. 4-7-70 [fr. 8]. But I have not confined myself to the same order, and I had previously extracted the historical circumstances, which were less intimately connected with the journey, and business, of the Roman ambassadors.

Conspiracy of the Remain against the ills of Attile

But the Roman ambassador was ignorant of the treacheross design, which had been concealed under the mask of the public faith. The surprise and satisfaction of Edecon, when he contenplated the splendour of Constantinople, had encouraged the interpreter Vigilius to procure for him a secret interview with the cunuch Chrysaphius, 50 who governed the emperor and the empire. After some previous conversation, and a mutual coth of secreey, the cunuch, who had not, from his own feelings or experience, imbibed any exalted notions of ministerial virtue ventured to propose the death of Attila, as an important service, by which Edecon might deserve a liberal share of the wealth and luxury which he admired. The ambassador of the Huns listened to the tempting offer, and professed, with apparent zeal, his ability, as well as readmess, to execute the bloody deed, the design was communicated to the master of the offices, and the devout Theodosius consented to the assassination of his invincible enemy. But this perfidious conspiracy was defeated by the dissimulation, or the repentance, of Edecon; and, though he might exaggerate his inward abhorrence for the treason, which he seemed to approve, he dexterously assumed the ment of an early and voluntary confession. If we som review the embassy of Maximin, and the behaviour of Attila, we must applaud the Barbarian, who respected the laws of hospitality, and generously entertained and dismissed the minister of a prince who had conspired against his life. But the rashness of Vigilius will appear still more extraordinary, since he returned, conscious of his guilt and danger, to the royal camp; accompanied by his son, and carrying with him a weighty purse of gold, which the favourite cunuch had furnished, to satisfy the demands of Edecon, and to corrupt the fidelity of the guards. The interpreter was instantly seized, and dragged before the tribunal of Attila, where he asserted his innocence with specious firmness, till the threat of inflicting instant death on his son extorted from him a sincere discovery of the criminal transaction. Under the name of ransom or confiscation, the rapacious king of the Huns accepted two hundred pounds of gold for the life of a traitor, whom he disdained to punish. He pointed his just

He reprimance and fergives the Emperer

²⁰ M. de Tillemont has very properly given the succession of Chamberlains who reigned in the mane of Theodosius. Christiphius was the last and, according to the unanimous evidence of history, the worst of these invountes (see Hist des Empereurs, tom vi. p. 317-119. Mem. Ecclés, tom xv p. 443). His partiality for his godfather, the heresisted huttyches, engaged him to persecute the orthodox party.



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Indignation against a nobler object. His ambassadors Eslaw and Orestes were immediately dispatched to Constantinople with a peremptory instruction, which it was much safer for them to execute than to disobey. They boldly entered the Impenal presence, with the fatal purse hanging down from the neck of Orestes; who interrogated the cunuch Chrysaphius, as he stood beside the throne, whether he recognised the evidence of his guilt. But the office of reproof was reserved for the superior dignity of his colleague Eslaw, who gravely addressed the Emperor of the East in the following words : "Theodosius is the son of an illustrious and respectable parent; Attila likewise is descended from a noble race; and he has supported, by his actions, the dignity which he inherited from his father Mundzuk. But Theodosius has forfeited his paternal honours, and, by consenting to pay tribute, has degraded himself to the condition of a slave. It is therefore just that he should reverence the man whom fortune and merit have placed above him; instead of attempting, like a wicked slave, clandestinely to conspire against his master." The son of Arcadius, who was accustomed only to the voice of flattery, heard with astonishment the severe language of truth; he blushed and trembled; nor did he presume directly to refuse the head of Chrysaphius, which Edaw and Orestes were instructed to demand. A solemn embassy, armed with full powers and magnificent gifts, was hashly sent to depreente the wrath of Attila; and his pede was gratified by the choice of Nomius and Anatolius, two ministers of consular or (Nomius) patnesan rank, of whom the one was great treasurer, and the other was master-general of the armies of the East, He condescended to meet these ambassadors on the banks of the river Drenco; and, though he at first affected a stern and haughty ("Down") demeanour, his anger was insensibly mollified by their eloquence and liberality. He condescended to pardon the emperor, the eunuch, and the interpreter; bound himself by an oath to observe the conditions of peace; to release a great number of esptives; abandoned the fugitives and deserters to their fate; and resigned a large territory to the south of the Danube, which he had already exhausted of its wealth and its inhabitants. But this treaty was purchased at an expense which might have supported a vigorous and successful war; and the subjects of Theodosius were compelled to redeem the safety of a worthless favourite by oppressive taxes, which they would more cheerfully have paid for his destruction.51

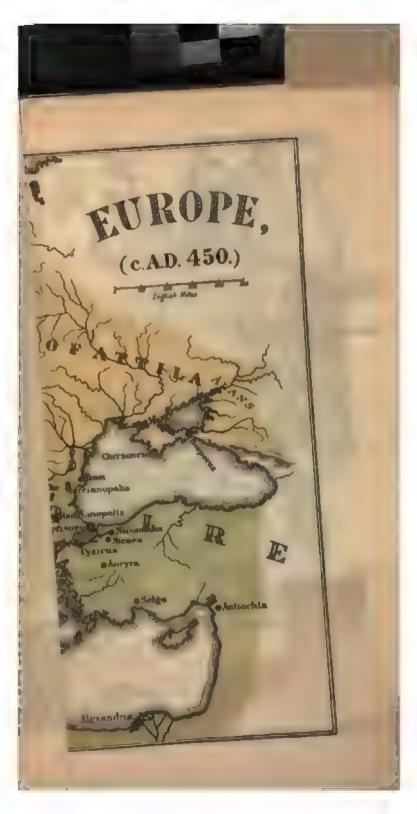
11 This secret conspiracy and its important consequences may be traced in the

The emperor Theodosius did not long survive the most an an humiliating circumstance of an inglorious life. As he was nding, or hunting, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople be was thrown from his horse into the river Lycus; the spine of the back was injured by the fall; and he expired some days afterwards, in the liftieth year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign. 52 His sister Pulcheria, whose authority had been controlled both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs by the permons influence of the cunuchs, was unanimously proclaimed empres of the East; and the Romans, for the first time, submitted to a female reign. No sooner had Pulchena ascended the throng than she indulged her own and the public resentment by an act of popular justice. Without any legal trial, the eunuch Chrisophius was executed before the gates of the city; and the immense riches which had been accumulated by the rapacious favourite served only to hasten and to justify his punishment.14 Amidst the general acclamations of the elecgy and people, the empress did not forget the prejudice and disadvantage to which her sex was exposed; and she wisely resolved to prevent their murmum by the chance of a colleague, who would always respect the superior rank and virgin chastity of his wife. She gave her hand to Marcian, a senator, about sixty years of age, and the nominal husband of Pulchena was solemnly invested with the Imperial purple. The zeal which he displayed for the orthodox creed, as it was established by the council of Chalcedon, would alone have inspired the grateful eloquence of the Catholies. But the behaviour of Marcian in a private life, and afterwards on the throne, may support a more rational belief that he was qualified to restore and invigorate an empire which had been almost dosolved by the successive weakness of two hereditary monarchs He was born in Thrace, and educated to the profession of arms. but Marcian's youth had been severely exercised by poverty and misfortune, since his only resource, when he first arrived at

fragments of Priscus, p. 32, 38, 39 ffr 7, 8 ad in t.}, 54 [p. 85] 70, 71, 72 [p. 95 96 17]. The chronology of that I storian is not lived by any precise date, but the veries of negotiations between Attilu and the Eastern empire must be included between the three or four years which are terminated, A.D. 450, by the death of Theodosias

Parchal Chronicle mention the fall, without specifying the njury; but the consequence was so likely to happen, and so unlikely to be avented, that we may safely gove cresist to Neephonas Call state, a feek of the fourteenth consumption of Pulcheroe natures as a country of the content of the

She abandoned the evalues to the pious revenue of a son whose father had suffered at his matigation,



CHAPTER XXXV

goths-Attila impades and evacuates Italy-The deaths of Attila, Actius, and Valentinian the Third

Ir was the opinion of Marcian that war should be avoided, as long as it is possible to preserve a secure and honourable peace. but it was likewise his opinion that peace cannot be honourable or secure, if the sovereign betrays a pusillanimous aversion to war. This temperate courage dictated his reply to the demands of Attila, who insolently pressed the payment of the annual tribute. The emperor signified to the Barbarians that they must no longer insult the majesty of Rome, by the mention of a tribute; that he was disposed to reward with becoming liberality the faithful friendship of his allies; but that if they presumed to violate the public peace, they should feel that he possessed troops, and arms, and resolution, to repel their attacks. same language, even in the camp of the Huns, was used by his ambassador Apollonius, whose bold refusal to deliver the presents, till be had been admitted to a personal interview, displayed a sense of dignity, and a contempt of danger, which Attila was not prepared to expect from the degenerate itomana. He threatened to chastise the rush successor of Theodosius; but he hesitated whether he should first direct his invincible arms against the Eastern or the Western empire. While mankind awaited his decision with awful suspense, he sent an equal defiance to the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople, and his ministers saluted the two emperors with the same haughty declaration. "Attila, my Lord, and thy lord, commands thee to provide a palace for his immediate reception." But, as the Barbarian despised, or affected to despise.

¹ See Priscus, p. 30 [fr. 15], 72 [fr. 18].
² The Alexandroin or Paischal Chronicle, which introduces this haughty measage during the Lifetime of Theodomas, may have anticipated the date, but the dull ansalist was mempable of inventing the original and genuine style of Attila.
[The story is also mentioned by John Malalas.]





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nans of the East, whom he had so often vanquished, he eclared his resolution of suspending the easy conquest, had achieved a more glorious and important enterprise. memorable invasions of Gaul and Italy, the Huns were By attracted by the wealth and fertility of those provinces; particular motives and provocations of Attila can only Lained by the state of the Western empire under the reign entinian, or, to speak more correctly, under the adminisof Actius.3

the death of his rival Boniface, Actius had prudently re-character and the tents of the Huns; and he was indebted to their alli, un or salte or his safety and his restoration. Instead of the suppliant ge of a guilty exile, he solicited his pardon at the head of thousand Barbarians; and the empress Placidia confessed, 45 mm beble resistance, that the condescension, which might have ascribed to elemency, was the effect of weakness or fear. belivered herself, her son Valentinian, and the Western eminto the hands of an insolent subject; nor could Placidia et the son-in law of Bomface, the virtuous and faithful tian,4 from the unplacable persecution, which urged him one kingdom to another, till he miserably perished in the be of the Vandals. The fortunate Actius, who was imtely promoted to the rank of patrician, and three invested the honours of the consulship, assumed, with the title of er of the cavalry and infantry, the whole military power of ate; and he is sometimes styled, by contemporary writers, take, or General, of the Romans of the West. His prudence, than his virtue, engaged him to leave the grandson of donus in the possession of the purple; and Valentinian was tted to enjoy the peace and luxury of Italy, while the cian appeared in the glorious light of a hero and a patriot supported near twenty years the ruins of the Western

or second book of the Histoire Critique de l'Établissement de la Monarchie use tom 1 p 189,424 throws great light on the state of Gaul, when it was d by Attila, but the ingemous author, the Abbe Dubos, too often bewiders f in system and conjecture,

re. The Gothic historian ingenuously confesses that Actius

stor Vitensis (de Persecut, Vandal 1 a c 6, p. 8, edst. Rumart) calls him, paulo of attenuous in hello; but his courage, when he become unfortunate, insured as desperate rathness, and Nebastian deserved, or obtained, the lot fewerly Nelon Apolimat Carrieri in 18t [Ag. 280]). His adventure history opic in Nacly, Gual Spain and Attendant faulty marked in the lebes of Marcellinus and Idatus. In his distress he was always followed by from train, since be could ravage the Hellespont and Propontia and seize of Barcelona.

was born for the salvation of the Roman republic; 5 and the following portrait, though it is drawn in the fairest colours, must be allowed to contain a much larger proportion of truth than of flattery. "His mother was a wealthy and noble Italian, and he father Gaudentius, who held a distinguished rank in the province of Scythia, gradually rose from the station of a military domestic to the digraty of master of the cavalry. Their son who was enrolled almost in his infancy in the guards, was given as a hostage, first to Alarie, and afterwards to the Huns, and he successively obtained the envil and military honours of the palace, for which he was equally qualified by superior ment. The graceful figure of Actius was not above the middle stature. but his manly limbs were admirably formed for strength, beauty. and agility; and he excelled in the martial exercises of managing a horse, drawing the bow, and darting the javelin. He could patiently endure the want of food or of sleep; and ha mind and body were alike capable of the most laborious efforts. He possessed the genuine courage that can despise not only dangers but injuries; and it was impossible either to corrupt, or deceive, or intimidate, the firm integrity of his soul." 6 Barbarians who had seated themselves in the Western provinces were insensibly taught to respect the faith and valour of the patrician Actius. He soothed their passions, consulted their prejudices, balanced their interests, and checked their ambition. A seasonable treaty, which he concluded with Genserie, protected Italy from the depredations of the Vandals; the independent Bestons implored and acknowledged his salutary aid; the Imperial authority was restored and maintained in Gaul and Spain; and he compelled the Franks and the Suevi, whom he had vanquished in the field, to become the useful confederates of the republic.

From a principle of interest, as well as gratitude, Actius as addously cultivated the alliance of the Huns. While he resided in their tents as a hostage or an exile, he had familiarly conversed with Attila himself, the nephew of his benefactor; and

Respublicae Romana angulanter natus, qui superbiam Susvorum, Francorumque barbariem immensis overbus service Imperio Romano cocquisset. Jor
annulas de Rebus Cartes e a companya de la cocquisse de la cocquista de la cocquisse de la cocquisse de la

nandes de Rebus Gettus e 34 p. 660.

d This portions is drained by Rennius Profuturia Frageridus, a contemporary historium, known only by some extra in which are preserved by Gregory of Lours (t. a. c. 6, in tomin. p. 16.—It was pressured the draw on the interest of Rennius to magnify the vivire of Actus, but he would have shown more destroity if he had not make a his patient, forgiting disposition. [See further the panegoric of Actus by Merobandes od by Bealier Cp. Appendix 1.]

the two famous antagonists appear to have been connected by a personal and military friendship, which they afterwards confirmed by mutual gifts, frequent embassies, and the education of Carpillo, the son of Actius, in the camp of Attila. By the specious professions of gratitude and voluntary attachment, the patrician might disguise his apprehensions of the Scythian conqueror, who pressed the two empires with his innumerable armies. His demands were obeyed or eluded. When he claimed the sporls of a vanquished city, some vases of gold, which had been fraudulently embezzled, the civil and military governors of Noricum were immediately dispatched to satisfy his complaints; 7 and it is evident from their conversation with Maximin and Priscus in the royal village, that the valour and prudence of Actius had not saved the Western Romans from the common ignominy of tribute. Yet his dexterous policy prolonged the advantages of a salutary peace, and a numerous army of Huns and Alani, whom he had attached to his person, was employed in the defence of Gaul. Two colonies of these Barbarians were judiciously fixed in the territories of Valence and Orleans; 8 Valenta and their active cavalry secured the important passages of the Rhone and of the Loire. These savage allies were not indeed less formidable to the subjects than to the enemies of Rome. Their original settlement was enforced with the licentious violence of conquest; and the province through which they marched was exposed to all the calamities of an hostile hivasion. Strangers to the emperor or the republic, the Alani of

² The embassy consisted of Count Romulus; of Promotus, president of Nortcum, and of Romanus the military duke. They were accompanied by Tatullus, an distribute of Romanus the miniary music. I key were accompanied by Faculta, and distribute of Petrovo Petraly in the same province, and father of Oresters, who had marked the daughter of Count Romaius. See Priscus. p. 57, 65 [p. 43, 92]. Cassadorius (Variati i 4) mentions another embassy which was exceived by his father and Carpine the son of Actus, and, as Attila was no enors, he could safely boast of their manly intrepid behaviour in his presence.

^{*} Deserta Valentinie urbis rura Alaus partienda traduntur. Prosper Tironis Chros. 21 ann 440] in Historiens de France, tom 1 p. 630. A few lines afterwirds, Prosper observes that lands in the ulterior Gaul were assigned to the Asam. Who it admitting the correction of Dubos (tom. 1 p. 300, the reasonable supposition of his colonies or garrisons of Alan) will confirm his arguments. and remove his objections. [Cp. Dahn, Kon der Germann in 264. Von Wetersheim argues for only one actionient in the neighbourhood of Orleans, Volkerw in p. 223 (ed. Dahn). The gratuitous correction of Dubos was Auretinage urbit.]

See Prosper Tiro p. 639. Sidonius (Panegyr Avit. 246) complains, in the name of Auvergne his pat we country

Litorius Scythicos equites tunc [log tum] forte subacto. Celsus Aremorico. Get cum rapiehat in agmen Per terras, Arverne, tuas, qui proxima quinque

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ring engines, and the inhabitants had endured the last mittees of famine, when count Litorius, approaching in e, and directing each horseman to carry behind him two of flour, cut his way through the entrenchments of the gers. The siege was immediately raised; and the more we victory, which is ascribed to the personal conduct of himself, was marked with the blood of eight thousand But in the absence of the patrician, who was hastily oned to Italy by some public or private interest, count lus succeeded to the command; and his presumption soon vered that far different talents are required to lead a wing alry, or to direct the operations of an important war. At lead of an army of Huns, he rashly advanced to the gates rtunes had rendered prudent and his situation made trate. The predictions of the augurs had inspired Litorius the profane confidence that he should enter the Gothic al in triumph; and the trust which he reposed in his Pagan encouraged him to reject the fair conditions of peace, were repeatedly proposed by the hishops in the name of dorse. The king of the Goths exhibited in his distress the ing contrast of Christian piety and moderation; nor did he side his sackeloth and ashes till he was prepared to arm for pembat. His soldiers, animated with martial and religious assam, assaulted the camp of Litorius. The conflict was nate; the slaughter was mutual. The Roman general, a total defeat, which could be imputed only to his unskilshness, was actually led through the streets of Toulouse, a his own, but in a hostile triumph; and the misery which percenced, in a long and ignominous captivity, excited the passion of the Barbarians themselves. 12 Such a loss, in a try whose spirit and finances were long since exhausted, not easily be repaired; and the Goths, assuming, in their the sentiments of ambition and revenge, would have ted their victorious standards on the banks of the Rhone. presence of Actius had not restored strength and disci-

the limits of that province—a cohort was stationed at Grenoble [Gratianoin Dauph né], and Eliterlunium or Iverdun, sheltered a flect of small vassels, commanded the Jake of Neufchätel. See Valesius, Notit. Galbarum, p. D Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Girale, p. 284–579.

lab an has attempted to explain the mosal government of the Deity; a task may be read y performed by supposing that the calamities of the wicked frametic, and those of the rightsous, teruli,

pline to the Romans.13 The two armies expected the signal of a decisive action; but the generals, who were conscious of each other's force, and doubtful of their own superiority, prudenth sheathed their swords in the field of battle; and their recociliation was permanent and sincere. Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, appears to have deserved the love of his audiects, the confidence of his allies, and the esteem of mankind. His three was surrounded by six valuent sons, who were educated with equal care in the exercises of the Barbarian camp and in thor of the Gallie schools; from the study of the Roman jury prudence, they acquired the theory, at least, of law and justice. and the harmonious sense of Virgil contributed to soften the asperity of their native manners.16 The two daughters of the Gothic king were given in marriage to the eldest sons of the kings of the Suevi and of the Vandals, who reigned in Spen and Africa; but these illustrious alliances were pregnant with guilt and discord. The queen of the Suevi bewailed the deals of an husband, inhumanly massacred by her brother. princess of the Vandals was the victim of a jealous tyrant. whom she called her father. The cruel Genserie suspected that his son's wife had conspired to poison him; the supposed crime was purished by the amputation of her now and ears; and the unhappy daughter of Theodoric was ignominiously returned to the court of Toulouse in that deformed and mutilated condition. This horrid act, which must seem incredible to a civilized age, drew tears from every specitor; but Theodoric was urged, by the feelings of a parent and a king, to revenge such irreparable injuries. The Imperal ministers, who always cherished the discord of the Barlinmans, would have supplied the Goths with arms and ships and

> 13 ---- Capto terrarum damna patebant Litorio, in Rhodaniam proprios producere fines, Theudoridæ fixum, nec erat pugnare newsse. Sed migrare Get a Rubidam irux asperat rain Victor; quod sensit Scythiaum aub mara bus hosteni Imputat, et nihil est gravius, si forsitan unquam Vincere contingat, tropido-

Panegyr Avit 300, &c Sidonius then proceeds, according to the duty of a panegyrist, to transfer the whole ment from Actius to his numster Avitus,

14 Theodoric II revered, in the person of Avitus, the character of his proceptor Milii Romula dudum

Per se jura placent, purvunque ediscen jussit
Ad tua verba parer, docd, quo prisca Marens
Carmine molliret Scythicos indi pagina mores.
Sidon, Panegyr, Avr., 495, &c.

ares for the African war; and the cruelty of Genseric thave been fatal to himself, if the artful Vandal had not d, in his cause, the formidable power of the Huns. His gifts and pressing solicitations inflamed the ambition of a; and the designs of Aetius and Theodoric were prevented as invasion of Gaul. 16

The Franks, whose monarchy was still confined to the neight to receive the follower Rhine, had wisely established the right to the reditary succession in the noble family of the Merovingians. In the time the princes were elevated on a buckler, the symbol of military

crand; ¹⁷ and the royal fashion of long hair was the ensign their birth and dignity. Their flaxen locks, which they libed and dressed with singular care, hung down in flowing lets on their back and shoulders; while the rest of the on were obliged, either by law or custom, to shave the liber part of their head, to comb their hair over the forehead,

to content themselves with the ornament of two small akers. 14 The lofty stature of the Franks, and their blue is, denoted a Germanic origin; their close apparel accurately ressed the figure of their limbs; a weighty sword was susped from a broad belt; their bodies were protected by a large old; and these warlike Barbarians were trained, from their liest youth, to run, to leap, to swim; to dart the javelin or

Our authorities for the reign of Theodoric I, are Jornandes de Rebus Geneis, is 36 and the Chronicles of Idatus, and the two Prospers, inserted in the formation of France, tout it, p. 612-640. To these we may add Salvian de permittone Des, I, vii. p. 243, 244, 245, and the Panegyric of Autus, by

We ges Crimina (super) he creavance de primà, et ut ita dicam nobilion suorum illat (Greg "From 1 in c. o., p. 165 et the second volume of the Hist wans of pice). Cregory lamself dres not mention the Africanguan name which may arrived, however, to the languaging of the second century as the fest not we miliation of the royal family and earn of the French monarchy. An ingenious je has deficeed the Merovagians from the great Marolashus; and he has lefty proved that the prime who gave he have to the first rice was more just than the father of Chaderie. See the Memotres de l'Académie des Inscription, torn an p. 52-20, 10th and p. 557-257.

D. This German custom: which may be insent from Tacitus to Gregory of Tours.

P. This German custors which may be true of from Tacitis to Gregory of Tours, as then the adopted by the emperies of to onstant respire. From a Ms. of the the century Mentineon has definented the representation of a similar exemony, left the greening of the age had applied to king David. See Monuments de Mentinelle Françoise, tons, a Discourse Presint mare.

Learnes product criminal flags has per torgan limitals, for See the Preface the third volume of the Historisms of brance, and the Abb Le Bourf (Dissertation of the Merovingians has been remarked matrixes and strangers, by Prosein (torn a. p. 603) by Agathina (torn a. p. 49 for 3) and by Gregory of Tours, 1. In 18, vi. 24, vi. 10 for a. p. 104, 878, 316, pr. the thort have of the other Frinchy op a mudain's sections. Symmers (in tr. 183) and Sulon, Apoul. Spot. 8, v. 1

hattle-axe with unerring aim; to advance, without hesitation against a superior enemy; and to maintain, either in life or ileath, the invincible reputation of their ancestors in Closion. the first of the long-haired kings whose name and actions are meationed in anthentic history, held his residence at Dispargum." village or fortress whose place may be assigned between Louvain and Brussels. From the report of his spies the king of the Frank was informed that the defenceless state of the second Belge must yield, on the slightest attack, to the valour of his subjects He boldly penetrated through the thickets and morasses of the Carbonarian forest; 21 occupied Tournay and Cambray, the only cities which existed in the fifth century; and extended his conquests as far as the river Somme, over a desolate country, whose cultivation and populousness are the effects of more recent is dustry,25 While Clodion lay encamped in the plains of Arton,5 and celebrated with vain and ostentations security the marriage, perhaps, of his son, the nuptual feast was interrupted by the unexpected and unwelcome presence of Actius, who had passed the Somme at the head of his light cavalry. The tables, which had been spread under the shelter of a hill, along the banks of a pleasant stream, were rudely overturned; the Franks were oppressed before they could recover their arms, or their ranks; and their unavailing valour was fatal only to themselves. The loaded waggons which had followed their march afforded a rich booty; and the virgin bride, with her female attendants, submitted to the new lovers who were imposed on them by the

25 See an original picture of the figure dress, arms, and temper of the annex Franks in Sidona's Apolitures (Paneger Majoran 338-34), and not be turn though coursely drawn, have a real and intensic value Pather Duniel (Hist do

in M be Françoise tom, i, p. 29; his illustrated the description.

Duby Hot Critique &c. tom, i, p. 29; and illustrated the description.

Duby Hot Critique &c. tom, i, p. 29; and Some geographers have placed Dispargium on the German side of the Rhine. See a note of the Benedic time Editors to the Honorams of France, tom, i, p. 166. [Greg. 29 (p. 27, ed. M. G. H.)]. The site of Dispargium is uncertain. Up. Longnon Geogr. de to M. G. H.). The site of Dispargum is uncertain. Up. Longnon Geogr. de a Giolle, p. 619. Some identify it with Dustaing.)

The Carbonari in wood was that part of the great forest of the Ardennes, which my between the Escaut, or Scheid, and the Meine. Vales. Notit. Gall., a

120. [Cp. Longton, op. cst. p. 154.]

22 Gregor Turon I. i. c. 9, in tom, ii. p. 166-167 Fredegar Epitom c. o. o.
393 Gesta Reg. Francor c. 5, in ton, ii. p. 544 Vn. St. Remig. ab Hitteliner in tom in p. 373.

Francus qua Cloro patentes Attebatum terras persuaerat.

Panegye Majorian, 212. The precise spot was a town or village called Vicus Helma (18, 213); and both the name and the place are discovered by modern geographers at Lens Longnon suggests Helman. Surmoud sought the place at Viet Hesdal. See Vales. Note Gall p. 246. Longuerue, Description de la France, tons u. p. 88.

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chance of war. This advantage, which had been obtained by the skill and activity of Actus, might reflect some disgrace on the military prudence of Clodion; but the king of the Tranks soon regained his strength and reputation, and still maintained the possession of his Gallic kingdom from the Rhine to the Somme.24 Under his reagn, and most probably from the enterprising spirit of his subjects, the three capitals, Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, experienced the effects of hostile cruelty and The distress of Cologne was prolonged by the perpetavarice. ual dominion of the same Barbarians, who evacuated the ruins of Treves; and Treves, which, in the space of forty years, had been four times besieged and pillaged, was disposed to lose the memory of her afflictions in the vain amusements of the circus." The death of Clodion, after a reign of twenty years, exposed his kingdom to the discord and ambition of his two sons. Meroveus, the younger," was persuaded to implore the protection of Rome; he was received at the Imperial court as the ally of Valentiman and the adopted son of the patrician Actius; and dismissed to his native country with splendid gifts and the strongest assurances of friendship and support. During his absence, his elder brother had solicited, with equal ardour, the formidable aid of Attila; and the king of the Huns embraced an alliance which facilitated the passage of the Rhine and justified, by a specious and honourable pretence, the invasion of Gaul.27

When Attila declared his resolution of supporting the cause the second of his allies, the Vandals and the Franks, at the same time, and prince almost in the spirit of romantic chivalry, the savage monarch

24 See a vague account of the action in Sidonius, Panegyr, Majonan, 212-232. The French critics impatient to establish their monarchy in Gau, have drawn a strong argument from the idence of Sidon us, who dares not insignate that the

vanquished franks were compelled to repass the Rhine. Dubos, tom, i. p. 322, a band of Gubernat. Let 1, st., has expressed, in vague and declaratory language, the mesfortunes of these three cities, which are distinctly ascertained by

the fermed Mascon, Hist, of the Ancient Germans, ix. 21

*Priseus in relating the contest, does not name the two brothers; the second of whom he had seen at Rome a bearsless youth, with long this and har (Hotorians of France, tom a poor 668). The Benedictine Federa are nelined to believe that they were the sons of some unknown hang of the Franks who to believe that they were the sone of some unknown king of the Praises where reigned on the banks of the Nocker; but the arguments of M. de Fonce-magne, Mém, de l'Académie, tom, viu. p. 464 seem to p ore that the succession of Clodion was disputed by his two sons and that the younger was Mercesus the father of Childeric. [Of Merovech, Gregory says merely that, according to some, he was of the see of Chilopo de Lajus starpe.]

27 Under the Merovingian rice the throne was hereditary; but all the sons of the decreased monarch were equally entitled to their share of his treasures and territories. See the Discriptions of M the Forcennique in the sexth and eighth volumes of the Mémoures de l'Academie, [Cp. Waitz, Deutsche Verfassungs-

genhichte, n. t. 139 199

patrimony. His predecessors, the ancient Tanjous, had often addressed, in the same hostile and peremptory manner, the daughters of China; and the pretensions of Attila were not less offensive to the majesty of Rome. A firm, but temperate. refusal was communicated to his ambassadors. The right of female succession, though it might derive a specious argument from the recent examples of Placidia and Pulcheria, was strenuously denied; and the indissoluble engagements of Honoria were opposed to the claims of her Scythian lover. 20 On the discovery of her connexion with the king of the Huns, the guilty princess had been sent away, as an object of horror, from Constantinople to Italy; her life was spared; but the ecremony of her marriage was performed with some obscure and nominal husband, before she was immured in a perpetual prison, to beward those crimes and misfortunes which Honoria might have escaped, had she not been born the daughter of an emperor.30

A native of Gaul and a contemporary, the learned and assistant elequent Sidonius, who was afterwards bishop of Clermont, had a learned made a promise to one of his friends that he would compose a learned made a promise to one of his friends that he would compose a learned regular history of the war of Attila. If the modesty of Sidonius had not discouraged him from the prosecution of this interesting work, in the historian would have related, with the simplicity of truth, those memorable events to which the poet, in vague and doubtful metaphors, has concisely alluded. The kings

** See Priscus, p. 39, 40 fr. 15 16). It might be fairly alleged that if females could succeed to the throne, Valentinian h mielf, who had married the daughter and herees of the younger Theodosius, would have asserted her right to the eastern empire.

The adventures of Honoria are imperfectly related by Jornandes, de Successione Regn. c. 97, and de Reli Get. c. 42, p. 674, and in the Chromeles of Prosper and Mirrell nus, but they cannot be made consistent, or probable, unless we separate by an interval of time and place, her intrigue with Engenius and her invitation of Attila.

"Exegeras mili, ut promitterem tibi Attilæ bellum stylo me posteris intimaturum , corperam scribere, sed operis arrepti fasce perspecto tæduit inchoasse. Sidon, Apoll I, vin. epist. 15, p. 246.

Reptaries totas in te transfuderat arctos, Galha. Pugnacem Rugum comutante Gelono Gepida trux see, atur : Seyrum Burgundio cogit : Chunus, Bellonotus, Neurus, Bustaron, Terragus, Bructerus uwosa vel quem Nicer alluit undă Prorumjut Francus. Cecid i cuto secia biprami Hercana in brutes et Rhegum texuit alno. Et jum terrificis diffiderat Att la turma In cumpos ar, Belga, tuos.

The Berlanoti are unknown. Co Valer, Flaceus, vi. 160. Dalloutt.)

[hipmaries

and nations of Germany and Scythia, from the Volga perhaps to the Danube, obeyed the warlike summons of Attila. From the royal village, in the plains of Hungary, his standard moved towards the West; and, after a march of seven or eight hundred miles, he reached the conflux of the Rhine and the Necker, where he was joined by the Franks, who adhered to his ally, the elder of the sons of Clothon. A troop of light Barbarians, who roamed in quest of plunder, might choose the winter for the convenience of passing the river on the ice; but the innumerable cavalry of the Huns required such plenty of forage and provisions, as could be procured only in a milder season; the Hereyman forest supplied materials for a bridge of boats; and the hostile myriads were poured, with resistless violence, into versal; and the various fortunes of its cities have been adorned by tradition with martyrdom and mimeles, 34 Troyes was saved by the merits of St. Lupus, St. Servatius was removed from the world, that he might not behold the rum of Tongres; and the prayers of St. Genevieve diverted the march of Attila from the neighbourhood of Paris. But, as the greatest part of the Gallie cities were alike destitute of saints and soldiers, they were besieged and stormed by the Huns; who practised, in the example of Meta,35 their customary maxims of war. They in-

(Marilla)

The most nathentic and circumstantial seconnt of this war is contained in Jornandes (de Reb Getiers, c. 36.4) p. 662-672), who has sometime absorbed and scinetimes transcribed the larger history of Cassodor us. Jornandes a quotate o which it would be superfluous to reject, may be corrected and "astrated his Gregory of Tours 1.2 c. 5.6, 7 and he Chenneles of Liatus, Isolore and the two Prospers. All the ancient test mones are confected and ascreted of the Personne of France but he reader should be continued against a supposed extract from the Chennele of Id 1 as (among the fragm its of Fred guerns to min p. 462) which often contradicts the genuine text of the Galician b shop

The ascesse legendaries deserve some regard as they are obliged to connect their fables with the seal history of their own times. See the lives of St. Lagas, St. Amianus, the history of Metz. St. Genevieve &c. in the Historian; of France, tom 1 bigs but \$19,00m in p. 369. [Mr. Hodgen places the visit of the Huns to Troses on their retreat eastward after the relief of Orleans (ii. 122) It is impossible to have any certainty on the vague narrative of our authority (I if of St. Lagas), her benchmiks that the words. Rivers charm finents visitum look "ass if trians face was now set Rhinewards.]

The scepticism of the Count de Buat (first des Peuples tom, vii p. 520, 540) cannot be reconcised with any principles of tension or extension. Is not Gregory of Tours precise and positive in his account of the destruction of Meta? At this distance of no more than 100 years could be be generate could the people be generate of the fate of a city, the action, residence of his 100yre gas, the kings of Australia? The learned Count who seems to have indertaken the applicable of Actia and the Barbarians appeals to the false that is precess coviets has Germanum et Galling and forgets that the true Idains had explicitly afficienced.

volved, in a promiscuous massacre, the priests who served at the altar, and the infants, who, in the hour of danger, had been providently baptized by the bishop; the flourishing city was delivered to the flames, and a solitary chapel of St. Stephen marked the place where it formerly stood. From the Rhine and the Moselle, Attila advanced into the heart of Gaul; crossed the Seme at Auxerre; and, after a long and laborious march, fixed his camp under the walls of Orleans. He was desirous of (Assessed) securing his conquests by the possession of an advantageous post, which commanded the passage of the Lore; and he depended on the secret invitation of Sangilian, king of the Alani, who had promised to betray the city, and to revolt from the service of the empire. But this treacherous conspiracy was detected and disappointed; Orleans had been strengthened with recent fortifications; and the assaults of the Huns were vigorously repelled by the faithful valour of the soldiers, or eithens, who defended the place. The pastoral diligence of Anianus, a bishop of primitive sanctity and consummate prudence, exhausted every art of religious policy to support their courage, till the arrival of the expected succours. After an obstinate siege, the walls were shaken by the battering rams; the Huns had already occupied the suburbs; and the people, who were incapable of bearing arms, lay prostrate in prayer. Amanus, who anxiously counted the days and hours, dispatched a trusty messenger to observe, from the rampart, the face of the distant country. He returned twice without any intelligence that could inspire hope or comfort; but, in his third report, he mentioned a small cloud, which he had faintly descried at the extremity of the horizon. " It is the aid of God!" exclaimed the bishop, in a tone of pions confidence; and the whole multitude repeated after him, "It is the aid of God '. The remote object, on which every eye was fixed, became each moment larger and more distinct; the Roman and Gothic banners were gradually perceived; and a favourable wind, blowing ande the dust, discovered, in deep array, the impatient squadrons of Aetus and Theodoric, who pressed forwards to the relief of Orleans.

The facility with which Attila had penetrated into the heart amages of of (and may be ascribed to his insidious policy as well as to the foliation the terror of his arms. His public declarations were skilfully

plurime cartates of racte, among which he enumerates Metr. [See Monumen's edit on Chron Min ii p. 26. Rhems (Rem) and entured a Hunne occupation.]

2[See Lafe of St. Amanus in Dischesor, Hist. Fr. Ser., vol. 1.]

mitigated by his private assurances; he alternately southed and threatened the Romans and the Goths; and the courts of Ravenna and Toulouse, mutually suspicious of each others intentions, beheld with supine undifference the approach of their common enemy. Actius was the sole guardian of the public safety; but his wisest measures were embarrassed by a faction which, since the death of Placidia, infested the Imperial palace; the youth of Italy trembled at the sound of the trum pet; and the Barbarians who, from fear or affection, were in clined to the cause of Attila awaited, with doubtful and venu faith, the event of the war. The patrician passed the Alps at the head of some troops, whose strength and numbers scarceive deserved the name of an army.37 But on his arrival at Arles, or Lyons, he was confounded by the intelligence that the Visigoths, refusing to embrace the defence of Gaul, had determined to expret, within their own territories, the formidable invader, whom they professed to despise. The senator Avitus, who, after the honourable exercise of the pratorian Prafecture, had retired to his estate in Auvergne, was persuaded to accept the important embassy, which he executed with ability and success. He represented to Theodoric that an ambitious conqueror, who aspired to the dominion of the earth, could be resisted only by the firm and unanimous alhance of the powers whom he laboured to The lively eloquence of Avitus inflamed the Gothic warriors, by the description of the injunes which their ancestors had suffered from the Huns; whose implacable fury still pursued them from the Danube to the foot of the Pyrenees. strenuously urged that it was the duty of every Christian to save from sacrilegious violation the churches of God and the relies of the samts; that it was the interest of every Barbarian who had acquired a settlement in Gaul to defend the fields and vineyards, which were cultivated for his use, against the desolation of the Scythian shepherds. Theodoric yielded to the evidence of trath; adopted the measure at once the most prudent and the most honourable; and declared that, as the faithful ally of Actius and the Romans, he was ready to expose his life and kingdom for the common safety of Gaul, 35 The Visigoths.

T — Vik liquerat Alpes

Actus fer le et ravuel sine milite ducens

Robut in austrius. Getalum male credidus agmen

Incassum proprius procesumens adfore castris.

Panegyr, Avit 328 &c.

The policy of Attila of Act us, and of the Viv goths. X ar perfectly described in the Panegyrit of Avitus and the thirty-sixth chapter of Jornandes. The poet

who at that time were in the mature vigour of their fame and power, obeyed with alacrity the signal of war, prepared their arms and horses, and assembled under the standard of their aged king, who was resolved, with his two eldest sons. Torismond and Theodoric, to command in person his numerous and valuant people. The example of the Goths determined several tribes or nations that seemed to fluctuate between the Huns and the Romans. The indefatigable diligence of the patrician gradually collected the troops of Gaul and Germany, who had formerly acknowledged themselves the subjects or soldiers of the repubhe, but who now claimed the rewards of voluntary service and the rank of independent allies; the Lati, the Armonauns, the Breones, the Saxons, the Burgundians, the Sarmatians or Alani, the Ripuarians, and the Franks who followed Meroveus as their lawful prince. Such was the various army, which, under the conduct of Actus and Theodoric, advanced, by rapid marches, to relieve Orleans, and to give battle to the innumerable host of

On their approach the king of the Huns immediately ruised Authorise the siege, and sounded a retreat to recal the foremost of his of than troops from the pillage of a city which they had already entered.40 The valour of Attila was always guided by his prudence; and, as he foresaw the fatal consequences of a defeat in the heart of Gaul, he repassed the Seine and expected the cuemy in the plains of Châlons, whose smooth and level surface was adapted to the operations of his Scythian cavalry. But in this tumultuary retreat the vanguard of the Romans and their

and the historian were both biassed by personal or national projudices. The fermer exalts the ment and imports nor of Avitas, othic, Avite sales, &c. 1 The agreement, when they are fairly interpreted, is a proof of their veracity.

The review of the arms of Act us is made by Jornandes, c. 36, p. 664, edit. Grot tom is p. 23, of the Historians of France, with the notes of the Beneficial Gaul, and the R part or Referent derived their name from their posts on the three evers the Rhine the Meuse and the Moselle, the Aemorican processed three rivers the Rhine the filesse and the Moselle, the Armstrant processed the referendent cities between the Sene and the Loure. A colony of Sasum had been plant do the discress of Bayeria, the Bargundians were settled in Savoy; and the Biranes were a warlike tribe of Rhattians, to the east of the lake of Consumers. Saxones, Right of Trans. Surmate, Armor cian, Literann, Burgundiones, Saxones, Right Orbitones, alaeque nonnuli Celluce vel Germania nationes. The Sarmate are probably the Alans who were settled not ad Valence; the Literan may be the Lett, the Ripart the Ripartan Franks. The Ol briones are quite uncertain.]

** turehanensis urbis objidio oppognatio, irruptto, nec direptio 1 v Sidon, co., n 1 vin. epist 15, p 246. The preservation of Orleans might be easily Apount 1 vin. epist. 15, p. 146. The preservation of Orlean-turned into a minute, obtained and forefold by the holy bishop.

allies continually pressed, and sometimes engaged the troops whom Attila had posted in the rear; the hostile columns, is the darkness of the night, and the perplexity of the roads, might encounter each other without design; and the bloods conflict of the Franks and Gepide, in which fifteen thousand " Barbarians were slain, was a prelude to a more general and decisive action. The Catalauman fields 12 spread themselves round Chalons, and extend, according to the vague measurement of Jornandes, to the length of one hundred and fifty, and the breadth of one hundred, miles, over the whole province, which is intitled to the appellation of a champaign country.48 spacious plain was distinguished, however, by some inequalities of ground, and the importance of an height, which commanded the camp of Attila, was understood, and disputed, by the two generals. The young and valuant Torismond first occupied the summit; the Goths rushed with irresistible weight on the Huns. who laboured to ascend from the opposite side; and the posses sion of this advantageous post inspired both the troops and their leaders with a fair assurance of victory. The anxiety of Attila prompted him to consult his priests and harnspices. It was reported that, after scrutinizing the entrails of victims and scraping their bones, they revealed, in mysterious language, his own defeat, with the death of his principal adversary; and that the Burbanan, by accepting the equivalent, expressed his involuntary exteem for the superior ment of Actius. But the unusual despondency, which seemed to prevail among the Huns, engaged Attila to use the expedient, so familiar to the generals of antiquity, of animating his troops by a military oration; and his language was that of a king who had often fought and conquered at their head.44 He pressed them to consider their

⁴ The common of tions read KCM, but there is some authority of manuscripts [and almost any authority is sufficient) for the more reasonable number of KCM.

⁴⁹ Châlons or Duro-Catalaunum, afterwards totalaums, had formerly made a part of the territory of Rhes III, from whence it is distant only twenty-seven mice. See Vales. Notice Gail p. 236. D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 259, [See Appendix 28.]

⁴⁹ The name of Campania or Champagne, is frequently mentioned by Gregory of Tours, and that g and province, of which Rheims was the capital, obeyed the command of a duke. Vales. Not t. p. 120-123

^{64]} on sensible that these military oral ons are usually composed by the historium, yet the ed barograths who had sensed under Air In, might repeat his discourse to Cassiodorius, the deax, and even the expression have an original Southain cast, and I doubt whether an Italian of the sixth contury would have thought of the highes certaminis gender.

past glory, their actual danger, and their future hopes. The same fortune which opened the deserts and morasses of Seythia to their unarmed valour, which had laid so many warlike nations prostrate at their feet, had reserved the joys of this memorable field for the consummation of their victories. The cautious steps of their enemies, their strict alliance, and their advantageous posts, he artfully represented as the effects, not of prudence, but of fear. The Visigoths alone were the strength and nerves of the opposite army; and the Huns might securely trample on the degenerate Romans, whose close and compact order betrayed their apprehensions, and who were equally meapable of supporting the dangers or the fatigues of a day of battle. doctrine of predestination, so favourable to martial virtue, was carefully inculcated by the king of the Huns, who assured his subjects that the warriors, protected by Heaven, were safe and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy; but that the unerring Fates would strike their victims in the bosom of inglorious peace. "I myself," continued Attila, " will throw the first javelin, and the wretch who refuses to imitate the example of his sovereign is devoted to inevitable death." The spirit of the Barbarians was rekindled by the presence, the voice, and the example, of their intrepid leader; and Attila, yielding to their impatience, immediately formed his order of battle. At the head of his brave and faithful Huns he occupied in person the centre of the line. The nations subject to his empire, the Rugians, the Heruli, the Thoringians, the Franks, the Burgundians, were extended, on either hand, over the ample space of the Catalauman fields; the right wing was commanded by Ardane, king of the Gepide; and the three valuant brothers who reigned over the Ostrogoths were posted on the left to oppose the kindred tribes of the Visigoths. The disposition of the allies was regulated by a different principle. Sangiban, the faithless king of the Alam, was placed in the centre; where his motions might be strictly watched, and his treachery might be instantly punished. Actius assumed the command of the left, and Theodoric of the right wing; while Torismond still continued to occupy the heights which appear to have stretched on the flank, and perhaps the rear, of the Scythian army. nations from the Volga to the Atlantic were assembled on the plain of Chalons; but many of these nations had been divided by faction, or conquest, or emigration; and the appearance of similar arms and ensigns, which threatened each other, presented the image of a civil war.

Pattle of Chalers Distance July 11 A.D. (84)

The discipline and tactics of the Greeks and Romans form an interesting part of their national manners. The attentive study of the military operations of Xenophon, or Caesar, or Frederic, when they are described by the same genius which conceived and executed them, may tend to improve (if such improvement can be wished) the art of destroying the human species. But the battle of Châlons can only excite our curiosity by the magnitude of the object; since it was decided by the blind impetaosity of Barbanans, and has been related by partial writers, whose civil or ecclesiastical profession secluded them from the knowledge of nulitary affairs. Cassiodorius, however, had familiarly conversed with many Gothic warriors, who served in that memorable engagement; "a conflict," as they informed him, "ferce various, obstinate and bloody; such as could not be paralleled either in the present or in past ages". The number of the alum amounted to one hundred and sixty-two thousand, or, according to another account, three hundred thousand persons; 45 and these incredible exaggerations suppose a real and effective los, sufficient to justify the historian's remark that whole generations may be swept away, by the madness of kings, in the space of a single hour. After the mutual and repeated discharge of missile weapons, in which the archers of Seythia might signalize their superior dexterity, the cavalry and infantry of the two armes were furiously mingled in closer combat. The Huns, who fought under the eyes of their king, pierced through the feeble and doubtful centre of the allies, separated their wings from each other, and wheeling, with a rapid effort, to the left, directed their whole force against the Visigoths. As Theodoric rode along the ranks to ammate his troops, he received a mortal stroke from the javelin of Andages, a noble Ostrogoth, and immediately fell from his horse. The wounded king was oppressed in the general disorder, and trampled under the feet of his own cavalry; and this important death served to explain the ambiguous prophecy of the haruspices. Attila already exulted in the confidence of victory, when the valisht Tonsmond descended from the hills, and verified the remainder of the

The expressions of Jornandes, or rather of Casnodorius [Mommsen, Pref. to ed of Jordanes p. xxxvv., regards Friscus as the source] accentremely strong. Bellum arrox, multiplex, nomane, pertinax, cut simil nulls usquam narrat antiquetas, the talia gesta referentur, ut inh I esset qued in vita sud conspicere potusset egregius, qui hujus immacul privaretur aspectu. Dubos (Hist Craique, tom. u.p. 392-393) attempts to reconcile the roz ooo of Jornandes with the 300,000 of Idat us and Isidore by supposing that the larger number included the total destruction of the war, the effects of disease, the slaughter of the unarmod people, de.

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fletion. The Visigoths, who had been thrown into conon by the flight, or defection, of the Alani, gradually restored r order of battle; and the Huns were undoubtedly vanhed, since Attila was compelled to retreat. He had exd his person with the rashness of a private soldier; but the lepid troops of the centre had pushed forwards beyond the of the line; their attack was faintly supported; their flanks e unguarded; and the conquerors of Scythia and Germany saved by the approach of the might from a total defeat, y retired within the circle of waggons that fortified their ap; and the dismounted squadrons prepared themselves for a nce, to which neither their arms nor their temper were inted. The event was doubtful; but Attila had secured a last honourable resource. The saddles and rich furniture of the alry were collected by his order into a funeral pile; and the manimous Barbarian had resolved, if his intrencliments uld be forced, to rush headlong into the flames, and to rive his enemies of the glory which they might have

mired by the death or captivity of Attila.40

but his enemies had passed the night in equal disorder and reveal of tiety. The inconsiderate courage of Torismond was tempted and arge the pursuit, till be unexpectedly found himself, with a followers, in the midst of the Seythian waggons. In the fusion of a nocturnal combat, he was thrown from his horse; the Gothic prince must have penshed like his father, if his thful strength, and the intrepid seal of his companions, had rescued him from this dangerous situation. In the same mer, but on the left of the line, Actius himself, separated m his allies, ignorant of their victory, and anxious for their encountered and escaped the hostile troops that were ttered over the plains of Châlons; and at length reached the up of the Goths, which he could only fortify with a slight soon satisfied of the defeat of Attila, who still remained ctive within his intrenchments; and, when he contemplated bloody scene, he observed, with accret satisfaction, that the had principally fallen on the Barbarians. The body of codoric, pierced with honourable wounds, was discovered ler a heap of the slain: his subjects bewailed the death of

The Count de Buat (Hist., des Peuples, de, tom. vii. p. 544-573), still depending he false and again relecting the time Idatus, has divided the defeat of Atilia, two great batties; the former near Orleans, the latter in Champagne; in the Throdors: was some, in the other, he was revenged.

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their king and father; but their tears were mingled with sony and acclamations, and his funeral rites were performed in the face of a vanquished enemy. The Goths, clashing their arms, elevated on a buckler his eldest son Torsmond, to whom taes justly ascribed the glory of their success; and the new king accepted the obligation of revenge as a sacred portion of his paternal inheritance. Yet the Goths themselves were astomshed by the fierce and undaunted aspect of their formidable antagonist; and their historian has compared Attila to a hun encompassed in his den, and threatening his hunters with redoubled fury. The kings and nations, who might have deserted his standard in the hour of distress, were made sensible that the displeasure of their monarch was the most imminent and inevitable danger. All his instruments of martial music incessantly sounded a loud and animating strain of defiance; and the foremost troops who advanced to the assault were checked, or destroyed, by showers of arrows from every side of the intrenchments, determined in a general council of war, to besiege the king of the Huns in his camp, to intercept his provisions, and to reduce him to the alternative of a disgraceful treaty or an unequal combat. But the impatience of the liarbarrans soon disdained these cautious and dilatory measures; and the mature policy of Actius was apprehensive that, after the extirpation of the Huns, the republic would be oppressed by the pride and power of the Gothic nation. The patrician exerted the superior ascendant of authority and reason, to calm the passions which the son of Theodoric considered as a duty; represented, with seeming affection, and real truth, the dangers of absence and delay; and persuaded Torismond to disappoint, by his speedy return, the ambitious designs of his brothers, who might occupy the throne and treasures of Toulouse.47 After the departure of the Goths and the separation of the allied army. Attria was surprised at the vest silence that reigned over the plains of Chalons; the suspicion of some hostile stratagem detained him several days within the circle of his waggons; and his retreat beyond the Ithme confessed the last victory which was achieved in the name of the Western empire. Meroveus and his Franks, observing a

of Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 4t, p. 67t. The policy of Actus and the behaviour of Fortsmond are extremely natural, and the patrician according to Gregory of Tours (I. n. c. 7, p. 103), diamased the prince of the Franks. In suggesting to him a similar apprehension. The labe Idatios redictiously pertends that tetrus pend a clandestine nocturnal visit to the sings of the Huns and of the Vingoths; from each of whom he obtained a bribe of ten thousand pieces of gold as the price of an undisturbed retreat.

prudent distance, and magnifying the opinion of their strength by the numerous fires which they kindled every night, continued to follow the rear of the Huns, till they reached the confines of Thuringia. The Thuringians served in the army of Attala; they traversed, both in their march and in their return, the territories of the Franks; and it was perhaps in this war that they exercised the cruelties which, about fourscore years afterwards, were revenged by the son of Clovis. They massacred their hostages, as well as their captives: two hundred young maidens were tortured with exquisite and unrelenting rage; their bodies were torn asunder by wild horses, or their bones were crushed under the weight of rolling waggons; and their unburied limbs were abandoned on the public roads, as a prey to dogs and vultures. Such were those savage ancestors, whose imaginary virtues have sometimes excited the praise and envy of civilised ages.48

Neither the spirit nor the forces nor the reputation of Attila hands were impaired by the failure of the Gallie expedition. In the ensuing spring, he repeated his demand of the princess Honoria and her patrimonial treasures, in The demand was again rejected, or cluded; and the indignant lover immediately took the field, passed the Alps, invaded Italy, and besieged Aquileia with an innumerable host of Barbarians. Those Barbarians were unskilled in the methods of conducting a regular siege, which, even among the ancients, required some knowledge, or at least some practice, of the mechanic arts. But the labour of many thousand provincials and captives, whose lives were sacrificed without pity, might execute the most painful and dangerous work. The skill of the Roman artists might be corrupted to the destruction of their country. The walls of Aquileia were assaulted by a formidable train of battering rams, moveable turrets, and engines, that threw stones, darts, and fire; " and

These crucities, which are passionately deplored by Theodorie, the son of Clovis [Gregory of Tours, 1, in. c. to, p. 190], suit the time and circumstances of the invasion of Attle. His residence in Thuringia was long attested by popular tradition; and he is supposed to have assembled a courawitar, or diet, in the territory of Eisenach. See Mascou, ix. 30, who settles with nice accuracy the extent of ancient Thuringia, and derives its name from the Gothic tribe of the Therving.

There seems to be no authority for this statement.]

The Machinis construction of minimum termentorium generation adhibitists. for randers, a 42, p. 673. In the thirteenth century, the Mogulis battered the chiese of think with large engines constructed by the Mahometans or Christians in their service, which threw stones from 150 to 300 pounds weight. In the defence of their country, the Chiese used gui-powder, and even hombs, above an handered years before they were known in Europe, yet even those celestial, or infernal, arms were insufficient to protect a pusillanimous nation. See Gaubil, Hist. den Mongous, p. 70, 71, 155, 157, dc.

(Maximia)

the monarch of the Huns employed the forcible impulse of hope, fear, emulation, and interest, to subvert the only barner which delayed the conquest of Italy. Aguileia was at that period one of the nehest, the most populous, and the strongest of the maritime cities of the Hadratic coast. The Gothe auxiliaries, who appear to have served under their native princes Alane and Antala, communicated their intrepid spirit; and the citizens still remembered the glonous and successful resistance, which their ancestors had opposed to a fierce, merorable Barbanan, who disgraced the majesty of the Roman purple. Three months were consumed without effect in the siege of Aquileia; till the want of provisions, and the clamour of his army, compelled Attila to relinquish the enterprise, and reluctantly to usue his orders that the troops should stake their tents the next morning and begin their retreat. But, as he rode round the walls, pensive, angry, and disappointed, he observed a stork preparing to leave her nest, in one of the towers, and to fly with her infant family towards the country He seized, with the ready penetration of a statesman, the trifling incident, which chance had offered to superstition; and exclaimed, in a loud and cheerful tone, that such a domestic bird, so constantly attached to human society, would never have abandoned her ancient seats, unless those towers had been devoted to impending ruin and solitude. The favourable omen inspired an assurance of victory; the siege was renewed, and presecuted with fresh vigour; a large breach was made in the part of the wall from whence the stock had taken her flight; the Huns mounted to the assault with irresistible fury; and the succeeding generation could scarcely discover the ruins of Aquileia.51 After this dreadful chartisement. Attila pursued his march; and, as he passed, the cities of Altinum, Concordia, and Padua, were reduced into beaps of stones and ashes. The Viscontial inland towns, Vicenza, Verona, and Bergamo, were exposed to Nethologum the rapacious cruelty of the Huns. Milan and Pavia submitted, without resistance, to the loss of their wealth; and applauded

The same story is told by Jornandes, and by Procopius (de Bell, Vandal, 1, 1, c. 4, p. 187, 185), nor is it easy to decide which is the original. But the Greek historian is guilty of an inexcusable mistake in placing the siege of Aquileia after the death of Actius.

is fornances, about an hundred years afterwards, affirms that Aquileia was so completely runned, its ut was coursecuting and apparents, reinquerum. See Jornandes de Reix Geticia, a. 4a, p. 673. Paul Diacon L. i. c. 14, p. 785. Lauprand, Hist. L. i., c. a. The name of Aquileia was sometimes applied to Forum Julis (Cividad del Friull), the more recent capital of the Venetian province.



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unusual elemency, which preserved from the flames the lie, as well as private, buildings; and spared the lives be captive multitude. The popular traditions of Comum, n, or Modena, may justly be suspected; yet they concur partial more authentic evidence to prove that Attila spread his ges over the rich plants of modern Lombardy; which are fied by the Po, and bounded by the Alps and Apennine. 83 on he took possession of the royal palace of Milan, he was crised, and offended, at the night of a picture, which reented the Casars sested on their throne and the princes eythis prostrate at their feet. The revenge which Attila eted on this monument of Roman vanity was harmless and He commanded a painter to revene the figures the attitudes; and the emperors were delineated on the e canvas, approaching in a suppliant posture to empty their of tributary gold before the throne of the Seythian tarch.54 The spectators must have confessed the truth and pricty of the alteration; and were perhaps tempted to rate between the lion and the man.34

t is a saying worthy of the ferocious peide of Attila, that the Possessian of never grew on the spot where his horse had trod. Yet ventor savage destroyer undesignedly laid the foundations of a ablic which revived, in the feudal state of Europe, the art spirit of commercial industry. The celebrated name of tice, or Venetia,16 was formerly diffused over a large and Se province of Italy, from the confines of Pannonia to the

In describing this war of Attila, a war so famous, but so imperfectly known, taken for my guides two learned Italians, who considered the subject with a peculiar advantages. Sigon us, de Imperio Occidentali, l. am. in his works. In 495-900; and Muratori, Annali d Italia tom is p. 229-236, 8vo edition.

This arecoole may be found under two different articles (motivators and not of the miscellaneous compilation of Suidas.

M Leo respondit, Furnană hoc pictum manu-

Videres homonom de ectum, as pingere.

Leones servest. Appendix ad Phasfrum, Fab. sas

lion in Phiedrus very foolishly appears from pictures to the amphithentre;

am glad to observe that the native taste of La Fontaine (I, in, fable x) has ted this most lame and impotent conclusion.

Paul the Deacon (de Gestis Langobard, L is a 14, p. 784) describes the inces of Italy about the each of the eighth century. Penetra non solum in the manies quas name Venetias die mus constat sed ejus terminus a Pantaonius us usene deliman bus um proteinter. The history of that province the the of Charlesiague forum the first and most increasing part of the Veroca frata ip 1930, in which the margins Nepro Marie has shewn himself equally ble of enlarged views and in nate disquisitions.

river Addua, and from the Po to the Rhatian and Julian Alpa. Before the irruption of the Barbarians, fifty Venetian cities flourished in peace and prosperity; Aquileia was placed in the most conspicuous station; but the ancient dignity of Padas was supported by agriculture and manufactures; and the property of five hundred catizens, who were entitled to the equestrian rank, must have amounted, at the strictest computation, to one million seven hundred thousand pounds. Many families of Aquileus, Padus, and the adjacent towns, who fled from the sword of the Huns, found a safe, though obscure, refuge in the neighbouring islands.30 At the extremity of the Guif, where the Hadratic feebly imitates the tides of the ocean, near an hundred small islands are separated by shallow water from the continent, and protected from the waves by several long slips of land, which admit the entrance of vessels through some secret and narrow channels, 57 Till the middle of the fifth century, these remote and sequestered spots remained without cultivation, with few inhabitants, and almost without a name. But the manners of the Venetian fugitives. their arts and their government, were gradually formed by their new situation; and one of the epistles of Casuodorius, which describes their condition about seventy years afterwards, may be considered as the primitive monument of the republic. The minister of Theodoric compares them, in his quant declamatory style, to water-fowl, who had fixed their nests on the bosom of the waves; and, though he allows that the Venetian provinces had formerly contained many noble families, he insinuates that they were now reduced by misfortune to the same level of humble poverty. Fish was the common, and almost the universal, food of every rank; their only treasure

Clodia, or Chioggia, are accurately stated in the Dissertatio Chronographica de

Italia Medit Abri, p. 131-155.

Market (Verona Illustrata, part 1 p. 240-254) has translated and explained this curious letter, in the spirit of a learned ant guarian and a faithful subject who considered. Venice as the only legal mate offspring of the Roman repulsion. He have the date of the epistic, and convergmently the procedure, of Cassodierus, A.D. (23 [7537 A 11], and the marques authority has the more weight, as no had prepared an edition of his works and netually pull shot a Dissertation on the true orthography of his name. See Osservazioni Letterane, toin, ii. p. 390-339.

^{*} This emigration is not attested by any contemporary endence; but the fact is proved by the event, and the circumstances might be preserved by tradition. The entirens of Aquileia retired to the isle of Gradus, those of Padua to River Altus, or Rialto, where the city of Voince was attenuated built, &c On the forged decree of the Senate of Patavium and the supposed foundation of a church of St. James on the Rivus Altus in A.D. 421, see Hodgkin, Hay, n. 18a 499.]

**The topography and antiquities of the Venetian islands, from Gradus to

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consisted in the plenty of salt, which they extracted from the sea; and the exchange of that commodity, so essential to human life, was substituted in the neighbouring markets to the currency of gold and silver. A people, whose habitations might be doubtfully assigned to the earth or water, soon became alike familiar with the two elements; and the demands of avariee succeeded to those of necessity. The islanders, who, from Grado to Chiossa, were intimately connected with each other, penetrated into the heart of Italy by the secure, though laborious, navigation of the rivers and inland canals. Their vessels, which were continually increasing in size and number, visited all the harbours of the Gulf; and the marriage, which Venuce annually celebrates with the Hadriatic, was contracted in her early infancy. The epistle of Cassiodorius, the Pretorian practicet, is addressed to the maritime tribunes; and he exhorts them, in a mild tone of authority, to animate the zeal of their countrymen for the public service, which required their assistance to transport the magazines of wine and oil from the province of Istria to the royal city of Ravenna. The ambiguous office of these magistrates is explained by the tradition that, in the twelve principal islands, twelve tribunes, or judges, were created by an annual and popular election. The existence of the Venetian republic under the Gothic kingdom of Italy is attested by the same authentic record, which annihilates their lofty claim of original and perpetual independence.50 The Italians, who had long since renounced the exercise of arms, were sur-aum prised, after forty years' peace, by the approach of a formidable Research Barbarian, whom they abhorred, as the enemy of their religion as well as of their republic. Amidst the general consternation, Actius alone was incapable of fear; but it was impossible that he should achieve, alone and unassisted, any military exploits worthy of his former renown. The Barbarians who had defended Gaul refused to march to the relief of Italy; and the succours promised by the Eastern emperor were distant and doubtful. Since Actius, at the head of his domestic troops, still maintained the field, and harassed or retarded the march of Attila, he never showed himself more truly great than at the time when his conduct was blamed by an ignorant and

*See, in the second volume of Amelot de la Houssaie, Histoire du Gouvernement de Venise, a translation of the famous Squitterio. This book, which has been exalted far above its merits is stained in every line with the disingenuous malevolence of party; but the principal evidence, genuine and apocryptal, is brought together and the render will easily choose the fair medium.

ungrateful people.40 If the mind of Valentinian had been susceptible of any generous sentiments, he would have chosen such a general for his example and his guide. But the time grandson of Theodosius, instead of sharing the dangers, escaped from the sound, of war; and his hasty retreat from Ravenna to Rome, from an impregnable fortress to an open capital, betrayed his secret intention of abandoning Italy as soon as the danger should approach his Imperial person. This shameful abdication was suspended, however, by the spirit of doubt and delay, which commonly adheres to pusillanimous counsels, and sometimes corrects their permisious tendency. The Western emperor, with the senate and people of Rome, embraced the more salutary resolution of deprecating, by a solemn and suppliant embassy, the wrath of Attila. This important commission was accepted by Avienus, who, from his birth and nehes, his consular dignity, the numerous train of his clients, and his personal abilities, held the first rank in the Roman senate. The specious and artful character of Avienus 61 was admirably qualified to conduct a negotiation either of public or private interest; his colleague Trigetius had exercised the Protorian profecture of Italy; and Leo, bishop of Rome, consented to expose his life for the safety of his flock. The genius of Leo 62 was exercised and displayed in the public misfortunes; and he has deserved the appellation of Great by the successful scal with which he laboured to establish his opinions and his authority, under the venerable names of orthodox faith and ecclesiastical discipline. The Roman ambassadors were introduced to the tent of Attila. as he lay encamped at the place where the slow-winding Minerus is lost in the foaming waves of the lake Benacus, 63 and

Sirmond (Not. ad Sidon. Apollin. p. 19) has published a curious passage from the Chronicle of Prosper. Attilu redintegratia viribus, quas in Gallia am, wrat, Italiam ingred, per l'annonias intendit, nihil duce noatro Aetio secundum prioris belli opera prospiciente, &c. He reproaches Aet as with neglecting to guarit the Alps, and with a design to abandon Italy; but this rash censure may at least be counterbalanced by the favourable testimon es of Idatas and Isidore, [Isidore,

Hist. Goth 27, merely repeats Idatius, but losves out the words Actio dece.

62 See the original portraits of Avenus and his rival Basilius, delineated and contrasted in the epistura (1. 9, p. 23 of Sidon us. He had studied the characters of the two chiefs of the senate; but he attached himself to Basilius, as the more

solid and dis attrested friend.

1 In-character and principles of Loo may be traced in one hundred and fortyone or goal epitties, which illustrate the ecclesiastical history of his long and busy pont ficate, from A.D. 440 to 462. See Dupin, Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. III. part ii p. 130-163.

Mineral, et tenera prietexit arundine ripas

Anne lacus tantes, te Lari maxime, teque Fluctibus, et fremita assurgens Benace marino trampled, with his Scythian cavalry, the farms of Catullus and Virgil.64 The Barbanan monarch listened with favourable, and even respectful, attention; and the deliverance of Italy was purchased by the immense ransom, or dowry, of the princess Honora. The state of his army might facilitate the treaty, and hasten his retreat. Their martial spirit was relaxed by the wealth and indolence of a warm chmate. The shepherds of the North, whose ordinary food consisted of milk and raw flesh, indulged themselves too freely in the use of bread, of wine, and of meat prepared and seasoned by the arts of cookery; and the progress of disease revenged in some measure the in juries of the Italians.45 When Attila declared his resolution of carrying his victorious arms to the gates of Rome, he was admonahed by his friends, as well as by his enemies, that Alaric had not long survived the conquest of the eternal city. mind, superior to real danger, was assaulted by imaginary terrors; nor could be escape the influence of superstition, which had so often been subservient to his designs. The pressing eloquence of Leo, his majestic aspect and sacerdotal robes, excited the veneration of Attila for the spiritual father of the Christiana. The apparition of the two apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, who menaced the Barbarian with instant death, if he rejected the prayer of their successor, is one of the noblest legends of ecclesiastical tradition. The safety of Rome might deserve the interposition of celestial beings; and some indulgence is due to a fable which has been represented by the pencil of Raphael and the chisel of Algardi.67

6) The Marquis Maffer (Verona Illustrata, part a. p. 95, 120, 221, part a. p. 11. 6) has illustrated with teste and fearn g this interest of topography. He places the interview of Artida and St. Leo near Ariouca, or Artida and Perchiera at the conflux of the lake and river, ascertains the villa of Catallus, in the delightful pen usula of Sermo, and discovers the Andex of Virgil, in the village of Bandes, precisely situate qua se subducere colles incount, where the Veronese hills majerrecotably slope down into the plan of Mantina. [Muraton (Ann. d'Italia, 13 1541 placed the interview at Governolo, a village situated where the Mincio joins

the Po.)

Si statum infesto agmine urbem petrissent, grande discrimen esset sed in Venettà quo fere tractu Italia molliss mu est, spol sol carlique elemento robur clanguat. Ad hoc paras usu carnisque coctar et dalced ne sim outagatos, &c. This passage of Florus (m. 3) is still more applicable to the H ins that to the Cumbri, and it may serve as a commentary on the celestral plague, with which idat us and

Issdeer have afflicted the troops of Attila.

landere have afflicted the troops of Attila.

The historian Priscus had positively mentioned the effect which this example produced on the mind of Attila. Jornandes, a. 42, p. 673

The picture of Raphael is in the Valican, the basso (or perhaps the altolic eleve of Algand on one of the altars of St. Peter (see Dubos, Reflexions surfal Postuce et surfal Penture form 1, p. 579, cool. Baronius (Annal Liceles A D 452 No. 57, 531 bravely sustains the truth of the apparation, which is rejected, however, the characteristic of the support of the su by the most learned and prous Catholics.

The Smith of A Mile.

Before the king of the Huns evacuated Italy, he threatened to return more dreadful and more implacable, if his bride, the princess Honoria, were not delivered to his ambassadors within the term stipulated by the treaty. Yet, in the meanwhile, Attila relieved his tendor anxiety by adding a beautiful maid, whose name was Ildico, to the list of his innumerable wives. 64 Ther marriage was celebrated with barbane pomp and festivity at ha wooden palace beyond the Danube; and the monarch, on pressed with wine and sleep, retired, at a late hour, from the banquet to the nuptial bed. His attendants continued to respect his pleasures, or his repose, the greatest part of the ensuing day, till the unusual silence alarmed their fears and suspicions; and, after attempting to awaken Attila by loud and repeated cries, they at length broke into the royal apartment. They found the trembling bride sitting by the bedside, hiding her face with ber veil, and lamenting her own danger as well as the death of the king, who had expired during the night." An artery had suddenly burst; and, as Attila lay in a supine posture, he was suffocated by a torrent of blood, which, instead of finding a passage through the nostrils, regurgitated into the lungs and stomach. His body was solemnly exposed in the midst of the plain, under a silken pavilion; and the chosen squadrons of the Huns, wheeling round in measured evolutions, chanted a funeral song to the memory of a hero, giornous in his life, invincible in his death, the father of his people, the scourge of his enemies, and the terrior of the world. According to their national custom, the Barbarians cut off a part of their hair, gashed their faces with unseemly wounds, and bewailed their valuant leader as he deserved, not with the team of women, but with the blood The remains of Attila were enclosed within three of warriors.

(Dit il) on me payers on qui m'en va couter.

Attila, or Priscus historicus refert, extinctionis sune tempore quellam Ildioo nomine, decorain valde, sibi [in] matrimonium post amunicatalites uscess... socians. Jornandes, c. 49, p. 683, 684. He afterwards adds to 50 p. 686: Fila Attilae quorum per licentiam biidanis poene populas fut.—Polygany has been established among the Tactars of every age. The cank of plebesan wives is regulated only by their personal charms, and the faded matron prepares, without a matrinur, the bed which is destined for her blooming rival. But naroyal families the daughters of Khans communicate to their sous a prior right of inheritance. See Genealogical History, p. 406, 402, 408.

to The report of her gurit reached Constantinople, where it obtained a very different name, and Marcellinus observes that the tyrunt of Europe was slain in the night by the hand and the kinde of a woman. Cornelle, who has adapted the genuine account to his tragedy dose hes the irruption of blood in forty hombust lines, and Attila exclaims with nid curous fire.

offins, of gold, of silver, and of iron, and privately buried in the ight; the spoils of nations were thrown into his grave; the intives who had opened the ground were inhumanly massacred; nd the same Huns, who had indulged such excessive grief, asted, with dissolute and intemperate mirth, about the recent pulchre of their king. It was reported at Constantinople hat on the fortunate night in which he expired Marcian beald in a dream the bow of Attila broken asunder; and the eport may be allowed to prove how seldom the image of that minidable Barbarian was absent from the mind of a Roman

DEPOTOR, TO

The revolution which subverted the empire of the Huns pure the subtraction of stablished the fame of Attila, whose genius alone had sussined the huge and disjointed fabric. After his death, the oldest chieftnins aspired to the rank of kings; the most owerful kings refused to acknowledge a superior; and the imperous sons, whom so many various mothers here to the eceased monarch, divided and disputed, like a private inheritmee, the sovereign command of the nations of Germany and eythia. The bold Ardane felt and represented the diagrace If this servile partition; and his subjects, the warlike Gepide, with the Ostrogotha, under the conduct of three valuant gothers, encouraged their allies to vindicate the rights of freeom and royalty. In a bloody and decisive conflict on the banks of the river Netad, in Pannonia, the lance of the Gepide, (Sease) the sword of the Goths, the arrows of the Huns, the Suevic infantry, the light arms of the Heruh, and the heavy weapons of the Alani, encountered or supported each other, and the victory of Ardane was accompanied with the slaughter of thirty thousand of his enemies. Ellac, the eldest son of Attila, lost his life and grown in the memorable battle of Netad; his early valour had raised him to the throne of the Acatzires, a Scythian people, whom he subdued; and his father, who loved the superior ment, would have envied the death, of Ellac. 11 His brother

To The curious circumstances of the death and funeral of Attila are related by ornandes (c. 49 p. 683, 684, 685), and were probably those of the death, concasedly transer bed from Pracus.

⁷¹ See Jornandes, de Rebus Genes, c. 50, p. 685, 685, 687, 682. His distinction of the national arms is corone and important. Name is admirable as reor house spectacie un, ubi cernere erat cunctis pagnanten. Getham ense farentem, Gepidam in vu nere sporum cunota tela frangentem, Suesum pede Hunnum sag til processes. Alanum gravi, Hernium lev arrestura assem instructe. I am not process and informed of the situation of the river Netzel. (The best Mss. give the name Nedao (see Monmoon's Jordanis, c. 50). It has not been adoptified.)

(Whiteham)

Dengisich with an army of Huns, still formidable in their fight and ruin, maintained his ground above fifteen years on the banks of the Danube. The palace of Attila, with the old country of Dacia, from the Carpathian hills to the Euxine, became the seat of a new power, which was erected by Ardane, king of the Gepidie. The Pannoman conquests, from Vienna to Sirmium, were occupied by the Ostrogoths; and the settlements of the tribes, who had so bravely asserted their native freedom, were irregularly distributed, according to the measure of their respective strength. Surrounded and oppressed by the multitude of his father's slaves, the kingdom of Dengisich was confined to the circle of his waggons; his desperate courage urged him to invade the Eastern empire; he fell in battle; and his head, ignominiously exposed in the Hippodrome, exhibited a grateful spectacle to the people of Constantinople. had fondly or superstitiously believed that Irnac, the youngest of his sons, was destined to perpetuate the glories of his race. The character of that prince, who attempted to moderate the rashness of his brother Dengisich, was more suitable to the declining condition of the Huns, and Irnac, with his subject hordes, retired into the heart of the Lesser Scythia. They were soon overwhelmed by a torrent of new Barbarians, who followed the same road which their own ancestors had formerly discovered. The Geougen, or Avares, whose residence is assigned by the Greek writers to the shores of the ocean, impelled the adjacent tribes; till at length the Igours of the North, issuing from the cold Siberian regions, which produce the most valuable furs, spread themselves over the desert, as far as the Borysthenes and Caspun gates; and finally extinguished the empire of the Huns, 71

Valoutistan murders the patrician Actine

[Betredet]

Such an event might contribute to the safe'y of the Eastern empire, under the reign of a prince who conciliated the friendship, without forfeiting the esteem, of the Barbanans. But the emperor of the West, the feeble and dissolute Valentinian, who had reached his thirty-fifth year without attaining the age of reason or courage, abused this apparent security, to undermine the foundations of his own throne by the murder of the patrician Actius. From the instinct of a base and jealous mind, he hated the man who was universally celebrated as the terror of the

Two modern historians have thrown much new light on the rum and division of the empire of Artila. M. de Buat, by his laborious and minute diligence (tom. vin. p. 3-15, 58-94), and M. de Gugners, by his extraordinary knowledge of the Chinese language and writers. See Hitt. des Huns, tom is, p. 315-319.

Barbarians and the support of the republic; and his new favourite, the cumuch Herachus, awakened the emperor from the supine lethargy, which might be disguised, during the life of Placidia, 12 by the excuse of filial piety. The fame of Actius, his wealth and dignity, the numerous and martial train of Barbarian followers, his powerful dependents, who filled the civil offices of the state, and the hopes of his son Gaudentius, 14 who was already contracted to Eudoxia, the emperor's daughter, had raised him above the rank of a subject. The ambitious designs, of which he was secretly accused, excited the fears, as well as the resentment, of Valentinian. Actius himself, supported by the consciousness of his merit, his services, and perhaps his innocence, seems to have maintained a haughty and indiscreet behaviour. The patrician offended his sovereign by an hostile declaration; he aggravated the offence by compelling hun to ratify, with a solemn oath, a treaty of reconciliation and alliance; he proclaimed his suspicions, he neglected his safety; and, from a vain confidence that the enemy, whom he despixed, was meanable even of a manly crime, he rashly ventured his person in the palace of Rome. Whilst he urged, perhaps with intemperate vehemence, the marriage of his son, Valentinian, drawing his sword, the first sword he had ever drawn, plunged it in the breast of a general who had saved his empire; his courtiers and cunuchs ambitiously struggled to imitate their master; and Actius, pierced with an hundred wounds, fell dead in the royal presence. Boethius, the Pretonan prefect, was killed at the same moment; and, before the event could be dayalged, the principal friends of the patrician were summoned to the palace, and separately murdered. The horrid deed, pallinted by the specious names of justice and necessity, was immediately communicated by the emperor to his soldiers, his subjects, and his ailies. The nations, who were strangers or enemies to Actius, generously deplored the unworthy fate of a hero; the Barbarians, who had been attached to his service, dissembled their grief and resentment; and the public contempt which had been so long entertained for Valentiman was at once

³⁴ [Actius had another son named Carpillo, who was for years a hostage at the court of Attila, as we learn from Priscus.]

The Placidia died at Rome, November 27, A.D. 450. She was buried at Ravenna, where her sepuichre, and even her corpse stated in a chair of sygness would were preserved for ages. [Her Mausoleam (the church of S. Nazario and S. Celsor and her alabitater succephagus are still preserved; but her embalined corpse was accidentally burned by some children in A.D. 557.] The empress received many compliments from the orthodox clergy, and St. Peter Chrysologus assured her that her real for the Trinty had been recomprised by an august trinity of children. See Tillemont, Hist. des hmp, tom vs. p. 240.

converted into deep and universal abhorrence. Such sentiments neldom pervade the walls of a palace; yet the emperor was confounded by the honest reply of a Roman, whose approbation he had not disdained to solicit: "I am ignorant, sir, of your motives or provocations; I only know that you have acted like a man who cuts off his right hand with his left", "1

the wife of Meximos

The luxury of Rome seems to have attracted the long and frequent visits of Valentinian; who was consequently more despased at Rome than in any other part of his dominions. A republican spirit was insensibly revived in the senate, as their authority, and even their supplies, became necessary for the support of his feeble government. The stately demeanour of an hereditary monarch offended their pride; and the pleasures of Valentinian were injurious to the peace and honour of noble families. The birth of the empress Eudoxia was equal to his own, and her charms and tender affection deserved those testimomes of love which her inconstant husband dissipated in vague and unlawful amours. Petronius Maximus, a wealthy senator of the Ameian family, who had been twice consul, was possessed of a chaste and beautiful wife; her obstinate resistance served only to irritate the desires of Valentinian; and he resolved to accomplish them either by stratagem or force. Deep gaming was one of the vices of the court; the emperor, who, by chance or contrivance, had gained from Maximus a considerable sum, uncourteously exacted his ring as a security for the debt; and sent it by a trusty messenger to his wife, with an order, in her husband's name, that she should immediately attend the empress Eudoxia. The unsuspecting wife of Maximus was conveyed in her litter to the Imperial palace; the emissaries of her impatient lover conducted her to a remote and silent bedchamber; and Valentiman violated, without remorse, the laws of hospitality. Her tears, when she returned home, her deep affliction, and her bitter reproaches against her husband, whom she considered as the accomplice of his own shame, excited Maximus to a just revenge; the desire of revenge was stimulated by ambition; and he might reasonably aspire, by the free suffrage of the Roman senate, to the throne of a detested and despicable rival. Valentiman, who supposed that every human breast was devoid, like his own, of friendship and gratitude, had im-

⁷⁵ Actium Placidus mactavit semivir amens, is the expression of Sidonius (Panegyr, Avit, 199). The post knew the world, and was not accused to fatter a manufer at a laid injured or diagnated Avitus and Majorium, the successive heroes of his song.

udently admitted among his guards several domestics and Howers of Actius. Two of these, of Barbarian race, were rauaded to execute a sacred and honourable duty, by punishwith death the assassin of their patron; and their intrepid purage did not long expect a favourable moment. Whilst alentinian amused himself in the field of Mars with the sectacle of some military sports, they suddenly rushed upon un with drawn weapons, dispatched the guilty Herselius, and habbed the emperor to the heart, without the least opposition pasts of rom his numerous train, who seemed to rejoice in the tyrant's A D or eath. Such was the fate of Valentinian the Third, " the last toman emperor of the family of Theodosius. He faithfully imiated the hereditary weakness of his cousin and his two uncles, without inheriting the gentleness, the purity, the innocence, which alleviate, in their characters, the want of spirit and ability. walentiman was less excusable, since he had passions, withput virtues; even his religion was questionable; and, though he never deviated into the paths of heresy, he scandalized the pious Christians by his attachment to the profane arts of magic and divination.

As early as the time of Cicero and Varro, it was the opinion of the Roman augurs that the twelve pultures, which Romulus had res reseen, represented the twelve centuries, assigned for the fatal period of his city." This prophecy, disregarded perhaps in the season of health and prosperity, inspired the people with gloomy apprehensions, when the twelfth century, clouded with disgrace and misfortune, was almost elapsed; The and even posterity must

With regard to the cause and circumstances of the deaths of Aetius and With regard to the cause and circumstances of the neams or Actus and Valentinian, our information is dark and imperfect. Proceedings ide Bell Vandal. L. C. 4, p. 136–187 is a fabrious writer for the events which percede his own memory. His parrative must therefore he supplied and corrected by five or six (1 ronicles, some of which were composed in Rome or Italy, and which can only express, in broken sentences the popular rumours as they were convered to Gaud, Spain, Africa, Constantinople, or Alexandria. [john of Anisoch is important for

This preriperation of Vettins, a celebrated augur, was quoted by Varro, in the xvinth book of his Antiquities. Censorinus, de Die Natab, c. 17, p. 90, 98,

the RVIIII DONE of the Americans the Control of the

Jam reputant annos, interceptoque voiatu Vulturis modunt properatu socula metia.

fam prope fata tiu busenas vulturis alas Imporbant, seis namque toos, sers, Roms, labores. See Dubos, First. Critique, tom. 1, p. 340-346.

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acknowledge with some surprise that the arbitrary interpretation of an accidental or fabulous circumstance has been senously verified in the downfall of the Western empire. But its fall was announced by a clearer omen than the flight of vultures: the Roman government appeared every day less formidable to the enemies, more odious and oppressive to its subjects. "The taxes were multiplied with the public distress; economy was neglected in proportion as it became necessary; and the injustice of the nch shifted the unequal burden from themselves to the people, whom they defrauded of the indulgencies that might sometimes have alleviated their misery. The severe inquisition, which confiscated their goods and tortured their persons, compelled the subjects of Valentiman to prefer the more simple tyranny of the Barbarians, to fly to the woods and mountains, or to embrace the vile and abject condition of mercenary servants. They abjured and abhorred the name of Roman citizens, which had formerly excited the ambition of mankind. The Armorican provinces of Gaul, and the greatest part of Spain, were thrown into a state of disorderly independence, by the confederations of the Bagaudæ; and the Imperial immaters pursued with proscriptive laws, and ineffectual arms, the rebels whom they had made. a) If all the Barbarian conquerors had been annihilated in the same hour, their total destruction would not have restored the empire of the West; and, if Home still survived, she survived the loss of freedom, of virtue, and of honour.

The fifth book of Salvian is filled with pathetic lamentations and weberned loved ves. His immederate freedom serves to prove the weakness, as well as the corruption, of the Roman government. His book was published after the loss of Africa (A.D. 439) and before Attila's war (A.D. 435).

The Bagaudie of Spain, who fought patched battles with the Roman troops, are repeatedly mentioned in the Chiamale of Idatica. Salvan has described their distress and rebelion in very fortible language. Itaque nomen civimin Romanorum, ... nune ultio repudiatur ac fugitur, use vile tamen sed etum abominabile porne habetur. ... It hince est ut etiam hi qui ad Barbaios mai configurati fanctari tamen esse cognet it, sellicet ut est pars magna Hussinorum, et non mainin toalforum. ... Ite Bagandia nune min vermo est, qui per maios jud oes et cruentos spoliati, afflicti, notati, post quam jus Romana labertatis atmisentit, etiam honorem Romani nominis pere derunt. Vocamusi rebelies, vocamus perditos quos esse compuliamus criminosos. De Gubernat. Dei, 1, v. p. 158-159.

APPENDIX

ADDRESONAL NOTES BY THE SUPPOR

1. AUTHORITIES

For the works of Leasures, op. vol. ii. Appendix 1, p. 635. The chronology of the most important of his later crations is determined by Rievers as follows:

Or. 11. spot rove flavor error readdings. He contracts the present with the reign of Julian; and refers to the Battle of Hadrianople.

Or. MAN. Against Themselves (consulares of Syris). An interesting

A.D. 386. indictment of the governor's exactions and oppression.

A.D. 387 (March). Or. 111., we ret reserve . On the sedition at Antioch, a petition to Theodorius for morey.

a.b. 387. Or. EXXIV., and the representation. Against those who find from the city during the sedition. It was written during the sedition but seed Succeeping not appear and decorate.

Or. XX., spec Sections int rais dual specie. The atory of the sedition and A.D. 387.

the pardon is narrated,

Or. XII., whit Kandhow Méyarepor. A thankagiving to Ossarius for his good offices in obtaining the pardon from Theodosius.

Or. XXII., sphy Kandhar. Describing the inquiry into the sedition, conducted by Ellobiohus. A.D. 387.

A.D. 387.

A.D. 388 (1). Or. XXX., spot Opnowdator. Deals with events connected with the sedition.

After a.p. 388. Or. arviii., replaint topin. A complaint that although the offering of incense in pagmi temples was not forbidden [by Cod. Theod. avi. 10, R. a.n. 383], the monks destroyed the temples.

There can be no question that Or. axviii. on the Temples and many other of

the crations of Liberius were not publicly delivered (in the Emperor's presence, for Instance), but were merely read to a private and encoord sympathesis, or circulated no paraphlots.

For THEMPSTUR, op. vol. il. Appendix 1, p. 535. The orations which concern

the present volume are :

L 24 354. Or. v. On the consulship of Jovian. Claims teleration for both

Christians and payans.

Or. vi., 6.241-260. To Valentinian and Valens on their accommon. a.D. 364.

Or. vii., separate in the frequency of Valena over Procopius. Praises the Emperor's elemency.
Or. viii., sevararepease. On the quinquentalia of Valena.
Or. viii., sevararepease. On the quinquentalia of Valena.
Or. viii. sevararepease. To Valentinian the younger, son of Valena, consul this year. A.D. 387.

4. D. 368

A-D. 369.

Or. z., in the cipping, prenounced before the Senate of Constantinopla, congratulating Valens on his peace with the Goths. A.D. 370. Or. 21., beerspecie (March 28). On the decennatic of Valena, who was A.D. 373.

then in Syrin.

Or mi. An appeal for religious toleration, Or. mii., iparason, pronounced in honour of Gratian at Rome, whither Themistics was sent by Valena. LD. 374. LD. 377.

81 (481)VOL III

Or. Eit., more two and traderies are manuscrape (early in the year) proportioned at Themselonies by Themselonies as delegate of the Senate of Constantinople

Or XV , we westerness (February or March). On the virtues of a king. A.D. 383. Or 19th, againment up acrospores, they recoupling and reg observes or experience. Sometime (January). On the reace with the Goths in 38th Or, 19th, every generative previously are. Performing thanks for his com-A.A. 353. A.D. 204.

appointment to the Prefecture of Constantinople (c. Sept. 1 %). Or rule, superior of Sections determine. Paragraph of Theodomia.

A.D. 384 Or III., is the following the resistance of the desires pronounced in the bonate, because the elements of Throndonius thefore Sept. 16, 4-0, 386.

System of Cyrene thorn 39970 a.c. istailed first at Alexandra, afterwarded Example of Cyrone thorn 399-10 Act introduct there at Airsandra, afterwards at Athena. When he had completed his academical course he returned to the Pectapolis and led the life of a cultivated occurry gentleman. Its 397 a n he arrived in Constantinople to plead the onuse of Cyrone at the court, and stared there some years, where he enjoyed the friendship of Aurelian. During that time he delivered his speech on the office of language above, p. 2891, and witnessed the fall of Aurelian and rebollion of Gamas. He afterwards made these events the subject of a build political "apinh," entitled "The Egyptians". For the light which this throws on the political garties and intrigues in Constantinopic, see

below, Appendix 27.

After the Games spends, Aurolan returned, and by his influence the petition of Synemias was granted. Synemias then returned to Africa speciably in 402 to Alexandria, and 404 to Cyrone; so Bessie, who has revised the chronology of the Alexandra, and 404 to Cyrone; so Seask, who has revised the chromology of the letters of Syncaus in a very valuable study in Philobysa, 52, p. 458 ag., 1860. Translation of his interesting descriptions of the pleasures of country life will be found in Mr. Halcomba axodient article on "Syncaus," in the Diet, of Chr. Biography. These descriptions occur in his letters, of which 156 are extant! (included in the Epistolographi Grace of Hurcher). The Cyronauca, however, was exposed to the depredation of the normals, owing to the mountpetence of the povernor Cerealia, and Syncaus took an active part in defending the province. In 403 he had married a Christian wife; he came under the influence of Theochem. philin, Bishop of Alexandria where he resided a couple of years); and was gradually converted to Christian.ty. In 410 he yielded to the wishes of the people of Ptelemate and became a bishop. He died a few years later. His works, which included philosophical poems, may be most conveniently consulted in Migne s edition (Monograph Volkmann, Synesos von Cyrene, 1932. See also A. Nieri, La Ctrenaica nel secolo quinto giusta le lettere di Enicato, in the

Revista di filologia, 21, 220 apg. (1992).

Pallantes, Richop of Helecopolis, wrote a biographical work on John Chrysostom (of whom he was a supporter) under the title "A Dialogue with Theodore the Deacon". After Chrysostom's banishment, not being safe in Constantinople, he went to Rome and explained to the Pope the true facts of Chrysostom's treatment. Afterwards returning to the cast he was thrown into prison, and then banished to a remote part of Egypt. At a later time his sentence was revoked; he seems to have been restored to Helenopolis, and was then translated to the Sec of Aspuns in Galaira I. (Romatea, viz. 36). A strict ascetis himself, he dedicated to Lausus the Chamberlain (of Thoulesquair, 'I a compilation of short biographies of men and women of his time who had exploseed the ascetic life. It is known as the Historia Lausinon (written about 120 a.s.); more will be said of it in consuloring the courses for the growth of mountainent.

in an appendix to vol. iv.

To what has been said of EUNAFTUS in vol. it. Appendix 1 (p. 537) I must here add a reference to a paper of C. de Boor in Rheimsches Museum, vol xlvn. (1892) p. 321-3) on the new edition of the history of Eurapius, which, softened down and mutilated so as not to shock the smooptibilities of Uhristian readers, was subsequently issued (by the book-trails?). The Processium in the

Among them, letters to Hypatia.

Excerpts de Sententils was copied down from this expurgated edition, and is not the work of Eunapius but is the editor's preface. Guidenpenning has attempted to explain the extraordinary fact that Zesimus does not even mention the greatest blot on the reign of Theodosius the Great—the massacre of Theses-losses—by supposing that he used the expurgated Eunspius. This seems hardly

probable.

The History (Myo. isropium) of the pagan Olympiononon (of the Egyptian Thebes) in twenty-two books was a highly important work. It embraced eighteen years of contemporary history (a. p. 407-425). It is unluckly lost, but valuable fragments are preserved in the Bibliotheca of Photius (amongst others a currous account of the imitation of new students at the university of Athens, fr. 28). The work was used as a source by the somewhat later writers, Philostorgive, Socrates, Schomen, and later still by Zommun, so that our historical material for the reign of Honorius and the first half of the reign of Theodonius in depends more largely on Olympiodorus than might be inferred from the extent of the Photian fragments. He himself described his work as material (124) for history. He deducated it to Theodonius ii. The most convenient clation of the fragments is that in Midler a Fragmenta, Hist. Grace, iv. p. 57 agg.

In the same place (69 agg.) well be found the fragments of Pancius of Pancius in Thrace, whose history probably began about a.t. 433 and ended at 474. The most favours at the account of the account.

most famous is the account of his embosy to Hunland, but other very valuable

notices from his work are preserved. So far as we can judge from these remains be was perhaps the best historian of the fifth century. Q. Aurelius Synnachus (of a rich but not an accient family ") was born not long after 340. The details of his career are rehearsed on the base of a status which his son set up in his house;

Q. Aur(alio) Symmacho v irole(larissimo) quaest(ori) pret(ori) pontifici maleri, correctori Lucaniae et Brittiorum, comiti ordinia tertil, proconstulii Africae praeffecto) urb(1), commult) ordinario, oratori disertissimo, Q. Fab(10s) Memm(ius)

Symmachus v(tr) o larissimus) patri optimo.

On the occasion of the quanquennalia of Valentinian (a. c. 369, Peb. 26) he carried the Senate's congratulations and curum obliticerum to the Emperor and pronounced panegyrics on Valentinian and Gratian, of which fragments remain (for, i. and Or, ii. al. Seeck, p. 318 and 339). He remained with the court, and accompanied the Emperors on their Alamanno expedition in 369 (like Ausonius). He celebrated the campaign in a accord panegyric in honour of Valentinian's third consulably, a.c. 370 (Creat, ii.). He was proconsul of Africa at the time of the revolt of Firmus (373-375). He was prefect of Rome in 384, and his appointment probably marks a revival of the pagan influence after Gratian's death. In the same year he drew up the celebrated third Relatio to Theodosius for the restoration of the Altar of Victory, which had been removed by Gratiania 382. In 328, as the spokesman of the senate, he pronounced a panegyric on the tyrant Maximus, when he invaded Italy, and for this he was accused of treason on Valentinian's restoration, and with difficulty escaped punishment. The Panegyric and the Apology to Theodosius which he wrote after his parion are mentioned by Socrates (v. 14), but have not survived. In 391 he was consul, and took the occasion of a panegyric which he pronounced in the presence of Theodosius to recommend to him a petition which the Roman senate had recently preferred for the restoration of the Altar of Victory. The result is described by Gibbon (p. 191). Next year Symmachum made another musuccessful attempt with Valentinian. He probably survived the pear 404 (see below, p. 486). On the occasion of the quanquennalia of Valentinian (a.o. 369, Feb. 25) he carried curried the year 404 (see below, p. 486).

His works have been edited by Seeck (in M. G. H.). They consist of nine

Books of Letters, and the Relationes (which used to be numbered as a touth Book

^{*} His father, L. Aurelius Aviantus Symm, iconsul 1501, was prefect of Rome in a.p. 3645.
Statues were set up to him both in Rome and Communituopie, as is recorded in an inscription, where the public offices which he held are enumerated. He was princeps senatus. I L. 6, 1504. 8 For the Panegyric (a.n. 189) of Dreponius Latinos Panagus, see p. 186.

of Letters); and fragmentary remains of eight Orations (first published by Ma. and naknown to 6 bhon).

The preme of Decimie Magnus Ausonice (born c. 310 at Burningsia) are more impacts a for the hierary than for the political history of the section. He was a soll second at Asherma, with whom he head at Telesa 320-20, had the have red being in a time teacher of one of Constantine's sons (Constantine of Constantine). He became a teacher of grain man about XII) and so in after with the same in the active to make the constantine both the same time. About XII and the constantine to the a time teacher of one of Constantine a sons Constantine or server and Valor trian at 1 total at on their Alamannic comparent. He refer to the exclusion in his Moschia written at Trier in 370-1).

> Briefibna exactis Narrico super et Lupodonum Et fon'en Latits ignotum annalities Histri (423-4).

by 376 he obtained the rank of course and in 375 was promoted to be quantity seen STATE OF THE PARTY NAMED IN The west Hospital (A.A. STG processed of Africa became in 377 preserves would of Italy, while his something Thalassess became in 37% provider of A man A morus himself was appeared Protection present on Cani in the process of the section. Th. S & 30). But in his Epiconiscs on Patron he describes La me Besperitte an

Praefectus Gallus et Labym et Latio.

We coupling this with words in the Grotiorum Actio to Gratian, \$7, ad pracfor we cologists thous can patre consucting and laker in terpt at Nepoten. y practication duplicem, it has been concluded see Fe par a produce to an at it at that in conseque on of the re amount p to seem the two form onto the the second and second government of father and soc, and when A was as lad we be other the set me that I've again desired in . I've be ween and and an eved rates than All Charot is great may see formals and to space the in Pauli me, and he was in touch with many other mile of parents in And the state of the part Parameter Research Parameter of the part Parameter of Pa 10

in Norther Posterior of Nola, the most important of various propile of the when it to be her my what from I Pa the of Paris is the author of the , . . A - man and I'm a respond from the second accordance (614) or a wise a feel of the tarting there are extend, then a or a not an over as and a second of the second of the day of a second of the s " be a rate a Kyon Pate Lat, and the His war plane of therebooks the matter of and to more of the portion in it is to are I great to a be holdered Crew an are at the house of the water on tool That or Mayore Potential a made accomment for reference

of many to A. Blance Diameter and market of the 1969.

and of Print in the street of Degree was Processed Processed to be the second for so the second of the second of the second second of the Party At root on the total contract recording partial . were out then, was appreciated even a say to a are by the freman Artislan.

> ("I to make the second and I would be the second as the se ATTACAMENT IN ABOUT THE PARTY OF THE NOTES OF PARTY AND A PARTY OF

es on at down he the cooling who, not knowing that he hold this you has not be maken at their sergery. He was - the next

bouring Vasates: induced the Alans to separate from the Goths and undertake the Roman cause; and the town was delivered by their intervention.

It a probable that Claudius Chaudius was born in Egypt and certain that he belonged to Alexandria and spont his early years there (ig. Simulius Appill. 18 275, and Brit a preface to his ed of Cla dum, ad mit.) His father Claudius inc. Cl. L. 6, 1710) may be identical with Claudian the brother of the philosopher Maximus, Juhan's teacher (Emsprus, Vil. Soph., p. 47 and 101, ed. Boss., Inct., 65, p. vil. At Alexandria he wrote poems in Grock, and a fragment of him reparangus has been preserved. (There accurate been been another threek poet of the same name, who wrote in the reign of Theodosius it., and to him may be ascribed perhaps some Christian ejografia. But it is certain that the great Claudian wrote in Grock, 'and his authority of the Paparograph has been accessfully sundicated by Birt.) He seems to have come to Italy in or before a b. 386, where he estatued a small post in one of the departments facing analytic the control of the magneter officient; "in one of the departments facing another the control of the magneter officients," in his peer of talents were discovered in the senatorial efficiency from Lin was pation used by Roffmus Yuesius Hadrianus, a countryman of his own, who held the post of Count of the Barted Largessee (a.v. 305; he was Mag. Offic., 307 39c, and unissignent? Pract. Pract of Itary), and by members of the great America family, in the cours 39t and 39c, hefore he was discovered and "taken up "by Stilicho and the court of Homerus. From 396 to 404 he was a sort of poet laurate to the Imperial court; Hemerus was his Augustus, Stilicho his Maccer se. Mis fame and favour did not bring any remarkable advancement in his career in the civil service; by the year 400 he had become tribure and notary. But he y joyed the uple honger of he had become tribure and notary. But he y joyed the spie honger of the surface of trapan and the inserption of the state is preserved in the Miserus of America de forces of the magnetic of the state is preserved.

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CLAVDIO CLAVDIANO V C THE
BVINO EE NOTARIO INTER CETERAS
DE CENTES ARIES FEAGLOGIOSISSIMO
FOI FTARVM LICET AD M. MORIAM SEMPITERNAM CARMINA AB EODEM SCRIFTA
SVELICIANT AD IMMEN
TESTIMONII CRATIA OR IVDICH SVI
EIDEM DDNN ARCADIVS ET HONORIVS
EN CESSIMI AC DOCTISSIMI
DIGERAL RES SENATV FETENTR
ST CLAAM IN FORO DIVI TRAIANI
ERIGI COLLOCARIQVE IVSSERVNT
BIN ENI RIPUTATION NOON KAI MONTAN GMIPPOY
KAAYMANGN FUMIL KAI BACIARC ROMLAN

We have no record of Claudian's death; but it is a probability closely approaching certainty that he ided in a r 404 (so Burt p in). The almost of mans after the date, anished the put he events which ensued is unrefulligible on any other expression. Here, if ever, a conclusion from allone is justified.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CLAUDIAN'S PORMS (AFTER BIRT).

Property of the Problem of Olybric consulities to Olybrius and Problems

Carro, Min., 10, 11)
Raj tus Proserpinas
Pan gor, do e consulatu Honorii
In Rufinum Libir i, and il.

A.D. 394, or shortly before.

A.D. 394 between Sept. and Doc.

A.D. 385. between A.D. 385 and 397. A.L. 395 between Sept. and Dec. between A.D. 385 Dec. and A.D. 306 July

Be attents it himself, Carm. Min., 41, 24, of Lattac accessit Gress Thelia togac-

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CLAUDIAN'S PORMS (AFTER BIRS)-(499L)

Oarm. Min., 32 Oarm. Min., 23, 22

Carm Min., 19 Presente to Ek. ii. in Refinum, and the whole work published Panegyriens de tv. cons. Henoris

Epithelam um de nupe. alfomorii, and Feermains de nujd. Hon.

Carm Min., 45, 46, 47 De Bello Gildomeo

Panegyrious diotus Manlio Theodoro consult

In Entropium Rk. L, written and published by steelf

In Futropium Ek is and Pracfatio Corne Min., 25 (Spethalameum diet. Palladio)

De consul. Stilichouse and Predatio Carm. Min., 48, Carm. Min., appendia 4

Carm Min., 41 Carm Min., 20 Carm, Min., 50 De ballo Gothico

Panegyr, dict. de vi. cons. Honorii Carm. Mig., 30 and 53

A.r. 396 or later.

A. D. 356 A.D. 397 or later.

A. IL 397 A.n. 307 between Sept. and Der

a.p. 308 Jan., Feb. between a r. 308 and a.p. 404. A.D. 398 Aug., Sept.

a. p. 398 between Oct. and Dus.

A.D. 399 between Jan. and June A.D. 309 between June and Sept.

4. D. 390.

between a.c. 360 Sont, and a.c. 400 Jan.

between A.D. 400 and 404. A.D. 4'1) or 401. before A.r. 401. autumn 441. A.D. 402 April, May. A.D. 403 between Sept. and Don. A.D. 404 carly months.

This table may be found convenient by those who have the older editions of Claudian. More details, and the proofs of the chronology, will be found in Th. Birt's Proface to his complete and admirable edition of Claudian (in Mon. Germ. Hist.). A handy text founded on Birt's work has been published by I. Koch (1963). Cp. also Jeep, Cl. Claudiani Carmina, 1876-9. Vogt, de Claudiani carminum gom Stiliconem producant fide historica, 1863. Ney, Vindicae Claudianor, 1865.

Claudianer, 1865.
Aurelius Par parerus Clemens—the first distinctly Christian Latin poet—was a Aurelian Par partition Clemena—the first distinctly Christian Latin poet—was a Spannard by birth (born a.b. 348). He gave up a secular career at the age of fifty-seven and spent the remainder of his him in composing Christian poetry. For historical purposes his most important work is the fosten Systemicians in two Books, on the question of the Altar of Victory. It is important to determine the date of this work. It seems decisive (as Birt has observed in his Privices to Chaudian) that in Bk. ii. Prudentina sings of the victory over Alarse at Pollentia but does not mention the triumph of Verona (see below, Appen lex 17). It follows that the work Contra Systemathum appeared between May 402 and August 403, another inference is that Symmachum appeared between May 402 and xivist. in 22) in the year 402-3. (Birt points out a number of verbal sellows which show that the muss of the Christian poet was stimulated by the "Gothic War" of the pagen.) It seems highly probable that this controversal poem was called forth by an actual permission granted by Henorius to restore the Altar of Victory forth by an actual permission granted by Henorius to restore the Altar of Victory in A.D. 339. At least this is a very plausible inference from a line (19) of Claudian in the Prof. to De coma. Stal. iii. (a poem of that year):

adverit reduces scoum Victoria Musas,

combined with de m. cons. Hon. 897 :

adfuit ipe, suis ales Victoria templis Romanae tutela togae : quae divite penna Patricli reverenda forot sacratia cortus

APPENDIX

487

cartronimque cadem comes indefessa tuorum nanc tandem fruitur votis atque omne futurum to Romas sessone tibi promittit in asvum.

(Edition of Prudentius: H. Dressel, 1960. "Translations from Prudentius," Rev. F. St. J. Thackerny, 1900.)

The most distinguished poet in the reign of Valentinian fil., before the rise of Sidonius, was the Spaniard, Flavius Manonaupus. Endonius mentions, with out maming him, in Chem. ix. 296 app., as one who was honoured (like Claudian) by a statue in the Forum of Trajan.

sed not testine ille nune legetur Ractin qui patrium sernel relinquena undosae petrit aitim Ravennac, ploseres sui fulgidam Quintes et carus popularitate princeps Traiano statuam foro locarunt.

Simuondus brilliantly guessed the identity of the poet referred to in these lines, and his guess was confirmed by the discovery of the basis of the statue, with the full inscription, beginning : FL Merobaudi vs com. so., and ending : dedicata iv. kal, Aug. Conss. DD NN Theodosio xv. et Valentiniano iv. About the same the fragments of a poet of that age were discovered in a Ma of St. Gall, and the text of the Inscription enabled Niebuhr (by means of verbal similaristics) to establish that these relice belonged to Merchandes. First edited by Niebuhr, they were printed by Bekker in the Bonn Corpus Bys. (in the same volume as Corippus). The following are some of the points of historical interest in these

Carmina I, and II, reflect the establishment of Galla Placidia and her son Valentinian in the West after the overthrow of the nourper John by the help of Theodoxus ii. The verse on the child Valentinian (L, II):

his uhi sacra parena piscedi petit carula nati,

has a curious interest owing to the spithet. The child who is here placed with a play on his mother's name) is destined to be more familiar as the mature, effeminate placedus, branded for ever with infamy by another poet:

Actum Placidus mactavit semivir amona.

The victory over John and the botrothal of Valentinian with Hadoxia are thus referred to (L. 9):

our natura dedit, victoria reddidit orbem claraque longinquos praebuit aula toros.

For the intimate relation between the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople, such a full and candid expression of gratifude to the Eastern sovereign, as the following, on the part of a poet of Bavenna, is of much significance, C. H., 13, 14 :

sio dominos escura sui de stommate regni continuat proprios dum creat aula noves.

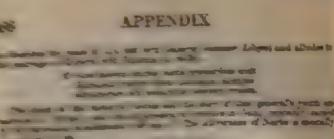
C. iv. is a hemiscasyllabic poem on the birthday of Gaudentius the son of Actius. The sejourn of Actius as a hostage with the Gotha is mentioned :

> via puberthus pater sub annis objectus Getson puer extens, bellerum mora, feederis sequester.

The most important fragment is that of the Panegyric on the third consul-ship of Actius (a.p. 446) with a Freface in proces. He refers to his exploits against the Armoriel (l. 8):

lustrat Aremoricos iam mitier incola saltue;

5 There was another contemporary poet, Quintianus a Ligurian, who also many the preises of Active Sidonies, c. ix. 269 sqq



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to make it have no females on the first

chronicle, mentioned above, which goes down to a.n. 512. The later part of this abronicle is taken doubtless from a continuation of the Gallic chronicle. The author of the chronicle of a.p. 511 drew also upon Orosius and Idatrus and upon

the Chronicle of Constantinople (Monumen, p. 6%).

In future it would be convenient to refer to Gibbon's "Prosper Tiro" and this sound chronicle as the Cumosigua or 452 and the Cumosigua or 511. The South-Gallic Annals were continued in the sixth century and were used by Marius of Avenches, Maximus of Surageres, and Indore of Seville. See vol. iv., Appendix 1. With the South-Gallie Chromeles Mommson has published from a Riussells and a Madrid Ma.) a short untitled Naraatron concurring Emperors of the Valentinian and Theodosian House (Valentinian, Valena, Gratian, Theodosius, Accadius and Honorius, written by a "contamporary and admirer" of Theodorius ii. It contame no new historical fact; but is interesting in having the notice that Honorius died of dropsy, which is found in no other Latin record, and among

Greek writers only in Philostorpus (12, 13).

The second of the two fragments which, accidentally joined together in an Ms. and honce fairely supposed to belong to the same work, gounder the name of Anorraces Various, is highly important for events in Italy for the period which it covers from a.b. 475 to 526, that is to say, for Odovacar and Theodoric. It is a fragment of annals written at Ravenna in the aixth orntary, when that eaty had been recovered by the Empire. The fragment (of which more will be said in vol. iv Appendix 1) is mentioned here, because it is edited by Momman (in Chronica Miners, L. p. 250 agg.) as belonging to one of a series of annals and chronicles which had a common source in a lost document which he calls Cinnosica Frances and which had formerly been called by Waitz the Ravennate Annals, a name which disguises the fact that the compilation had been begun before Ravenna became the seat of the western Emperors.

The other chief documents which contain the material for arriving at the

original constitution of the Chronica Italica are as follows:

FAST VIREODONAMES, preserved in a Virenza Ma. in two recensions (distinguished as priores and portensees), to which are to be added some excepts in a St. Gall Ms. (excepts Sangallonia). The chronicle used to be known as the prior reconsion comes down to a.p. 40%, the posterior to a.p. 538, but both are mutilated, the prior committing they care 104 456.

The Covernt arrow or Passers, preserved in a Copenhagen Ma. 10 (compiled in the seventh century towards the end of the reign of Reradius, probably in Italy). In the later part of his work he made use of the chronicle of Isidere (who

himself used the Chronica Italica) and the Chronica Italica.

The Latin version of a Greek chronicle (written at Alexandria after a.p. 387), known as the Bananays of Scaliger.

Excerpts in the Liber Pontificalis of Ravonna, written by Agnellus in the

pinth century.

These documents are edited by Mommeon in parallel columns in vol. i. of ronica blinora. But as the Chromes Italica were utilized by Prosper, Chronica Minora. Marcellinus Comes, Cuencedorius, Marius of Aventicum, Istdare, Paulus Diaconius, Theophanes, these authors must be also taken into account. The "Chronica Italica" seems to have been first published in a.r. 387, and its basis was the chronicle of Constantinople. Afterwards it was from time to time brought up to date, perhaps, as Mommsen suggests, by the care of booksellers. In the sixth contury it was probably re-shited and carried on, after the overthrow of the Gothic k redom, by Archbishop Maximian of Razama, whose "chronicle" is cited by Agardia. But there is no reason to suppose that he had anything to do with the illiterate fragment of the so-called Anonymus Valenti.

The so-called Historia Minusia is made up of three distinct works of different agea: (1) Books 1-10 - the history of Eutropius, coming down to the

Of or the first fragment see vol. II. Appendix, p. 533. 10 The new material contained in it was first edited by G. Itilia (1966) under the title Prosper Aquitani Chronici continuator Havniensis.

death of Jovian; ep. vol. i. Appendix 1: (2) Books 11:16, the work of Paulus Discount, who have at the end of the eighth century and is more famous by his Bistory of the Lombards; (3) the continuation of Landulfus Sagaz, who have more than 200 years later. The second part, which conterns us here, is compiled from Prosper, Orosum, Jovianes and others, but contains some notices drawn from lost sources. The work may be consulted in Muratori's Scriptores Berum Italicarum, vol. i., or in Migne's Patrol. Lat., vol. zev.

Paulus Onesus of Terraco in Spain dedicated to his friend St. Augustine has Ristoriae adversum Paganos in 7 Books. He was young when, at St. Augustine's suggestion, he wrote the work shortly after a.p. 417. It was intended to illustrate and yindicate the Divine dispensation of a history of the world from the deluge to his own day, and to show that Christianity was not the cause of the ovil times (see below on Salvian). The only part of importance as historical material is the last portion of Bk. vil., which deals with the latter part of the fourth, and first seventies a years of the fifth, century. His spirit is that of a narrow-minded provincial bigot, but he has some very important entries for a narrow-indical provincial bigot, out he has some very important entries for the history of his own time—for example on the campaign of Pollentia and the invarion of Radagasus. [Edition C Zangernesster in the Corpus Script. Ecoles. Lat. 1827; and text (Teubner) by mine editor 1830.]

The importance of the work of Saturax on the Divine Government (De

Subernatione Dei, in 8 Books) for the state of the Empire in the fifth century is not adequately realized by Gibbon. It is (as Mr. Holgkin justly says, L. p. 918, in his admirable chapter on the book) "one of our most valuable sources of information as to the inner life of the dving Empire and the moral character of its form". Salvan was a presbyter of Massilia. He was married, but after the birth of a daughter he and his write took a vow of chastity for life. He seems to have been born at 400 and was still living in 480. He wrote his book before the middle

of the century.

The purpose of this book was to answer the great problem which at that time was perpiezing thoughtful people. Why is civilized somety dissolving and breaking up before the barbarians, if there is a Divine governance of the world? This question had been dealt with before by Augustine in the De Civitate Del, and by Orosius in the Hist, adversus Paganos. Their various assumers have been well compared by Mr. Hodgkin. Augmetine's answer was merely negative; the well compared by Mr. Dangam. Augmentions answer was merely negative: the evila which had come upon Rome were not the effect of the introduction of Christianity. Orosius denied the existence of the svila. But a good deal had happened between 417 and 440; and in 440 even Orosius could hardly have ventured to maintain his thems. Salvian answer was: these svila are the effects of our vices. He draws a vivid and highly enaggested contrast between Boman vices and Toutonic virtues. He dwells especially on a matter which came very directly within his own knowledge, the abuses and unjust exactions practised by Gallio officials.

So far as balvian's arguments are concerned there is nothing to be added to Gibbin's criticism (xxxv. n. 12): "Salvian has attempted to explain the moral government of the Dorty, a task which may be readily performed by supposing that the calamities of the wicked are judgments, and those of the righteom

Tyrannius Rustinus (born at Concordia e. a.d. 345, died in Sicily, a.d. 410) lived in Egypt for some time, where he was thrown into prison, on the occasion of the persecution which was conducted with the permission of the Emperor Valena by Lucius, the Arian successor of Athananus at Alexandria. Having quitted Egypt, on his release, he spent nearly twenty years as a monk on the Rount of Olives. During this period he became acquainted with Escurius Rount of Olives. During this period he became acquainted with Bacurum the first Christian king of the Iberians, and with Ossissius the companion of Fromentius, the apositio of the Ethiopians. He returned to Italy in 3% and sport the later part of his life at Aquileis. This period was troubled by a famous controversy with his friend Jordine. Rufinus translated many Greek works into Latin, among others Origen's treatise with the translation, and it was represented

that Rufinus misused the authority of Jaromo's name to cover heretical doctrines of Origen. The most important works of Rufium are his Ecclesiastical History in two Books, being a continuation of that of Eusebius, which he rendered into Latin; and his history of Egyptian Anchorets. For the origin of monasticism

Morans Woass. Besides those mentioned in the Appendices to vol. i. and ii. :

Maraan Woass. Besides those mentioned in the Appondices to vol. i. and ii.: H. Richter, Das westromische Reich, besonders unter den Kaisern Grafian, Varentinian II. und Maximus (375-38s), 1865; J. Iffand and A. Guldenpenning, der Kaiser Theodosius der Grosse, 1878; A. Guldenpenning, Goschichte des estremischen Reiches unter den Kaisern Arcadius und Theodosius in, 1883. V. Schultze, Goschichte des Untergangs des griechieh-romischen Heislentuma 1887. Für the barbarian invanions and the Teutonio-Kingdom: Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, vol. i. and n. (ed. 2, 1892); F. Dahn, Konige der Germanischen Volker; R. Pailmann's Geschichte der Volkerwanderung; E. von Wieterbeim's Geschichte der Volkerwanderung; E. von Wieterbeim's Geschichte der Volkerwanderung; E. von Wieterbeim's Geschichte der Volkerunderung; E. von Wieterbeims of the direct Geschichte der Volkerunderung; E. von Wieterbeims of the direct Geschichte der Volkerunderung; E. von Wieterbeims of the direct Geschichte der Volkerunderung; E. Special Monographe, is a most valuable storehouse of referencea.

Special Monographe; on Stelleho (cp. above, under Claudian): R. Kaller,

Special Monographs: on Stillcho (cp. above, under Claudian): R. Keller, Stillcho, 1834; Resensein, Alarich und Stillcho, in Forsch. rur deutschen Geschichte, vol. 3, 1863; Vogt. Die politischen Bestrebungen Stillcho, in Chrismonn, Chrys. in sensem Verhältniss zum byzantinischen Hof. 1883, and Rev. W. R. W. Stephens, Life and Times

of John Chrysostom. (Others are referred to in the footnotes.)

2. PICTS AND SCOTS-(P. 42, 43)

"Crear tells us that the inhabitants of Britain in his day painted themselves with a dye extracted from wood; by the time, however, of British independence under Carausius and Allectus, in the latter part of the third century, the fashion had so far fallen off in Roman Britain that the word Parts, Picts, or painted men, had get to mean the peoples beyond the Northern Wall, and the people on the Solwny were probably included under the same name, though they also went by the separate denomination of Atcotti. Now all these Piets were natures of Britain, and the word Pieti is found applied to them for the first time in a canonical by Europeans in the word "Solving in the way "Solving in the word "Solving panegyrie by Eumenius, in the year 296; but in the year 360 another painted people at peared on the scene. They came from Ireland, and to dut uguish those two sets: f painted foer from one another Latin lustomans left the painted natures to be called Piett, as had been done before, and for the painted invaders from frehand they retained, untranslated, a Cettic word of the same (or nearly the same) meaning, namely Scotts. Neither the Piets nor the Scotti probably owned these manner, the former of which is to be traced to Roman authors, while the these hance, the former of which is to be traced to remain actions, which is latter was probably given the invaders from Irviand by the Brythona, whose country they crossed the sea to mange. The Scota, however, did recognize a national name, which described them as painted or tattoood men. . . This werd was Crusthing, which is found applied equally to the painted people of both Islands." "The portion of Irviand best known to history as Pictish was a peets well defined district consisting of the pressent county of Astrini and most of that of Down." (Professor Rhys, Early Britain, p. 235 agq.: But Prefessor Rhys, Early Britain, p. 235 agq.: But Prefessor Rhys, which he regards not as Latin, but as native and connected with the Gallio Pertones. See Scottish Review, July, 1891.

Ammianus (278) divided the inhabitants of the North of Initain (the Piets) into two nations, the Dicalidons and Verturiones. "Under the former name,

which seems to mean the people of the two Caledonas, we appear to have to do with the Caledonian proper . . . while in later times the word Vertariones yielded in Gotdelic the well-known name of the Brythons of the kingdom of

Fortream they were parallely the people proviously called Barrais, but that is by no re-care contain. "First, of p. 100. The Learnite seem to have compared part of the state top water the smalle of Harris. and determine where the Mary's due to the Harmon's Har distant Britain in Proles Hoter in Alias of Modern Larger, Part 2, 25 on Margarite there will be exceed from the foreign and of Parameter & 43 and the later Picto of transvery 18, p. 49, 50%.

3. THE DEATH OF COUNT THEODOSIUS-2. SA.

The game of the stricken respection of Theories at Chartengo in 200 and 2 respective to to the Marchandra B t Mirror who was the war to a first at a Cases, and the of John and Valenting in Montanian as to Be problem in the House and the law many for the law facts that the law many for the law facts later was the law of the law facts later was the law of the law of the law of the later was the later w Antisch faut years previously other and trans. The private in Trans was to set will like with who short the mane or three and made the my days up the down among the twenty four letters of the are and - see letter in the reason count to which all the blazze convectors to be local than and - Transact t y 20 And ecetable we can well imagent and the superson on their watered with apprehension the current of court on the cutter of apprehension the current of court of the cutter and the cutter of the cutter o Africa used influence at M an to procure his fair

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tables, has confused Melli, buildes with the more entered Membranes in tw places in Sea d 67 Meliobours on Mathematics the Mac of Az man vary Ale and I had to all the post of course done resonant under terstrant. See Ale and I had the look; and on ale opened from another less important.

Medicin beafer Malliam. 15, a Frank who was frictions armeticeraria under Consta term, see Ammian 14, 11 21, and 15 5, 5. These manusakes are con-feered at the index of Gardthausen's Ammianus. See Richter, Das westermuch Steel, p. 283.

Mercha sice deserves prominence as the first of a series of men of harvarian erigin who come to power in the Imperial service; Membranics, Arbeitast Conche. Actions, Retirier. He married into the family of Valentinian (Victor, Eyel, 45), and was consult in Alix 377.

5. LIST OF KINGS OF PERSIA, FROM SAPOR IL TO KOBAD-(P. 85)

A.D. 470 Aug 4.
A.D. 458, Aug 4.
A.D. 457, July 30, lin' ram, v. Yordegord IL

Hormied al.

whom he deposed Baltah auccoods a ze 484, July 23.

Kohnd (Kawada) succeeds a.n. 488, July 22; died Sept. 13, a.e. 531. The dates given are those of the beginning of the Persian year in which the king a merculal and from which he counted not the actual days of accession, and are taken from N. ideke, Freum 1 to his Greethichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Nassaniden. Thus Bahram v. did not setually possess the throne till 421 (spring).

6. THE ORIGIN OF THE HUNS-(C. XXVI.)

Brostpts of ethnological interest from the voluminous Annals of the Han Synasty (in about a hundred volumes) were translated by Mr. Wylie (at Sir H. Howorth's request) and published in the third and fourth volumes of the Journal of the Anthropol. Institute. Sir H. Howorth wrote a preface, arguing that the History Na cannot be identified with the Huna. His argument is, the Hung Nu were Purks; the Huns were Ugrans; therefore the Huns were not Hung Nu. "The Huna as I have elsewhere argued, were a race of Ugrana led by a caste of another race now represented by some of the Leaghian tribes of the Caucasus. The Hung-Nu were not Ugrtans. It was Klaproth, whose grasp of the whole pub set of the ethnography of Northern Asia was most masterly, and who, notwritestarding some in Lore, I hold to have been fuerly princeps among Asiatic sthuologusts, first proved that the Hung-Nu were Turks, and his conclusions were enclosed by the very competent authority of Abel Remusat, and since by other scholars.

That the Hinny Nu were a Turkic race (the correct way of stating it in: the Turks were Hiung Nu) may indeed be regarded as certain; but so much sannot be said of Ser H. Howerth's other premise, that the Huns were Ugrams.

For Kiaproth's proof that the Huns were Lenghians, see his Tableaus historiques de l'Asie, and Howorth, Journal Anth. Inst. in p. 4534. His comparative list of Hunsic and Lenghian names presents such strikingly close sessemblances that it is hard to resist his conclusions; and his identification of the Hunsic sure "river" (Jordanes, Iet. 52) with Lenghian or, coor, is plausible. While admitting that the Huus may be connected with this Caucassan sace, I cannot follow Sir H. Howorth in his further speculations or admit that an affinity has been proved with the Finno-Uguan languages. Sir H. Howorth's comparative table of Hunsic with Hungarian names ip. 470 is quite maconv.neing

On the other hand I cannot accept as proven, or as more than a brilliant conjecture, the identification of the Huns with the Hung Nu. The thusis has been recently defended by Mr. E. H. Parker, a Chinese scholar, whose work I have recently defended by Mr. E. H. Parker, a Chinese scholar, whose work I have used and referred to in additional factnotes on Gitbon's account of the Hang-Nu in this volume. In "A Thousand Years of the Tartara," p. 99. Mr. Parker puts it thus: The Northern Hang Nu, unable to maintain their ground against various enemies, "disappeared far away to the North, many of them no doubt finding their way by the apper waters of the Schings and the Iriyah to Isachul, the Aral, and the Caspian, strugglag with the Hashkirs, the Alasa, and the unknown tribes then occupying Rasan into Europe". And again in an article on "The Origin of the Turks in the English Hist Review, July, 1988, p. 434, he defends the view that "the Hung-Nu were in fact the Huns, who afterwards appeared as the Hunni in Europe".

While I am not convanced that on the ethnographical side there is any a proof objection to the elegistication of the Huns with the "Hung" alaves—Mr. Parker observes that to this day Hung "is in some parts of China still pronounced Hunt"—I cannot, from the historical side, see the justification for asserting the Identity. The resemblance of the name is in fact the only proof. It is a mortal leap from the hingdom of the name is in fact the only proof.

leap from the kingdom of the northern Zenghi to the steppes of Russia, and he who takes it is supported on the wings of fares, not on the ground of fact. On this question research in the Chinese annals has added nothing to the data which were so at ly manapulated by Degragana,

The Grougen, who will be more important afterwards in connexion with the Torks usee chapter xi.t., were wrongly identified with the Avars by Deguages. Mr. Parker thug, H.st. Bov. loc. cst. p. 435: is unable to decide whether they were of Hamilton Tunguise origin, and suspects a maxture of both races.

The close connexion of the Huns and Avars accens clear. Professor Vambery

² There is a Rumian translation of the entire work.

APPENDIX

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9. THROLOGY IN THE MARKET-PLACES OF CONSTANTINOPLE-(P. 143)

The humorous description of the interest taken in theological subtleties by the mechanics and slaves of Constantinople is quoted by Gibbon on the authority of Jestin, but Gibbon acknowledges that he does not know where it comes from and impairs that Jortin does not state his source.

A striking instance of the slumbers of Homer. Jortin indeed omite to give the reference, but he expressly ascribes the passage to "Gregory," that is, Gregory of Nyssa, with whem he is dealing in the context. It would seem from Gibbon's

The took Gregory to be the Nazianzem.

The passage occurs in Gregory Nyssen's Oratio de deitate Filii et Sidritus Saneti Migne, Patr Gr., 46, p. 167) and runs as follows:

*** Espe var Espenies de partyers à de cou ups. yengrou au dyengrou déchocompes als espe varquaires drou muleio, Migne à certa, discapairem and viles inspanses. el 64, Té Admepère étantémér ésus, émois, à 84 ét eta vère une discapaires.

10 DID THEODOSIUS VISIT ROME IN A.D. 394?-(P. 184)

According to Zosimus (iv. 59 and v. 30), Theodosius went to Kome after the battle of the Frigidus. This is likewise attended by Frideritus against Symm., i.), and as implied in Theodoret's statement, in reference to the visit of a.r. 389, person to our you decaderate eig ray Panay adiabaters want & Associates. This crireceive has been accepted by Jeep, but the objections urged by T.Hemont against it seem quite decisive, and it is rejected by Clinton and most authorities. It is a case of a confusion between the suppression of Maximus and the suppression of Rugenrus, the vest to Rome after the second war is merely a duplicate of the vest after the first war. Guldenpenning thinks that Theodonus sent a message to the senate againsting his will that pages worship should case (Dur Kaiser Theodostos, p. 229-30).

11. THE LIBRARIES OF ALEXANDRIA-(P. 199, 201)

"The valuable library of Alexandria was pillaged or destroyed." That is, the lesser library in the Serapeum, which was situated in the Rhacotis quarter of the city. Gibbon has failed to distinguish it from the great Library of the Brucheum, of which Zenoslotus, Cashmaohus and other famous scholars were librarians. This Library is said to have been burnt down when Caccar was in

Horarians. This Library is said to have been burnt down when Cassar was in Alexandria flut asses Mahaffy, Egypt under the Ptolemna, p. 401).

For the distinction of the two libraries see Epiphonius, do mensuris et ponderibus, 108 Migne, Patr. Gr. vol. 43, p. 206); in devergoe on important particular distributions, is refugicable assessment, free an everythe development of the first or mother history, see so. 166 (Magne, p. 249). For other references see Suscendit, Geschichte der alexandrianschen Litteratur, i. p. 336.

But is it an attested fact that the lower or de ignier library wasdestroyed in a. b. 391) The sanctuary of Strapus was demolished, but does that imply the demolition of all the buildings connected with the Scrapeum '2. The only evidence on which Gibbon a statement rests is the sentence which he quotes from Oranas (p. 401, n. 63). But Oreans does not mention the Serapeum or speak of a large library. He merely as a that he had seen bookcases in temples (which he does not name); and that, since them, he had been informed that the temples had been pillaged and the bookcases emptied. It seems to me highly improbable that Orosius is thinking either of the Alexandrian library or of the Semperari. There is no reason to suppose that the library was in the tample. I conclude then that there is no evidence that the library of the Serapeum did not survive till the Baracen company, notwithstanding the verdict of Susemili (ib. 344); "Omar fand 647 schwerlich noch Bucher in Alexandreis zu verbreitien".

I I must note that in the Nation, July 7, 1698 Mr. Frederick I. Toggart has made a good case for Gibbon a view that the Secapeum Library was burned in a n. 391.

The statement of Eunapius in the Vita Access: ea. to Imposessor view of the Access of the Company o

to ble A Magy Avar words and Interpret them t

7. TH:

A Sarmatian mentioned by questioned by che Reich, p. r Themutius ref-BariAtion Page Pricamorres potem Sarmat as armatus instap. 56 and Ka

8. CHRON

The account during the year Gibbon has to the help of I amplicatly true from Zomms dication from 379, Spring: 4

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(Zee, 33 ,, 17 August ,, 16 or 24 No p. 100. n.

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___ to "walls, gates and towers - --- Christ Eryt invasion of

Badagainus C. I L. 6, 10 Conference of 469 S, and gent as the total extinction of V. therward, p. 163);

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- white that on two separate - constance of Arracians in - west the dates and at was to grasp this clearly was then commanded to _ - of Aresdon Gattan when Alarie was in - want of Arradian banded at n to ecope. (Acemus The clarge of and a factor of the property of the Mendelston a.n. 398. Claudian represents Alarie as shutting himself up in a fortified may on the news of Stillehoir appreach (in Ruf 2, 1v4.9). Stilleho arrives in a saily (implet Thesaniam ferri nitor, L 179) and prepare to attack the enemy. The had been permitted to do so, the invasion of Greece would have been writed (186 seq.), but also! region mondate arrive from Arcadius, and he has to consider the "publica commods" to the duty of obseince. This must have sen about the beginning of November, if Rufinus was stain on 27th November as Secretes states, vi. 1; op. Chron. Pasch. ad ann.). Thus the advance of this debt from Italy to Themsely would have occupied more than six months. What was the cause of this delay? It is significant that the charge brought scause Rufinus by Claudian of having incited the Visuoths to the invasion of trace is uthered only as a suspicion by Socrates (for, off, logar diges or with was supposed to have," &c.); in the following century the auspicion has reveloped into a positive statement in the chronicle of Count Marcellinus ad ann.

treated with Alario and secured his retreat, might be supported by the circumstance that Areadius created him Master of Sublicatin Hyricum soon afterwards; [3] Strikeho is supposed to have made a secret treaty with Alaric, and permitted

its retreat, for purposes of his own.
It is certain that Stilleho's assertion of the unity of the Empire by appearing with armed forces in the Pracecture of Illyricum was viewed with supposion and district at Constantinople. The feeling at the court of Arcadius is apply expressed in words which Claudian has put into the mouth of Rufinus (in Ruf. g 161):

Doscrat (sc. Stilicho) Illyrici fines, Ecs remittat agmina, fruternas ex acque dividat hastas

It is certain too that Stilicho afterwards, if not in a.p. 396, made it the aim of his pricer to detach Illyricum from Arcadius and add it to the realm of Honorius. This is stated in so many words by Zosimus (v. 26) and it was doubtless Stillicho's object from the beginning. This is the view of Jung (Remer and Romanon, p. 108 teh sche darin vicinche die consequente Verfelgung der durch Stillehe von Anfang au beabuchtigten Politik), who has some good remarks on the geographical importance of Illyricum, the unsatisfactoriness of the line of division of 305 which cut off Daimatia from the rest of the Palkan peninsula (p. 196), and the orgum-atance that all northern Illyroum belonged to the Latin-speaking part of the Emplre.

After the first invasion of Italy, Stilicho intended to use the help of Alaria for this purpose, and established him on the borders of the territory on which he had designs, but the execution of the plan was continually deferred, on account of other events which claimed the care of Stilisho. Alarie during this time was playing his own game, between the courts of Bavenna and Constantinople. His object was to obtain permanently Dalmatia, Norroum, Istria and Venetia, with a regular grant of money from the Empire. This was what he asked in 410 (Zon. v. 48), and his aim throughout was doubtless a settlement of this kind.

The certainty that from a.p. 402 forward Stilicho made use of Alario for his lind.

The certainty that from a.p. 402 forward Stilicho made use of Alario for his lilyid designs rouses the suspicion that he was playing with Alario, with the same intent, in a.p. 895 and 396. The famous words of Orosius (vi. 37): Alarico rege cum Gothis suis saspe victo samps concluse samperque dimisso, are strikingly true of Pollentia, of Verona, and of Pholos: I suspect that they are also true of the campaign of a.p. 335, and that the unaccountable delay between Stilioho's start in the spring and his return to Italy in Oct. Nov. was due to diplomatic dailyings with Alario. Of course nothing would be said of that by Claudian.

VOL. III.

While Stillabe aimed at annexing Eastern fllyricum, the court of Comman's nocice aimed at the acquisition of Dalmatus. Of impositories pays that Stillabe employed Alama to defend it fr. 3). The object was pursued in the reign of Theodorius it and was finally attained at the marriage of Endorius with Valentinian in, when the boundary was changed to the advantage of the East.
Compare Cassodorius, Var. op 1, Gullenpenning, das ceterin Reach p. 316
But even as early as a c. 414-15 there is epigraphic evidence suggesting the

eonclusion that at that time Salomae was under the government of Coustanti-nopis. See Jeng, op est p. 18, notice. It is possible to regard (with Keller; Stibobo, p. 17) Stillisho a special Hipric policy and his relations with A ance as part of a larger policy which had two chief aims: to maintain the units of the Empere, under two emperors, and to infuse new blood into it by absorbing harbarians. Stillsho's police has been generally missinderstood. A monograph appeared in the year 1805 with the ourious title: Flavius Stillsho, em Wallenstein der Vorwelt (by C. F. Schulz).

15. ALABIC IN GREECE-(P. 242-1)

Though no record tells that Alarie burnt down the Temple of Elensia, it is cortain that the investor of the Gothe was consenient with the end of the Elenemian inveteries. The sanctuary of the two goldences is set have already a iffered much under Jorian and Threeles, in. The oult, restored by Julian, was any province by Jovan, but renewed again under Valentinian through the intervention of Fracticitatin, processed of Action. It must have been effected by the Intelernal collets of Theodosina; certainly the demonstration of the Correlan rection of the Athenian community forced the last Eumolpid high priest to resign. Sulmequently -probably on the death of Theodesia the pages party felt themselves alreag enough to appoint, as histophant, a print of M tarks from Theopiac, and he presided at Elemia at the time of Alarica invasor.

See Gregorovius, Has Alazich die Nationalgutter Griechenlands serators?

(Kleine Schriften, vol. L.), and Goschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter, L. p.

As for Athena, there is no doubt that it expetulated and was spared by Alaria and that the Goths did not destroy or rob its art treasures. Athens sufficed, as Oregorovica remarks, less in the diversion of Alario than in the invasion in the time of Devig pus. There were of course acts of orbeity, some are recovered in Ruffin, in.
Prises of Eunapius. But we must not press the words of Claudian in Ruffin, it. There were of course acts of ornelty, some are recorded in the Fide 189) - nee fore Cocropiae traximent vancula matrie, further than at the most to interpret it of the rural inhabitants of Atties. Gregoromas observes that in the other passages where the demarkstree of Greece is mentioned (iv Cons. Hon. 471.

Butrop. 2, 190 cons. Stil. 1, 1800, there is not a word about Athers.

As to the Zeus temple of Olympia, it is supposed that the Phyline statue of Zenahad been removed about two years before the Gotha invasion in a.e. 394 when Thereforms suppressed the Olympic games; to Constantinople and was afterwards burned in the Palace of Laurus. On Cedermus, 1 p. 304 (sregurous)

L. p. 43. The temple of Olympia was burnt down in the reign of Theod area u.

The general conclusion of Oregorovius is that it is a gross exaggeration to
sacribe to the Goths the deliburate destruction of the temples and sanctuaries of Greece.

16. PENETRABIS AD URBEM-(P. 248)

The clear voice which Alarie heard in the grove witered an according with the help of Claudian's art. It has been pointed out that the first and last letters of the two verses (R. G. 546-7) spell ROMA.

R umpe omnes, Alarseu moras ; hoe impigur annO A lpchus Italiae ruptis penetrabis ad urto31.

So it is printed in Koch's edition.

17. ALARIC'S FIRST INVASION OF ITALY-(P. 248, 253 acc.)

That the battle of Pullentia was fought in 402 is now universally agreed by all competent historians, there is no conflict of conducte on the matter, and there is mething to be said for 463. But there is still room for difference of opinion as to the date of Alaric's entry into Italy, and possibly as to the date of the buttle of Verona.

(1) We have to set the statements of two chronicles against each other. On one hand Prosper, sub-ann. 400 Gothi Italiam . . . ingressi (see next Appendix). On the other, the Fast, Vindobonensos (Chronica Italica ; see above, App. 1) have, sub anno 401, the more process notice; et intravit Alarious in Italiam, aiv. kl.

Palimann (followed by Hodgkin) accepts the date of Presper. Tillement, also accepting Presper, but putting in spite of Presper) the battle of Pollentia in 40% to and hauself driven to assume that Alaric having invalid fally in 400 was driven out of it in 401 and returned in 402 in fact a double invanion.

As there is little or nothing to choose between Presper and the Paati Vindo-

bonemes both being equally prone to error—we may be disposed to allow the argument of Seeck* (approved by Birt) to determine us in preferring the date of the Fasti Vindobonenses. In describing the entry of the Goths Claudian speaks of constant eclipses of the moon among the terrors which preyed upon men's menda:

> territat adsiduus lune labor atraque Phesbe nootibus aerisonas orebris ululata per urbes. nee creduct vetito fraudatam Sole serorem telluris subsunte gleho sed castra secutar barbara Thossahdas patrus lunare venenis inocatare jubar. (B. G., 233 sog.)

These data (op. odriduus) are satisfied by the two lunar eclipses which took

place on Jane 21 and December 6, a.D. 101.

After Pollentia, there must have been another engagement at Asta (vi. cons. Ron., 203). Keller thinks that this took place before that of Pollentia. In any Hon., 203). Keller thinks that this took place before that of Pollentia. In any case dibbon is wrong in supposing that Asta was the town in which Honorius was shut up, till delivered by Stilleho. Honorius was in Milan, as is clear from Claudian's description at 4.25 agg.). To reach Asta Stilleho would have had to unserned only the Addia (488), but the Paidis (which is not mentioned).

(2) That the battle of Verona did not take place later than a.n. 403 is proved by the fact that it is calchrated in the Paidgyrio composed by Claudian before the end of that year for the sixth commisto of Honorius, which began on Jan. 1, a.p. 404. That it took place in summer is proved by a line of that poem (our only source for the battle):

sustanct accensos acetivo pulvere soles (vi. cons., 215).

Those therefore who like Tillemont and Gibbon set P. lentia in spring 403 were Show therefore who like liminions and tribbon set? lents in spring we were obliged to set Verona in the summer of the same year. The question therefore arises whether, when we have moved Pollentin a year back, we are to move Verona along with it. Pallmann leaves Verona where it was in 403, and he is followed hesitatingly by Mr Hodgkin. That the victory of Verona was won in 403, and that more than a year clapsed between the two battles, has, I think, been proved convincingly by Birt (Preface to ed. of Claudian, liv. v.). The argument is that, if Verona had been fought in 402, the long interval of sixteen

I" The date 403 seems to have originally obtained currency from a simple mistake on the part of Baronius, a mistake fully admirableded by Tillemont (v. 804). Hodgian, L. p.

^{736.}The Additaments to Prosper in the Cod. Have, give the date: 2, kal. Sept. (Monamen, Chron. Min., 1 p. 293)

Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte, 2a, p. 182 spp. (1884).

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APPENDIX

Boll. Goth, 363 agg.

414, 5.

exucrant Latique audita ciade forcores Vindelicos saltus et Norica rura tenebant, &c. adournt viena manus quan Ractia nuper Vandalicis auciam spolits defensa probavit.

Leaving saids the question whether (as Birt thinks) the harbsrians whom Radaganus headed in Eastia were the Vandala and Alans who invaded Gaul in 406, we may without heatation accept the conclusion that in 401 Radaganus was at the head of Vandala and other barbarana in Raetia. Birt points out the statement that Radaganus had intended to cross into Italy (interpolational property techniques), with which Commus introduces his account of the overthrow of Radaganus by Stilicho; and proposes to refer that statement not to the campaign of 405 but to that of 401.

It was extranetory to find that Birt had already taken a step in a direction in which I had been led before I studied his Preface to Claudian. The fact is that Economic really recognite the company of 401, as if it were the company of 405. His story is that Radagnanu prepared to invade Italy. The news created great terror, and Stilicho broke up with the army from Tichnum, and with as many Alans and Hum as he could moster, without waiting for the attack, cremed the factor, and assailing the barbarians unrespectedly utterly distroyed their host. This is the campaign of the winter of 4012, of which we know from Claudian's Gothe War, only that, I) Zestimus, placing it in 405, has added one fracture of the actual campaign in 400, namely the all int total annihilation of the army of Radagnanus, and that (2) Zestimus, in placing the final action beyond the Danubo, differs from Claudian, who piaces it in Nuricum or Vindelicia (1, 365, died above) and does not monitor that Stilicho crossed the river. But the writer campaign was in Danubian regions; and the main difficulty, the appearance of the Danube in the marrative of Zestimus, see ma to be actafacterily accounted for by the nasur prices of the confusion between the two Radagnanus episodas, a confusion which must be accribed to Zestimus himself rather than to his source Olympiodoras.

19. THE SECOND CARAUSIUS-(P. 1711)

A new tyrant in Britain at the beginning of the fifth century was discovered by Mr. Arthur Evans through a coin found at Richborough (Returnae). See Nonsepatic Chromale, 3rd ser. vol. vir. p. 191 app., 1887. The obvious of this brouze coan "presents a boad modelled in a somewhat barbarour fashion on that of a fourth century Emperor, diadenced and with the built disposed in the paludamentum". The logosid is: DOMINO CARAVS IO CES. "The everse presents a familiar brouze type of Constant of CES. "The everse holding phomor and labarum atamiard stands at the present of a visual, the rudder of which is held by Victory. In the present case, however, in place of the usual legend that accompanies this reviews. FEL. TEMP REPARATIO—appears the atrange and unparableled inscription:

DOMEN . . . CONTA . . . NO "

This can cannot be ascribed to the well known Carausius of Diceletian's reign, for the type of the inverse is never found before the modile of the fourth century. The DOMINO (without a probonic source) on the observe is just a uncompletion a Roman come of the Evans conjustions that CONTANTINO as to be read on the reverse and makes it probable that this observe Caraus is was colleague of Caraus as in left behind by him, with the title of Caraus, to the ideal while he was himself absent in Gaul; and would note the second the country of the brave Caraus as who first mixed Britain to a position of marriage appropriacy, may have influenced the chance of this observe Caraus, at a moment when the Romano British population, was about to assert as it had never done before its independence of Continental Empire."

I Mr. R. afforth points out in a review of this volume in Fig. Historical Review and prize and that the authorit of Zoumus that the three ened strained of Resignatur caused a part at Rotte teast. In the letter with the terms of of the wall of Rotte in a conference of the wall of Rotte in a conference of the wall of the wall of Rotte in a conference of the wall of the wall of the rotte in a conference of the wall of the wal

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APPENDIX

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A THE TYBANT CONSTANTINE-(P. 272)

The heat accounts of the root reign and fall of the tyrant Constants well be found in Mr. Freezant a article, "Trust of the target, team and Spain," in English Historical Review, vol. 4 (1996)

At then, in M. Constitutions of fully dominations "maint have consented of a but an increase artificial control of the Medite traces, who artific to have before over the front the cardient and large extracted of the control of the same and the same before the first harmonic of create Fridely. That he was archnewing part in the private control of create Fridely. The Three he makes there is not the artificial for the same that the same that the control there are the control of controls and the same that the same that

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Two master of the West, Constantine forces Benerica, then (a.p. 400 to reak to reak to reak to seem wedge time so he cultivate and beginness Asymptotic forces for the sound for the first with an army successful to help Brown against A.m. so Chrispest as he real restrict to me to annex from the more read to the first to the first

Meanwhile the resoluted Germains in Somm had broken until any elements went to put it from the same account of the world to make make in any or he does not present that the first the form and the form and Cana. There is no local that the former is and Manney, make the former is come the Personal to the Company Owns I, the former is 111, I a 6 to Remain, in temporary of Tours, 2, by Francisco, p. 74; "The evidence makes is go

for darest dealings between Geronten and the menders, and his treaty with them is proved only to have followed the proclamation of Navierse that to have gone before it "). The domination of Maximus was practically confined to the most western curner, the sent of the rise was Tarrace. As the the relation of Max may to Gerontina, it is very dissistful whether each to Olympiodorus is to be interpreted are and not rather account or orderer.

The rest of the speciale of Constantine's reign—the earges of Viscon cubick some have suspected, is a mistake for Nario and Arelane—have bost well will by 6. block. Three events in we be placed in the year 411, for Corretantine's head arrived at Playering on 18th Regionner Plattice ad ann. 1 and it was in the fourth menth of the eage of Arciste that Edotuch's troops came on the some

(Remains an Greg Turns 9).

Mr Freeman thus contrasts the position of Constantine with that of non-

temporary tempets:
"Constant and Maximus clearly leagued themselves with the turbarrans. but ther were not mere puppets of the barbarans, they were not ever us up by terburner but. Each was set up by a movement in an arrey which passed for Roman. But the tyrants who appear in Gaul in the Country and Jerman, was an and Attalus Attalus abreads known in Italy is fresh in Gaul are as more close's connected with the invaders of the promove. Attains was a nero purpose of the feeths, set up and just move at pleasure, his stery is merely a just of the marches of Atanil in Gall and Spain. Jovinus was set up by Runger of the marches of Atanil in Gall and Spain. Jovinus was set up by Runger and the carl as Burger han and than help, his clevation to the Empire and the carl as Burgunian settlement in Gaul are simply two sides of one event. Even Maximus was not in this way the more creature of the invaders of Spain, though be found it convenient at least to consider at their invasion.

"THE STATUE OF A POET FAR SUPERIOR TO CLAUDIAN "-IP. SNO

Other reviews may, like myself have been puzzled by this reference of Gibbon Professor Develon has supposed one with what must. I technic, he was true application. The statue of Voltaire by Pigalle (now in the level) is was consisted in 1779. The actives Mile. Charme up sed a subscription for it. See Desnotresterres. Voltaire of la Societé an aveit Seede, vis., p. 312 app

SE DEATH OF MAXIMUS-(P. 341)

The chronicle of Count Marcell nur states that the tyrants Maximus and Jovinus were brought in the a from Spain to Revenue and executed in the year 422 on the occasion of the tricennalis of Homens (sub-ann. 422 p. 7% ed. M ramen, Chrote Min. vol. it.). This, like some other unique notices it. Mar-At pendix 1, which have come down in a mutilated cond ston (op Momma a, id. p. 40. It is borne out by Orosius, who, writing in 417, man (vit 427 Maximum eautus purpara destitatuaque a militibus Gal canis—nune trior barbaron in Heapania egona exulat; which alone is of sufficient authority to refute the chainmants of the Eastern writers followed by Gibbon.

23. SEPTIMANIA-(P 3%)

An error prevails in regard to the name Septumania. It first occurs in Sistemus Apoll name, Ep. in., 1, 4, where it is said of the Goths of the language of Tolera beginner and seam facinfront rel reconduct, money invariant hums angul, that is, Arvenut etiam lesolate proprietate potentiar in his index Locorum to Luct charms ed. of Sulonous Monmers points out that Septement in it not derived from experiments in the extension in applicate and therefore did not specific either the Seven Provinces of the Vienness Diocess, or seven cities granted to the Gotta Greg. Tur., 2, She li means the coast inte from the l'yreness to the Rhom, in Sedonius as well as in Gregory of Tours and later writers; Sidenius means that the Goths declared themselves ready to exchange this coast district (including towns of Narle, Telesa, Baterra, Nemausus, Luteva) for Arveral. Baterra was a town of the Septimani; hence Septimania.

M. RATE OF TRAVELLING BY SKA-(P. 389)

In connexion with Gibbon's note on the length of journeys by see in the reign of Arcadius, I have found some contemporary data in the lafe of Purphyry of Gaza by the denoce Mescus. (I) From Ascalon in Palestine, to Thessalonica: 13 days, p. 6, od. Tenhuer. (2) Back from Thessalonica to Ascalon 12 days, p. 7. (3) From Gaza to Constantinophis: 20 days, p. 21. (i) Back from Constantinophe to Gaza, p. 45. (2) From Constantinophe to Gaza, p. 46. (3) Prom Constantinophe: 10 days, m. winter, p. 33. (7) From Constantinophe (starting 18th April) to Rhodes. 5 days, p. 47. It must be remainteend that we are not informed about intermediate stopages. These references may be added to those in Friedlander's Strangesch edic, in 13-17. With a good wind one could sail 11 or 12 hundred stashs in 24 hours. With a good wind one could sail 11 or 12 hundred stades in 24 hours.

th Armenian Affairs-(P. 302, 303)

Gibbon wrongly places the division of the Armenian kingdom into Roman and Persian Armenia in the fifth century. This division was arranged between Theodosius the Great and the Persian King. See Saint Martin, Memoires, p. 316. Persiamenia was at least two thirds of the whole kingdom. Araces, who had already reigned 5 years over all Armenia, continued after the division to rule over Roman Armona for 24 years; while Cherror (a Christian) was appointed by Perria as king of Persian Armonia. On the death of Armore, Theodores committed the rule of the Roman part to a native general, who was induced to recognize the authority of Chearer; while Chearer, in order to secure his position in Roman Armenia, acknowledged the suzermoty of the Roman Empire. This did not please Person, and developed, see of the Person king, over-threw him, after he had reigned 5 years. Jerdegred then gave Armenia to Charce's brother; but Choses was an amountably restored through the influence of the archbishop Isaac, and reigned about a year. He was succeeded by Saper, a royal prince of Persia, who made himself hated and attempted to proschittee the Armeniana. On his father's cleath be returned to Persia. endoavoured to win the grown, failed, and periahed. After an interval Ardeshir (Gibbon's Artastria) was appointed—the last of the Armiruan longs. His deposition is described by Gibbon. The government was then placed in the hands of Portion marshess.

PROCOPIAN LEGENDS—(P. 408, 478).

(1) BORTFACE AND ARTHUR, (2) VACHETHIAN AND MARINER.

In his Italy and her Inciders, vol. it. Ip. 206 soq. ed. 2) Mr. Hodgian has discussed and rejected the remantic story connected with the death of Valentimen, the elevation of Maximia and his marriage with the death of Valcettimen, the elevation of Maximia and his marriage with Eudoxia. The story to told by Proceeding is a Labulous writer for the events which proceed his own maximory, 'Mr. Hodgkin relegates it to "the fables of Proceeding."

In the English Historical Review for July, 1887 (p. 417 465), Mr. Program published a long entirum of the historical material for the careers of Acts a and Beniface. He held the account of Precipius (B. V. ; 3) to be 'legend of the cirth century and not trustworthy history of the fifth," and tried to "recover the true story as it may be put together from the annalma, the writings of St. Augustine, and other more trustworthy authorizes. In this case Mr. Holgkin takes a completely different view and argues 10., vol. 1, p. 889 erg., ed. 2, that the Processian legend "has still a reasonable claim to be accepted as history," while admitting that in some points it has been shaken by Mr. Freeman,

Now, while the two stories need not stand on the same footing so far as historical credibility is concerned, while it may be possible to follow Mr. Hedgen in rejecting the one and accepting the shall part of the other there is a preliminary question which in sit be discussed infore we attempt to decide the altimate question of historical fact. Processing is not the other authority for these stories. They are also found in the Salarasana Excepts, which were list printed to the contract of the salarasana Excepts, which were list printed. by Cramer in his Anecdota Parisons, a SC sqr, and afterwards included among the fragments of John of Antroch by C. Miller in the Pragments Hat. Gree, and treep SC sqr. The fragments in question are 196 and 30. It was a serious tlaw in Mr Freeman's essay that he was not aware either of the Salmanian Everyt 196, or of the Constantinian Execute 291, which also bears on the question of Actins and Boniface. Mr. Hodglen refers to fr. 196, which furth M. Jerrher act that Joannes Antiochen is, and save. "Though a comparatively late author the probably fixed in the seventh century) and though he certainly used Proceeds in the compilation, he had also some good contemporary authorities before him, especially Priscus, and there seems some probability, though I would not state it more strongly than this, that he may have found in me of them as well as in Procoptus ".

But Mr. Hadekin, while he takes account of fr. 196 in defending one "Procepan legerd" takes no account of fr. 200 in rejecting the other "Procepan legend," it migh fr. 200 hears to the latter the same relation which fr. 196 hears

to the format

Now in the first place it must be clearly understood that the author of the work from which the Salmanan Excepts are derived cannot have been the same as the author of the work from which the Constant man Excepts are derived. There is no question about this, and it could be proved merely by comparing the two (Salmasian) fragments under consuleration (frage, 196 and 200) with the Constantinian) fragment 201. If then we accept the Constantinian Execupts

Constitutionan) fragment 201. If then we accept the Constantinan Excerpts under the name Juanues of Antioch, we must be careful not to ascribe the Satternam Excerpts to that writer. Which is the true Juanues, is a question still rub judies. (See below, vol. iv. Appendix 1)

The vital pastion then is whether Procopius was the source of S. (as we may designate the author of these Excerpts) for these fragments or not. For if he was, S. as he no weight to the authority of Procopius and may be disregarded; if he were not, his statements have to be reckened with too. From a careful comparison of the passages. I find myself in complete agreement with C. de Boot (who has dealt with the question in Byz. Ziech, it. 204 app.) that Procopius was not the source of S. but that the accounts of both authors were derived from a common source. The proof in the case of fr. 200 is very complete; because we happen to have in S. edes or because we happen to have in S. edes or become from Miller and loc.) a fragment of what was avidently that common source.

The inference, for historical purposes, is important. We cannot specially the Freeman of "Proceptan legend or "legend of the sixth century We cannot speak Processes cannot be described in these cases as acting down "the received tale that he acced". He was using a literary source; and there is not the slightest proof that this literary source belonged to the sixth century. It seems more probable that it was a fifth century source. It may have been Procus or it

These two episodes therefore depend on the authority of a writer (who has so far in t been idea tiffed) curlier that Procopt man I distinct from John of Antisch. They may for all we know have very early neither to, and they cannot be waived away as "Procession legend". Each most be judged on its own morts.

It evenue to me that there was polar 's a certain foundation of truth in both stories, but that they have been dressed out with first our details (like the story of the Empress Endoers and Packetts). I do not feel prepared to reject the ma a facts implied ton' Activa introduced against Bourfactus and that Valentinian policed the wite of Maximus.

1 Cn forther E Glege in live Zuch v 45 tig where some other of the Bucerpta (esp. fr. 12) are treated in their relation to Processius, with the same result.

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The teterpretation of the figuresis alignment between the princip is good a good And it is a sure to the fact that on the are me care and was material on to the details of the police to the test of the tank of the second Pergers and Toron for Constanting and the Protocol Protocol States had been detected over the total of with Bid to contain that had been etical is removed that the second that the same the same of the beautiful be received by the bottom of the same and The same the major man I are went

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without of 14 Banks The re-custom. The come among Harmonius who was killed by tringgates Mr. 11-1 and 5 To 30 as manner of a Church Acts.

2 Assertion He appears from market MI as manner of a Church Acts.

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reduced an analy everyth a transfer to the track of the state of the second state; lie was then fredered the market of the bas course, the second time and he twice held the arrest and the Patriciale. What happened to Ourse on his fall correspond or the first which bappened to Aurelian. The make of the farest more alless is on the other sed of a particular the age to the state of the state

fact that he is never ment has executed as proper p 1880 where he appears as the High Privat The person who through me advence were the Emperor had the real power appear in the mesh as nowing the might office - e.y. Ostris

while he was in power.

4. Corserius. - In the allegory Typhon is in close alliance with the barbarian mercenaries, and instigates their strack on Thebes in order to overthrow his brother Os.ris. When Osiris surrenders himself to the barbarian leader Typhos urges that he should be put to death. Typhos then receives the kimplom and asimulaters it tyrannically; nor is his position shaken by the fall of the barbarian but musters it tyradicially; nor it are position shaken by the tail of the darrange leader. Before the fleet rese of Omins to power $^{\circ}$ he had filted a past which gave him patronage in distributing offices, the power of oppressing towns (p. 1217), and the duty of regulating measures in contenton with the payment of taxes in hind (p. 1219). These limb taken along with the ment on (ψ) of torch bearing attendants show that the office was no less than that of Prastorian Prefect. It

Buttopins had endeavoured to reduce the power of Practican Profess for the Entropins had endeavoured to reduce the power of Practican Profess of the East by making it a collegial office; and Eutropina appears as holding that office (1) along with Caesarius while Eutropina was in power; 2) along with Aurelian, 301-400; (3) along with Aurelian when he was restored by It may be assumed that he also held it between 400 and 402.

It follows that Cassarius, whom we find Practorian Prefect from 396 398 and again in 403 and 401, was the prototype of Typhos, the son of Tsurus are the brother of Aurelian. Some other points confirm the condusion. The tendency to Arianism, of which Typhos is accused, is illustrated by C. Th. 16, 5, 25, and the passion of Typhos for his wife by a notice in Sozomen, 8, 2

The great political object of Aurilian was to break the power of the Germans in the army and at the court—the policy for which Syncolus pleaded in his Deverno. The question arises: What was the attitude of the Empress Endorse to this policy? The fall of Entropius which she brought about (Pi I 11, 6) led to this policy? The tail of Eutropius which she brought about [172] It, or set to the rise of Aurelian, and when Aurelian fell, her intimate friend—scandal said, her lover—Count John, full with him. Further, Seeck makes it probable that the second Practorian Preference of Aurelian ended, and Anthemius more ded to that post, about end of 404; and it was on 5th October, 104 that the Empress deed. We are thus list to infer a close political amon between Eudovia and Aurelian; and, if the inference is right, it is noteworthy that the Empress of German origin, the daughter of the Frank Bauto, should have allied because with a street graph. herself with a statesman whose policy was anti-German.

23. THE BATTLE OF MAURICA, COMMONLY CALLED THE BATTLE OF CHALONS-IP 4621

The scene of the battle by which the invasion of Attila was checked has been the subject of some perplearly. The statements which have to be considered are the following :

1 Idatius: in campis Catalaunicis haud longe de civitate quam effregerant

2 An insertion in the text of Prosper, found in the Codex Ravniensis, and doubtless representing an entry in the Chronica Italica. Mommers, Chron. Min., 1 p. 392 and 481 pagnatum est in quinto milliario de Trecas, loso numespato Maurica in Campania.

3. Chron. a.o. 511 see above, App. 1), Mommers, Chron. Min. L. p. 663 :

Treasers pugnat loss Mauriscos.

ta. Jordanes a 25 convenitur itaque in campos Catalaunicos, qui et
Maurisci nominantur, centum leuvas ut Galli vocant in longum tenentes es septuaginta in latum. (A gallie fewer or league - 1) Roman incles).

th Gregory of Tours, 2, 7: Mauriscum campion adiens se presengit ad-bellum Artilal. The accounts of the speede in Jewlaues and tregory are not

independent : op. Monamen, Pref. to Jordanes, p. xxxvi

The traditi nal view that the battle was fought near Duro-Catalannum or Chalons on Marne is not borne out by the data. That town is not mentioned

¹ He also held a financial point. Seech conjectures that of a rationalist of a diocese. 2 Firsthee. Causiness wife of Saturday who was be afted with Assertian, had influence with Eudonia, as we know from Falkidays. Life of Chrynostom.

APPENDIX

and the notice of Jordanes shows that its proximity is not implied by the name "Catalastican Plana," for Mainteen might have been at the other extremity. Setting mode Hatria, whose statement is discredited by the words 'not far from Metr, we find the other notices agreeing in the designation of the battle-field as the Maintee Plain, or a place usured Mainteen, and one of them gives the queen distance from Troves. The name Mainteen, Mainteen, has been identified with great prombility with Metr for Schiel, about twenty miles from Troves. The resets it erefore every likelihood that the battle was fought between Tropess and Merry, and the solutions for which Merry Region well argues (Hal), it is 140%, to confirmed no be observed, by the strategical importance of Troves, which was at the confirmed no be observed, by the strategical importance of Troves, which was at the confirmed in but at the village of Pouga, about 10.

An interesting Incovery was made in 1842 at the village of Pouan, about 10 At inter-ening incovery was made in 1987 at the village of Founa, about 10 miles from More we Seine. A skeleton was found with a two-click aword and a outlass, both adorned with gold, and a number of gold ornaments, one of them a ring with the inscription HEVA. Thus are the rulgest of a memoir by M. Peigne II has out (1980) who claimed the grave as the tomb of the Veigothic king Theodone. See Hodgk n wh. p. 140. In any case the remains may well be connected with the great battle.

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